Portraits of French Secondary Education in Manitoba

by

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Abstract

This study analyzed the linguistic landscapes (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008) of three secondary schools in Manitoba, Canada where French was the language of instruction. Through a translanguaging (García & Kleyn, 2016) and Bourdieusian framework, linguistic landscapes were viewed as reflective of language ideologies, attitudes, language use and linguistic identity. The purpose of this study was to describe the linguistic landscapes of a French-language, a French immersion single-track and a French immersion dual-track high school. It was also important to understand how the students from the respective schools interpreted their own and other scholastic linguistic landscapes. The data for this study was collected through two interviews with each of the 37 participants and photographs from each school's linguistic landscape. The first interview was semi-structured and the second interview was a photo-elicitation interview wherein participants analyzed a selection of images from the schools' linguistic landscapes. Findings pointed to the differences between the school contexts, the importance of school choice, language ideologies and attitudes, linguistic identity and linguistic landscapes in education. It was found that schools that focus on French instruction in a minority context needed to increase exposure to French to counteract the power of English as the legitimized dominant language. In doing so, they also need to increase exposure to other minority languages.

Résumé

Cette étude analyse le paysage linguistique (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008) de trois secondaires au Manitoba, Canada où le français est la langue d'enseignement. En employant un cadre théorique qui adopte les théories de *translanguaging* (García & Kleyn, 2016) et de Bourdieu, le paysage linguistique devient alors une représentation d'idéologies langagières, d'attitudes linguistiques, d'identités linguistiques et de l'emploi de la langue. Il était important de comprendre comment les élèves provenant de différents contextes scolaires analysaient leur propre paysage linguistique et celui des autres élèves. Les données proviennent de deux entrevues avec chacun des 37 participants et de photographies du paysage linguistique de chaque école. La première entrevue était semi-dirigée et la deuxième était une entrevue photo-incitation où les participants devaient analyser une sélection d'images provenant des paysages linguistiques des secondaires étudiés. Les résultats montrent la différence entre les contextes scolaires, l'importance du choix d'école, d'idéologies langagières, d'attitudes linguistiques, d'identités linguistiques, l'emploi de la langue et du paysage linguistique en éducation. Les écoles qui se chargent de l'enseignement du français en milieu minoritaire devraient exposer les élèves davantage au français afin de contrer le pouvoir de l'anglais en tant que langue dominante et légitime. Cela étant dit, il est également important d'exposer les élèves aux autres langues minoritaires.

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Dedication

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Chapter One: *Éclairage*[1] (Introduction)

When I was a child, I used to write on the walls. I wrote with pencil and wax crayons not just on the walls but underneath tables and my bed. I wrote my name, the names of boys I liked, little poems that I had heard and sometimes I just scribbled. I am not sure why, perhaps I was just attracted to the permanence of the act. My parents did not know what to do with me. Someone suggested that perhaps I needed an outlet for my creativity so my Dad decided to build me an easel. He made it out of wood and at the top he placed a large metal clip so that you could attach pieces of paper. I proceeded to remove the paper and I wrote on the easel. My parents may have been worried that I was on the road to becoming a graffiti artist. Instead, I became a teacher.

As a child, I loved the story *Purple, Green and Yellow* (Munsch, 1992). I used to practice reading it to a classroom of fictitious children. There was something that I really liked about the *super-indelible-never-come-off-till-you're-dead-and-maybe-even-later colouring markers*. That was my idea of the perfect graffiti marker. Somehow, over the years, I lost my attraction to creating graffiti but I have never lost my fascination with the permanent and non-permanent marks people leave. In fact, some of the first artefacts depicting human life were permanent cave paintings of human hands or animals, showing that "visual representations are as old as human culture itself" (Spencer, 2011, p. 33). It is suggested that cave paintings were the first form of written language because they depicted a story (M. Marshall, 2012). These images, indelibly linked to language, offer insights into the lives of others. Cave paintings are then the first examples of linguistic landscapes.

[1] Lighting

In a sense, the study of linguistic landscapes is akin to an archeological hunt. Researchers who study linguistic landscapes take photographs of all public signs in a given area whether they are commercial, private or governmental and they analyze them in order to discover the repetition of certain styles or patterns (Backhaus, 2008; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Curtin, 2008; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Plessis, 2011). Ultimately, linguistic landscape researchers are looking for the story behind the signs. They want to know what the signs tell us about the community under study and, in particular, they want to know how the community's multiple languages interact in a given territory (Gorter, 2013).

Because I live in a community known for its large population of Francophone official minorities, I decided to conduct my own study of the linguistic landscape of Saint-Boniface (G. Cormier, 2015). In particular, my study showed the dynamic relationship between French and English in this bilingual community. At the time, I was teaching English and French at a single-track French immersion high school in the city. Before that, as a student, I attended a dual-track French immersion elementary school followed by a French-language high school. In fact, this school shift was the subject of my Master's thesis (G. Cormier, 2012). While I was attending university at a Francophone institution, I worked as a language monitor in a dual-track French immersion high school. Also, my teaching practicum was at a French-language high school. Because of those varied experiences as both a student and a teacher, I have been exposed to the linguistic landscapes of various schools in Manitoba where French is taught as the main language of instruction. This led me to think about how a school's linguistic landscape differs from the linguistic landscape of a public street.

Students and teachers participate in the creation of their school's linguistic landscapes but they also interact with it on a daily basis. Moreover, certain schools have a mandate to promote a specific language. All of this inspired me to conduct the present study on the linguistic landscapes of three Manitoban high schools. The setting for my research is schools wherein French is being taught in a minority context. My personal experiences have taught me that there is a difference between the culture of French immersion and French-language schools. But, does a school's linguistic landscape reflect this difference and do the students feel it? Are the permanent and non-permanent signs in the school a reflection of the school's culture and the students' linguistic identities? These questions led me to design the main research questions for my dissertation which are:

1. What are the linguistic landscapes of a French-language, French immersion single-track and French immersion dual-track high school?
2. What are the students' language attitudes, ideologies, patterns of language use and linguistic identities as reflected in and as influenced by the linguistic landscapes?
3. How do students interpret elements from the linguistic landscape of each school?

The purpose of the next section will be to describe the context in which this study will take place. It will begin with a historical overview that explains the development of the different French educational programs in Manitoba. This will be followed by a description of French-language and French immersion programs as well as a review of recent research in those areas. Then, a more detailed description of linguistic landscape research will be given followed by examples of how this type of research has been adapted for school contexts. The literature review will then move on to describe research

studies pertaining to language ideologies, language use and linguistic identity as they are elements related to and a product of the linguistic landscape. Next, I will describe the theoretical framework for this study which is based on translanguaging (García & Kleyn, 2016) and linguistic power (Bourdieu, 1991). The third chapter will explain the qualitative linguistic landscape methodology used for this study. In Chapter 4, I will explain the data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter 5 will present the findings from the first interviews and Chapter 6 will present the findings from the second interviews. Finally, Chapter 7 will answer the research questions by presenting a portrait of the linguistic landscapes of each of the schools. Chapter 8 will conclude the study with a response to the research questions. It will then present implications for research and teaching and I will suggest further venues for research in the area.

Chapter Two: *Appareil photo multi capteur*[2] (Literature Review)

Context

The purpose of this study is to understand the linguistic landscapes of three secondary schools in Manitoba, Canada wherein French is the main language of instruction. The two main French educational programs are French-language and French immersion. Two types of French immersion programs exist in Manitoba: single-track and dual-track. Dual-track French immersion schools have two separate programs under one roof: French immersion and English-language. This study will explore the linguistic landscapes of one French-language high school, one single-track French immersion high school and one dual-track French immersion high school all in an urban setting.

In Canada, although both French and English have the official language status, English is the language of the majority in all the provinces except Québec. Therefore, linguistic minorities, Francophones outside of Québec, and Québec's Anglophones, are guaranteed the right to education in their minority language through the *Minority Language Educational Rights* under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Government of Canada, 1982).

In Manitoba, French is the language of instruction in French-language schools and in French immersion schools. In both contexts, French is taught and is the language of authority within the schools, giving it a form of pedagogical and cultural legitimacy. However, outside the school, English is the language of the majority. Thus, these schools, where official minority and majority languages interact, are unique fields to study in terms of the power relations that exist between the two linguistic groups.

[2] Multi-lens camera

Historical overview.

The historical context in which these languages came to occupy their positions of power in the field of education is important to analyze as it acts as an outside influence on the schools. Moreover, Davies & Guppy (2010) believe that any study involving minority populations must give a historical account of the relationship between the majority and minority groups. A historical overview will help to explain how these programs emerged in Manitoba and it will also serve to highlight some of the differences between the programs.

In the late 1800s, there were more Francophones than Anglophones in Manitoba (Moss, 2004). As a result, Manitoba joined the Dominion of Canada in 1870 as a bilingual province and each language was meant to have official status. However, in 1890, *The Official Language Act* removed the official status accorded to French and rendered English the only official language of Manitoba. Despite federal policies that recognize French as an official language, the province of Manitoba still only identifies English as its official language. Since the 1800s, the number of Franco-Manitobans has significantly decreased and now only 3.5% of Manitobans speak French as their first language (Government of Canada, 2013). Clearly, French, once a majority language in Manitoba is now a minority one.

A factor that contributed to the assimilation of Franco-Manitobans was the lack of access to education in French. English was the province's only official language and through the Thornton Act in 1916, it also became the only sanctioned language of instruction in Manitoban schools (Hébert, 2004). In the 1920s, in Manitoba, only one hour a day of French language instruction was permitted (Hayday, 2013). Despite the

restrictions on French language instruction, there were examples of resistance to these policies in the Francophone community. Some teachers taught in French but made sure to hide the evidence by teaching in English when inspectors visited their class (Hébert, 2004; Laplante, 2001). Regardless of these efforts to maintain the French language, other factors contributed to and still contribute to the assimilation of Francophones in Manitoba. These include a decrease in the number of children Francophone mothers have, language transfer (usually to English) and the increase of exogamy (i.e. a Francophone who marries a Non-Francophone) (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2010).

Historically, Francophones also faced other disadvantages. Notably, in the early 1900s, Francophones outside Québec earned less, were less likely to graduate from high school, and were less likely to own a business than Anglophones (Corbeil, 2013; Wanner, 1999). These disadvantages exemplify the minority status of the Francophone population. By definition, a minority language is "a language of low prestige and low in power. It is also used by some to mean a language spoken by a minority of the population in a country" (Duquette, 2001, pp. 103–104). Thus, Francophones in Manitoba fit the definition of linguistic minorities in terms of the disadvantages they have accrued and due to their low representation within the population.

In 1968, following the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (B & B Commission), the way French was viewed by Canadian society was starting to change. In fact, due to the improved national status of French in Canada, Francophones outside Québec now face fewer disadvantages. Although Francophones still tended to earn slightly less than Anglophones in 2011, the figures represented almost equal earnings for Francophones and Anglophones (Corbeil, 2013). With regard to education

there has even been a reversal. Now, Francophones are more likely to graduate from high school than Anglophones (Wanner, 1999). The improved educational attainment for Francophones is perhaps due to the policies that resulted from the *B & B Commission*. In 1967, new legislation allowed instruction in French for up to half the school day in Manitoban schools (Hayday, 2013). In 1970, French instruction for the entire school day was permitted (Hébert, 2004). These changes resulted in the development of two new educational programs: French immersion and French-language.

The first French immersion program began in Montréal, Québec. Anglophones in Montréal were disappointed with the French their children were acquiring in the English-language schools. They knew that their children would have to be bilingual in order for them to access the job market in Québec. The main goal of the French immersion program was to ensure the children would be fluent in French while at the same time developing their English-language skills (Heller, 2002). In Manitoba, Anglophone parents who had learned about the success of the new French immersion program wanted to emulate it. In order to start up the program, they transformed a former private French school, *École Sacré-Cœur,* into a public French immersion school. In September of 1973, 41 Anglophone children were enrolled in the new school alongside Francophone children (Hallion Bres & Lentz, 2009). The program soon became popular among Anglophone parents and this led to the opening of various French immersion schools in the province. Over the years, enrollment in French immersion programs has increased. In 2013, the national enrollment rate in French immersion programs represented "7.5% of total Canadian enrollments" which equated to an enrollment rate of more than 375,000 students (Allison, 2015, p. 289). For Manitoba's enrollment rates see Tables 1 and 2.

The development of the French-language program, however, was quite different. Although Francophones could access education in French as of the 1970s, these programs were all housed in Anglophone school divisions. Sometimes the program was even housed within an Anglophone school. Behiels (2004) mentions how this situation was problematic for Francophones:

> Francophone parent committees continually had to convince trustees of the legitimacy of their children's different needs. Franco-Manitoban students, teachers, and administrators were isolated from one another and forced to function in English once they left the classroom. (p. 219)

As a result, Francophones had virtually no decisional power about what went on in the schools their children attended (R. Mougeon & Beniak, 1987). In order to resolve these issues, Franco-Manitobans requested that the Supreme Court of Canada grant them the right to French-minority education and the right to manage their own schools (Laplante, 2001). Ironically, Anglophones had the right to education in French before Francophones had access to public French-minority education (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007). In 1994, Franco-Manitobans were finally granted their own French-language schools, controlled by a French-language school division, the *Division scolaire franco-manitobaine* (DSFM). This division is unique in that it regroups all the French-language schools in Manitoba and it is controlled by the Francophone community. Therefore, French immersion and Anglophone schools are not included in the DSFM. This division was established 20 years after the first French immersion school was opened in Manitoba (Behiels, 2004).

It was shown that it took time and official language policies in order for Franco-Manitobans to gain the same educational rights as Anglophones. Still, the Francophone community has to deal with the legacy of the past disadvantages that succeeded in assimilating a vast proportion of their population. Past disadvantages such as the prohibition of French education and low educational attainment rates are only a few of the challenges they faced. In order to counteract these disadvantages, the Francophone community mobilized and obtained their own French-language school division. Despite the implementation of these two types of schools where French is taught, the number of Franco-Manitobans still remains low due to other factors that influence assimilation. In the end, French may have official language status in Canada but it still remains a minority language. Thus, it has been shown that the historical relationship between Anglophones and Francophones in Manitoba has altered the educational field, creating two distinct programs where French is taught. The next section will explain how these programs are organized in Manitoba as well as provide an overview of some of the recent research developments in each educational context.

French-language education.

French-language schools in Manitoba are for official minority Francophones. The goal of French-language schools is to promote French in order to ensure the "cultural survival and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group" (Landry & Forgues, 2007, p. 6). In this sense, schools play an important role in language maintenance. In order to attend a French-language school you must be an *ayant droit*, a "right-holder", meaning that you can claim francophone heritage which gives you the right to French-minority education, as stipulated by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Landry & Forgues, 2007,

p. 5). In the 2014-2015 school year, French-language schools in Manitoba had an enrollment rate of 5,315 students (Frame Report 2014/15 Budget, 2014, p. 6).

In order to counter the dominance of English in the greater society, all subjects are taught in French and French-language schools do not present English instruction until grade 4. May (2012) explains why it is important for minority-language schools to focus solely on instruction in that language: to ensure "that the minority language is maintained and fostered, given that the majority language is usually dominant in most other social and institutional domains" (p. 187). For some students, the school may be the only place where they receive extended exposure to French. Even though instruction is solely in French, except for English-language courses, the students who graduate from French-language schools are expected to be "highly functioning bilinguals with a strong Francophone identity" (M. Cormier, Bourque, & Jolicoeur, 2014, p. 161). French-language schools do not have to strive for bilingualism, it simply happens due to the minority context.

Nevertheless, the minority-language context contributes to unique challenges that the DSFM continues to face. To begin, the DSFM is the school division with the highest transportation costs in the province (Frame 2014/15 Budget, 2014, p. 35). This is because the DSFM spans over the entire province, whereas other divisions are restricted to specific geographical zones. Moreover, the DSFM high schools in the city of Winnipeg are the only high schools that offer transportation for the students. Although transportation is costly, it enables right-holders to attend a French-language school, even if it is not located in their neighbourhood. Therefore, a significant amount of the DSFM's funding is put aside for transportation costs.

Despite offering transportation, the DSFM, like other French-language schools in Canada, does not succeed in recruiting all the right-holders in the province. Landry, Allard & Deveau (2010) indicate that many right-holder parents do not choose French-language education for their children:

> In 2006 only one in two children (49%) of entitled Francophone parents … attended a Francophone minority school, 53% in primary school and 44% in secondary school. A significant proportion (15%) was enrolled in an immersion program in the Anglophone school system and 35% of students were enrolled in the core program in English-language schools. (p. 26)

These statistics tend to show that Franco-Manitoban parents view French-language education as a choice instead of a right they must exercise. One reason why some right-holder parents opt for French immersion instead of French-language education is the belief that French immersion schools offer the best mixture of French and English exposure (Roy, 2008). However, French-language students generally do not have difficulty developing English-language skills. In fact, Heller's (1997) study of a Franco-Ontarian school showed that many of the students preferred to speak English. With regard to Francophone immigrants, some believe that the variety of French taught at DSFM schools is too local (Hallion et al., 2011). As a result they opt for English schools, preferring to teach their variety of French to their children at home. Another factor that might influence parents' school choice is not being adequately informed about the differences between the educational programs or not knowing about their educational rights (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007). Thus, French-language schools, in order to

improve their enrollment rates, need to focus on the recruitment of right-holders who can otherwise choose French immersion or English-language schools.

In turn, because parents tend to make a conscious choice to send their children to a French-language school, this impacts the nature of the French-language school population. Those who choose French-language education for their children generally want them to "develop a sense of belonging and attachment with the French language and culture" (Makropoulos, 2009, p. 319). Therefore, it is not simply linguistic proficiency that is important for Francophone parents but also linguistic identity. Their school choice then becomes an informed choice. It is not surprising that DSFM mothers are in general well educated. In her study comparing 944 DSFM kindergarten children to 25,950 Manitoban kindergarten children, de Rocquigny (2014) found that "95% of DSFM children have mothers with a high school diploma whereas only 77% of English school children have mothers with a high school diploma" (p. 61). She also noted that the average household income of students in French immersion and DSFM schools was $9,000 higher than in English-language schools (de Rocquigny, 2014). These are important statistics since "the consistent statistical predictors of school success are socio-economic background – parental education, income and occupation" (Davies & Guppy, 2010, p. 132). Accordingly, students in French-language schools should be outperforming their Anglophone counterparts in terms of academic achievement, simply because of their socio-economic background. However, at least in kindergarten, this is not the case. In fact, Franco-Manitoban children scored lower on language and cognitive development and communication and general knowledge, as compared to other Manitoban children in de Rocquigny's (2014) study.

Another challenge that the DSFM faces is the students' varied linguistic skills upon their arrival to school in kindergarten. Students, although all right-holders, have different levels of competency in French depending on the extent to which they were exposed to the language prior to starting school (Pilote & Magnan, 2008). This is linked to perhaps the biggest challenge French-language schools face which is the "prevailing English dominated sociocultural environment" (M. Cormier et al., 2014, p. 163). The power of English has a direct impact on the school's ability to achieve its goal of maintaining the French language and identity. This can encourage the school staff to adopt a "protectionist role" and even to fear bilingualism "since it is often equated with progressive assimilation to the dominant English language" (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 177). The protectionist role involves demanding a French-only environment. Protecting French becomes problematic when French-only is interpreted as only working "through the symbolic negation of the existence of English and other languages in the school milieu" (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 181). These beliefs with regard to bilingualism will be explored in more detail in the section on linguistic identity.

Thus, research in French-language schools has often focused on these challenges while at the same time exploring issues related to linguistic identity (Bourgeois, Busseri, & Rose-Krasnor, 2009; Dallaire, 2006; Gaudet & Clément, 2009; Goldberg & Noels, 2006; Pilote & Magnan, 2008; Piquemal & Labrèche, 2011), and the transfer to post-secondary education (Lamoureux, 2012), as well as measuring attitudes and linguistic ability in both English and French (Landry et al., 2010). However, research has rarely compared French-language and French immersion students (for exceptions, see (G. Cormier, 2012; Hermanto, Moreno, & Bialystok, 2012; Rodriguez, 2006). The next

section will describe French immersion education as well as research developments in that area.

French immersion education.

French immersion education is a second language program designed to develop functionally bilingual students. The main objectives of French immersion are "high proficiency in English, functional fluency in French, and mastery of the required skills and abilities in all other subjects" (Goldberg & Noels, 2006, p. 429). The French immersion program is intended for children who speak English or a language other than French as their first language. It is important to note that French immersion schools are for non-Francophones (A Guide to French immersion Schools in Manitoba, 2009, see bibliographical electronic resources). The goal of the French immersion program is to fully "immerse" the students in the French language by teaching all core subjects in that language. Therefore, the use of French "as the medium of communication for student-student and teacher-student interactions" is strongly encouraged (Makropoulos, 2010, p. 1). In contrast, other French second-language programs, like "French in English schools", formerly known as Core French, generally view French as a subject. When French is taught as a subject in these schools, "the language is taught in brief lessons, several times a week, over many years of schooling. Outside those brief lessons, students almost never hear or see the language" (Lightbown, 2014, p. 3). Due to the increased exposure and use of French in the French immersion program, it is considered to be the program, *par excellence*, that develops fluent speakers of French (Baker & MacIntyre, 2003; Saindon, Landry, & Boutouchent, 2011).

The French immersion program can range anywhere from instruction in French for “50 to 100 percent of the school day” (Swain & Lapkin, 2008, p. 56). Moreover, children can start French immersion at different grade levels - early, mid, or late immersion (Makropoulos, 2010). Nevertheless, the most common entry point into French immersion is kindergarten or early immersion. Most early immersion schools in Manitoba begin English Language Arts in grade 1 (Ewart & Straw, 2001). All immersion programs are delivered in either their own schools (single-track) or within English-language schools (dual-track). Single-track schools most commonly promote the early immersion model.

The main benefit of a single-track program is that ideally all the staff and students speak French which allows for language use outside the classroom (Hermanto et al., 2012). Although French immersion students “are encouraged to speak French everywhere in the school” (Roy, 2010, p. 551) this is highly unlikely to occur in a dual-track program where other staff and students are generally monolingual Anglophones. Moreover, once dual-track students reach high school, the French immersion program becomes one based on obtaining French immersion credits. This means that students are often required to take a certain number of courses in the French language to work towards the French immersion diploma. They are also allowed to and encourage to take elective courses offered in English. The number of credits required to obtain the French immersion diploma differs from one school division to the next. D’Entremont & Garneau (2006) note that as French immersion students get older they are less immersed in French simply due to the way the program is delivered in high school. The dual-track model, wherein many elective courses are only offered in English, results in students being less exposed

to the French language. In contrast, at single-track schools, optional courses such as music are generally offered in French.

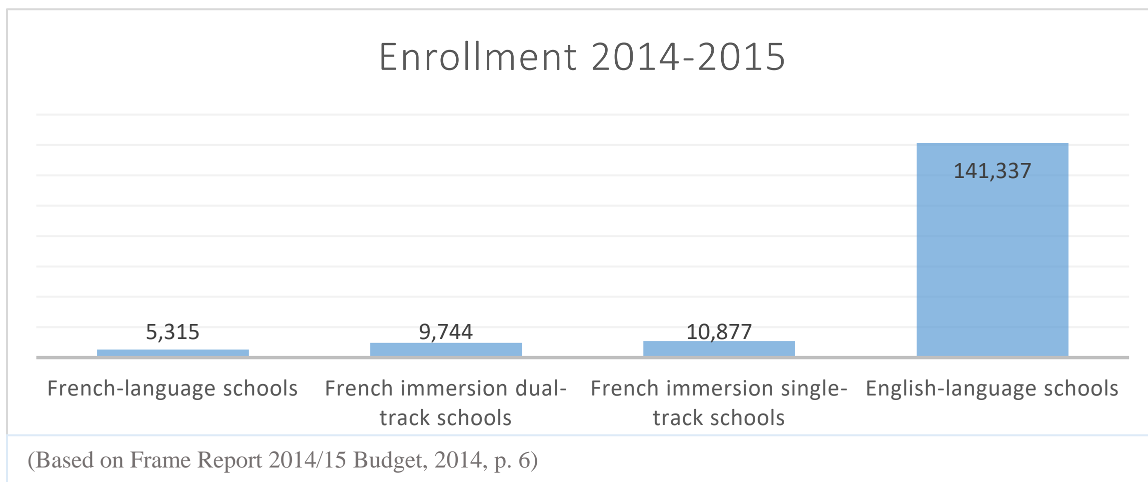
In dual-track schools, students share the hallways, the cafeteria and the gymnasium with regular English-program students while the immersion program classrooms are often “located in a separate wing” (Dressler, 2015, p. 132). An early study on the difference between dual- and single-track French immersion schools showed that single-track students had “superior achievement” when tested on French and English language skills (Lapkin, Andrew, Harley, Swain, & Kamin, 1981). The authors theorized that the difference in achievement stemmed from the increased amount of exposure to French outside the classroom in single-track programs. Despite these findings, dual-track schools remain popular especially in rural Manitoba. This is perhaps since the number of students enrolled in French immersion would not warrant a separate school.

Every school year, the Manitoba Government produces the Frame Report Budget that contains information on enrollment rates in Manitoban schools (see bibliographical electronic resources). During the 2014-2015 school year, the enrollment rate for French immersion single-track schools in Manitoba was 10,877 students while dual-track French immersion schools had an enrollment rate of 9,744 (Frame Report 2014/15 Budget, 2014, p. 6). Table 1: Enrollment in Manitoba Public Schools in 2014-2015 presents these figures in a comparative table.

The Frame Report 2014/15 Budget document listed enrolment in French-language, English-language and French immersion dual-track and single-track programs by school division. However, it did not offer information on enrolment by school. In order to understand how many schools within a particular school division were offering

the French immersion program and in which format, I consulted a brochure produced by the Manitoba Government to promote French immersion in the province (A Guide to French Immersion Schools in Manitoba, see bibliographical electronic resources). It listed each school division that offered the French immersion program as well as the names of the dual-track and single-track schools.

Table 1: Enrollment in Manitoba Public Schools in 2014-2015

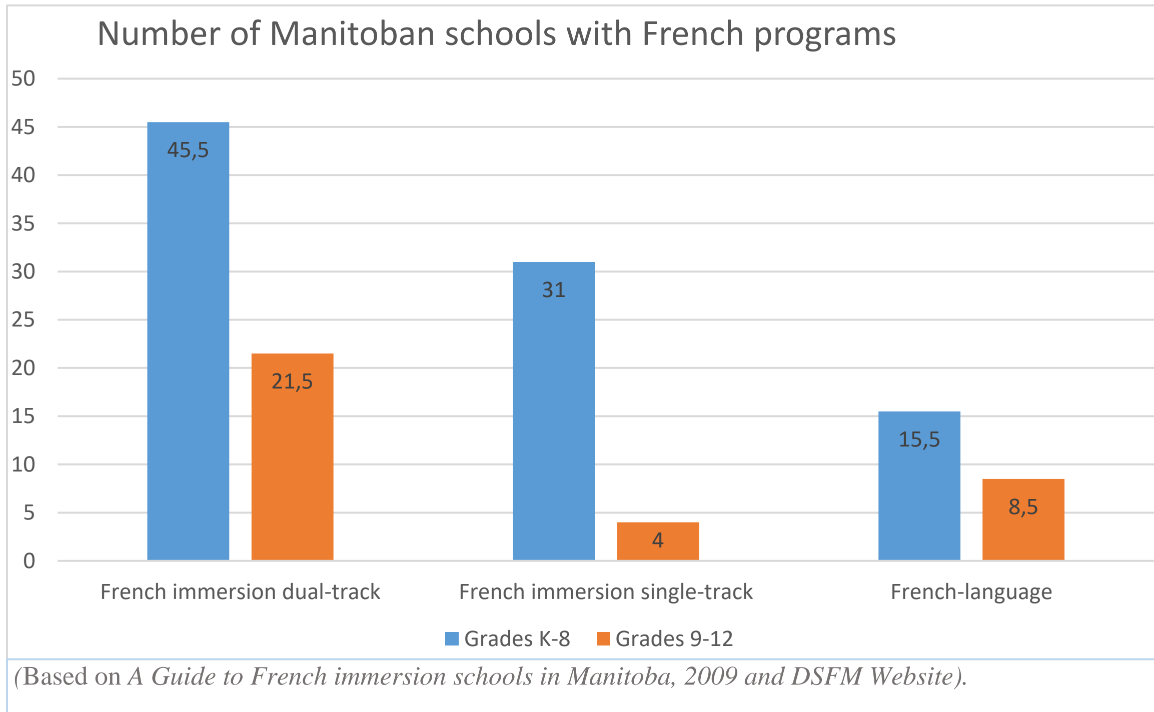


(Based on Frame Report 2014/15 Budget, 2014, p. 6)

In order to produce Table 2: Number of Manitoban schools with French programs, I counted each school. Schools with K-12 programs were calculated as 0.5 in both K-8 and 9-12 categories. For the French-language school numbers, I consulted the DSFM website (see bibliographical electronic resources). Although the enrollment rate is higher in single-track schools, Table 2 shows that there are more dual-track than single-track schools in the province. Moreover, it is important to note that single-track schools are more popular in the city of Winnipeg. All the single-track high schools and the majority of single-track elementary schools are located in the city of Winnipeg. Table 2 also shows that there are fewer French immersion high schools in Manitoba in comparison to elementary schools. This supports the national findings that indicate a high rate of

attrition especially as the students approach high school (Culligan, 2010; Hambye & Richards, 2012; Holmes, 2008; Morton, Lemieux, Diffey, & Awender, 1999).

Table 2: Number of Manitoban schools with French programs



(Based on *A Guide to French immersion schools in Manitoba, 2009 and DSFM Website).*

In Manitoba, in particular, Cadez (2006) noted an attrition rate of 40.76% of French immersion students from 1990 to 2005; the highest rate of attrition occurred between grades 7 and 9. This shows that students are more likely to leave the French immersion program before high school. Some of the reasons French immersion students reported for leaving the program include a negative attitude towards French (Morton et al., 1999), behavioural issues (Cadez, 2006), peer pressure (Morton et al., 1999) and most importantly academic difficulty (Cadez, 2006; Campbell, 1992; Culligan, 2010; Morton et al., 1999). As well, some French immersion students who choose to attend an English-language high school program do so because they feel the program will be less

challenging or because they feel it will better prepare them for post-secondary education in English (Culligan, 2010).

Although students cite academic challenge as one of the reasons for leaving the French immersion program, it is the reputation for academic success that attracts parents to the program in the first place. As well, the high attrition rate before high school due to academic difficulty means that "the remaining group has a higher average ability than the initial cohort as a whole" (Turnbull, Hart, & Lapkin, 2003, pp. 8–9). Cadez (2006) agrees and concludes his study on French immersion attrition in Manitoba by stating:

> The data collected in this study indicate that the current high school immersion students are a very homogeneous group at the S3 and S4 level. They are likely less challenged academically, and less challenging for teachers to deal with, than a typical English school population. (p. 119)

The fact that French immersion high school students may be academically stronger than the average public school population may contribute to the belief that the French immersion program is more academically challenging.

Middle-class parents are especially attracted to schools that have the reputation of being more academically challenging, like French immersion schools in Canada (Yoon & Gulson, 2010). Middle-class parental school choice has an impact on the student population of French immersion schools. It is then not surprising that research has found that the student population in French immersion schools tends to be predominantly middle-class, leading researchers to define it as an elitist program (Arnett & Mady, 2010; Landry et al., 2007; Olson & Burns, 1983). Since the French immersion program is still

not accessible to all citizens because it is not offered in every school division, some believe that it is essentially “a private education without tuition” (Holmes, 2008, p. 200). In terms of socio-economic status, there tends to be some truth in this appraisal since in Manitoba the average household income is $9,000 more among French immersion kindergarten students as compared to English-language kindergarten students (de Rocquigny, 2014).

In response to the elitist allegations, Dagenais & Berron (2001) state that “teachers and administrators report an increase in children of immigrant families” (p. 142). Nevertheless, Mady (2012), who spoke to immigrant families in Ontario, found that they were dissuaded from enrolling their children in French immersion schools. As well, Yoon & Gulson (2010) showed that the school populations in inner city Vancouver were stratified with some schools containing a strong immigrant population (60.3%) while others, like the French immersion schools, had less (13%). Arnett & Mady (2010) also found that students with learning difficulties were discouraged from attending French immersion schools. It seems clear that, although the French immersion program may have become more inclusive over the years, it is still a program that parents from middle-class backgrounds choose for their children. While a French immersion cohort may start out as diverse, due to “selective attrition”, by the time the group reaches high school it will have lost a significant amount of that diversity (Turnbull et al., 2003, p. 8).

The homogeneous school population within French immersion schools is another factor that encourages Canadian parents to choose the program for their children. In fact, some parents are especially attracted to the French immersion program because of the peer group with whom their children would be associating.

> Parents perceived the academic achievement and assumed social background of other students in the programme as a 'quality' issue that would heighten the chances of their own children to succeed in school. (Smala, Paz & Lingard, 2013, p. 382)

Essentially, these parents felt that by sending their children to a school where they would be surrounded by other like-minded individuals, their children would benefit. Other parents are attracted to the program due to the advantages associated with bilingualism, such as a greater ease in learning subsequent languages and also better job opportunities (S. Marshall & Laghzaoui, 2012; Roy & Galiev, 2011). Some parents choose the program simply because French and English are the official languages of Canada and they feel that their children, as Canadian citizens, should be fluent in both languages (Roy & Galiev, 2011).

Since the first French immersion program began in the 1970s, it has been a highly researched program. Research in French immersion initially focused on "monitoring the educational outcomes of children in these programs, particularly in terms of their development of language and literacy skills" (Hermanto et al., 2012, p. 1341). Because there was initially some apprehension with regard to the English-language skills the students would develop, French immersion students were often compared with other Anglophone students in English programs to ensure their English was up to par. As Cummins (2014), a leading French immersion researcher attests:

> A common finding from L2 immersion programs across a variety of contexts is that students gain a reasonable level of fluency and literacy in L2 at no apparent cost to their academic skills in the socially dominant language. (p. 3)

Despite these positive findings with regard to academic achievement, some French immersion students and parents still worry that taking core subjects like Math and Science might in some way be detrimental. This is particularly a concern at the high school level since students who live in an English-dominant province would most likely attend university in English. As a result, high school French immersion students have reported being afraid that they will not succeed in Math or Science in university since they have always taken these subjects in French (d'Entremont & Garneau, 2006). This fear encourages some students to take their Math and Science courses in English if that is an option available to them. However, research has maintained that French immersion students often outperform or at least perform equally as well as their English program peers in all subject areas (Turnbull et al., 2003). Moreover, in a study pertaining to French immersion students who chose to take a Math course in English in grade 12, Culligan (2010) reported that students experienced only a short adjustment period that was mainly related to vocabulary but that, in the end, "most students acknowledged little to no difference in mathematics performance as measured by marks" (p. 440). Despite these positive findings, a myth with regard to the performance of French immersion students in their first language or the language of the majority still seems to persist.

French immersion students' linguistic skills in French were also commonly compared to speakers of French as a first language. This has led some researchers to declare that French immersion students lack proficiency in French because they do not acquire the same level of competency as native speakers of the language (Rehner, 2011). Moreover, it has been observed that French immersion students feel the pressure to perform in French which leads to anxiety when they fail to achieve the same level of

competency as those who have learned French as a first language (Baker & MacIntyre, 2003; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008b). Since first-language fluency in more than one language occurs very rarely, this goal for French immersion students is simply unachievable for the majority (Genesee, 2015). In research studies, French immersion students' language skills should not be compared to those of native French speakers but instead to other bilinguals or other French immersion students (Hermanto et al., 2012; Roy, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011). A realistic goal French immersion students should be encouraged to reach is functional bilingualism, not first-language competency in French.

In recent times there has been a greater focus on other forms of research in French immersion. Newer qualitative and quantitative studies in French immersion are looking at multilingualism and the participation of Allophones (speakers of languages other than French and English) in French immersion (Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; Dagenais & Moore, 2008; Mady, 2015) as well as students with special needs (Arnett & Mady, 2010; Genesee, 2008). In particular, Mady (2015) evaluated the English and French proficiency levels of immigrant or Canadian-born Allophone students in French immersion as compared to their Anglophone peers. Her results showed that the immigrant group outperformed the other groups in French proficiency. Another main area of research is in the development and testing of instructional materials (Lightbown, 2014). Although linguistic identity and attitudes are a popular topic in research on French-language schools, these topics are rarely researched when it comes to French immersion students and there is a need for more research in those areas (Roy, 2010). All of these studies focus on either the educational program or the students. In that focus, they rarely comment on the linguistic environment that the students are exposed to on a daily basis.

The next section will review research in the field of linguistic landscapes followed by a review of some studies that have applied the study of linguistic landscapes to schools.

Linguistic Landscapes

The study of linguistic landscapes involves analyzing "visible written language" in public spaces (Gorter, 2013). The focus is generally on the signs in urban settings such as store window fronts, street signs and advertisements. A main objective of linguistic landscape studies is to analyze the relationship between the languages of a particular area as it is seen through signs. Landry & Bourhis (1997) conducted the first study on linguistic landscapes. This study was quantitative and was part of a greater research on the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Canada. Because Landry & Bourhis (1997) measured the presence of a minority language in an urban setting, many researchers have focused on the interaction between minority and majority languages in public spaces (Blackwood, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Curtin, 2008; Edelman, 2014). In Canada, studies have looked at the relationship between English and French and the official minority or majority status of each of these languages (Gade, 2003; Lamarre, 2014; Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Linguistic landscape researchers generally take photographs of the signs and sort them into different categories based on the type of sign (i.e. governmental, advertisement, or road sign) (Gorter, 2013). Another common analytical process when studying linguistic landscapes is to count all the minority-language, majority-language and bilingual signs in an area (Plessis, 2011). Some researchers also employ other methods along with the collection of photographs, such as interviewing shop owners and street artists, in order to obtain a better understanding of the area under study (Papen, 2012).

Some studies focus on one specific city (Lamarre, 2014; Papen, 2012) while others compare the linguistic landscapes of two or more cities (such as, Blackwood, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008a; Edelman, 2014).

Landry and Bourhis (1997) demonstrated that the language used in signs has two important functions in society: informative and symbolic. With regard to a sign's informative function, it communicates a message to the public. In some cases, this message is to promote or sell a specific service. The next function of the signs is the symbolic one. When a language appears on a sign, it gives that language power and status. The speakers of that language feel part of the "in-group language" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 27). In the same way, when a language is not present on signs, it conveys the message that the language is not used in public sectors, and as a result, it is not valued or has a low status (Shohamy, 2012). When analyzing multilingual signs, "a hierarchy of languages can be identified based on the positioning and styling of the items" (Blackwood, 2011, p. 125). In particular, font size and colour are also indicative of a language's status (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015). Languages that employ the Roman alphabet are read from left to right. Therefore, languages that are placed on the left are in positions of power because they will be read first (Backhaus, 2008). The same can be said if a language is placed above another on a sign. The signs in a linguistic landscape can also be indicative of the conflicts that exist between the linguistic groups of a particular community.

Cenoz & Gorter (2008) agree that the symbolic function of signs is especially important in a bilingual or multilingual setting:

> The use of different languages in signs in bilingual and multilingual countries or regions can be of great symbolic importance. These raise issues of which language to use for place names, especially in linguistically loaded conflict areas. (p. 56)

By studying the linguistic landscape of one street in Spain and another in the Netherlands, Cenoz & Gorter (2008) concluded that the linguistic landscape is a product of a specific sociolinguistic context. Cenoz & Gorter (2008) were able to prove that the minority languages, even in the communities in which they were spoken, were underrepresented in the linguistic landscape. Thus, "the majority language of a language community is more likely to be used more often in place names or commercial signs while the minority language or languages will not be as common" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006, p.67-68). Therefore, the linguistic landscape is a reflection of a language's symbolic status and power.

Although typically descriptive in nature, linguistic landscape studies generally seek to uncover the symbolism behind the signs. Researchers have made connections between the linguistic landscape and the economy (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008a), language policies (Shohamy, 2012), identity (Ben-Rafael, 2008; Curtin, 2008; Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, & Armand, 2008) and language attitudes or ideologies (Dailey, Giles, & Jansma, 2005; Plessis, 2011). To illustrate, Gorter (2013) explains the scope of linguistic landscape research:

> The linguistic landscape of a specific area marks the geographical space inhabited by a language group or groups. It indexes a sociolinguistic reality that touches on the relationships between people living in this specific area and beyond. The linguistic landscape not only reflects the status of different languages in society,

but it also acts as a force shaping how languages are being perceived and used by the population. (p. 199)

Therefore, linguistic landscapes are not simply a collection of images to be isolated from their context and analyzed. A robust study of linguistic landscapes should show the ways in which languages interact in a local context. In this research project, I felt it was important to link linguistic landscapes to the topics of language ideologies, linguistic identity and language use. The next sections will explore these topics. However, before moving on, it will be important to describe how linguistic landscape research has been applied to the field of education.

Linguistic landscapes and education.

Although linguistic landscape studies have generally focused on urban, public spaces, there are studies that are starting to apply this type of research to semipublic spaces, such as schools (Gorter, 2013). Linguistic landscape research in schools tends to focus on its uses as a pedagogical tool (Burwell & Lenters, 2015; Dagenais et al., 2008; Rowland, 2013; Sayer, 2010). In these studies, students collect pictures from the linguistic landscape of their community and then analyze them in class with the teacher. The advantages associated with such studies include the possibility of incidental vocabulary learning (Rowland, 2013), the ability to develop awareness in the students about linguistic diversity and minority languages (Dagenais et al., 2008; Sayer, 2010) and to “deeply engage young people’s identities, values and perceptions” (Burwell & Lenters, 2015, p. 21). Another area of linguistic language research in education has focused on student attitudes and the link to their linguistic landscape outside the school (Dailey et al., 2005; Hornsby, 2008; Landry et al., 2010). However, it is quite rare that the linguistic landscape within a school is studied.

One exception is Dressler (2015) who conducted a linguistic landscape study on a dual-track German-English school in Alberta. In her study, Dressler (2015) took pictures of all the signs inside and outside the school, including in classrooms. She then presented a selection of those pictures to a focus group of teachers who helped her to understand the reasons why certain signs were created. In general, she found that the vast majority of the signs within the school were created by the teachers and that English dominated the school's linguistic landscape even in the German wing (Dressler, 2015). Dressler (2015) affirmed that "students are likely to conclude that the compartmentalisation of the use of these languages together is indicative of a lower status of bilingualism within and outside of the school" (p. 141).

Another study on the linguistic landscape of a school was conducted by Brown (2012). The main premise for her study of three Võro-language elementary schools in Estonia was that linguistic landscapes in schools "constitute, reproduce and transform language ideologies" (Brown, 2012, p. 283). This study on the linguistic landscape was part of a greater multi-site ethnography that included interviews with teachers. Her main finding was that the minority language had been "written out" of the public spaces in and outside the school and "written in" the private sphere of the classroom (Brown, 2012, p. 294).

With regard to these two studies on the linguistic landscape in schools, it is important to note that they both took place in elementary schools. While Dressler (2015) chose to focus on one dual-track school, Brown (2012) felt that it was beneficial to study three schools. In both studies, the analysis of the linguistic landscape was conducted by the researcher. Although both Dressler (2015) and Brown (2012) interviewed teachers,

they did not include any quotations from them in their studies. Another element that could have enriched these studies would have been to include the students' perceptions of their school's linguistic landscape.

Although it was not a study on linguistic landscapes, Poveda (2012) conducted research on a similar topic in a high school in Spain. He studied political texts and graffiti and referred to them as "literary artefacts" (Poveda, 2012, p. 3). The literary artefacts included pictures taken of the school's walls, photographs of the school taken by students and advertisements found on student billboards. Poveda's (2012) analysis of these literary artefacts uncovered a division between the Spanish students and the immigrants from Latin America who attended the school. For example, the texts on the student billboards were mostly written by the Spanish students whereas graffiti was more often created by immigrant students. Poveda (2012) concluded that "the semiotic landscape of the school was not independent of these processes and was intertwined with the social and educational ideologies that regulated school life" (p. 83). The link Poveda (2012) found between the school's ideology and that of the greater society strongly resembles the link researchers often discover between linguistic landscapes and dominant ideologies (Dailey et al., 2005; Plessis, 2011).

Considering that the greater linguistic landscape can impact language ideologies, language use and identity, a school's linguistic landscape should also shed light on these important issues. The next section will review literature on language ideologies, language use and linguistic identity.

Language Ideologies and Attitudes

While in some cases the terms language ideologies and language attitudes are used interchangeably, for the purpose of this paper, language ideologies will be defined as beliefs held by social groups whereas attitudes are beliefs held by individuals (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010). Certainly, language ideologies, especially when they are shared by a nation, for example, can have a direct impact on language attitudes. Language attitudes, in turn, can determine individual feelings towards other linguistic groups (Rubenfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006), can impact motivation to learn a language (Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Renaud, 2009), can effect language use and preference among bilingual and multilingual speakers (Letsholo, 2009) and can even predict language proficiency (Cohen, 2014). National language ideologies are rather powerful in that they determine the official languages of a country as well as which languages can be taught in schools (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010). One of the reasons why language ideologies are so powerful is that they are taken for granted and seen as "normal precepts" and as a result are rarely questioned (Roy & Galiev, 2011, p. 353). In particular, a prevailing language ideology in many countries is the idea that citizens, in order to be considered legitimate, should speak the language of the majority (Mariou, 2015). This idea is related to the monolingual ideology which is also established in many countries.

Blackledge (2001) defines the monolingual ideology as an elevated status and value attributed to the dominant language, in many cases English, "at the expense of other languages" (p. 309). The monolingual ideology is present anywhere languages interact. Agirdag (2010) agrees, stating that "monolingualism, as a form of linguistic domination clearly favours the dominant group … and that it is imposed on the dominated groups via the school system" (p. 311). Within the school system, the

monolingual ideology of the United States is evident in educational policies that ban the use of other languages in favour of an "English-only" program (Gershon & Pantoja, 2011). Plessis (2011) also believes that the linguistic landscape is a reflection of the language ideologies of the state. This is because many signs, such as road signs, are regulated by the government. In fact, he argues that the government uses its signs to promote the use of specific languages and is generally interested in the "monolingualisation of the linguistic landscape" (Plessis, 2011, p. 195). Within Canada, the monolingual ideology expresses itself in a slightly different manner.

If "language is the most authentic indicator of national identity and allegiance" (Lytra, 2015, p. 185), then it is worth looking at how Canadians view their official languages. Canadians' dominant language ideology can be defined as a bilingual ideology. However, this bilingual ideology refers to a specific type of bilingualism: French-English (Heller, 2003; Kouritzin et al., 2009). An issue with this ideology is that other forms of bilingualism are not recognized as having the same status in the country (Mady, 2012). Although Canadians believe immigrants make up the "cultural mosaic" of Canada, this multiculturalism is seen "within a bilingual framework" (König, Dailey-O'Cain, & Liebscher, 2015, p. 487). In fact, Kouritzin et al. (2009) were required to avoid the term bilingualism in their Canadian survey on foreign languages since Canadians do not link bilingualism to languages other than French and English. Nevertheless, Canada's dominant language ideology of bilingualism allows for both French and English to be the legitimate languages of instruction in schools. Although this legitimacy is not often questioned, there are of course examples of French instruction being questioned and criticized (Hutchins, 2015), but not English. As well, languages

other than French and English are not given the same status by the school system since they receive less governmental support and are often taught after school or on the weekend (Dagenais, 2013; Mady, 2014b). This shows that although Canadians may respect bilingualism or even multilingualism, English is still the country's dominant, legitimized language.

Although bilingualism may be something Canadians believe is important, it is a belief that does not necessarily push them to become bilingual themselves. In their survey on pre-service teachers' language beliefs in Manitoba, Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Nakagawa (2007) uncovered an interesting contradiction: "whereas bilinguals are seen to be respected and the education system to promote bilingualism, few Canadians are perceived to have taken advantage of their educational opportunities" (p. 224). This contradiction may be due to the way bilingualism is viewed in Canada.

As Shohamy (2012) notes, language "myths originate from ideologies" (p. 130). In Canada, there exists the prevalent myth that French-English bilingualism is meant to be "double monolingualism" (Heller, 2001, p. 48). This means that French-English bilinguals are supposed to have first-language competency in both languages. This myth also has an impact on what students perceive to be a good teacher. According to many students, good language teachers should speak the language they are teaching as a first language and have a first-language accent (Buckingham, 2015; Byrd Clark, 2012; Moran, 2014). However, double monolingualism, or a first-language accent in both languages, is an unrealistic representation of bilingualism. Ideologies like double monolingualism can have a real impact on how languages are taught and how learners interpret their teachings.

> Such a situation perpetuates issues of language correctness, of using the language with native-like proficiency as the goal rather than accepting the variety of a second/foreign language learner, an issue that has a powerful effect on the criteria for success and how students view their own success in the language. (Shohamy, 2012, p. 80)

The myth of double monolingualism tends to discourage some Canadians from learning a second language and influences others to under-evaluate their own bilingualism (Roy & Galiev, 2011). As well, English is a globally recognized language. Within and outside Canada, Canadian Anglophones may not feel the need to learn another language simply because it may not seem necessary (Mady, 2014b).

The Canadian view on bilingualism also has an impact on how bilingual practices are viewed in society. In particular, code-switching, the "linguistic phenomenon in which a multilingual speaker switches freely between languages (codes) within a single utterance or conversation" is often stigmatized (Valenti, 2014, p. 280). Although code-switching is a popular term in the field of linguistics, scholars have started to use the term translanguaging instead since it offers a more encompassing definition of bilingual and multilingual linguistic practices (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Kleyn, 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012). For example, translanguaging "is more than code switching, which considers that the two languages are separate systems (or codes) and are "switched" for communicative purposes" (Velasco & García, 2014, p. 8). With this in mind, translanguaging practices are simply any linguistic practices used by bilinguals and multilinguals to communicate, including but not limited to what was once referred to as

code-switching. Translanguaging and examples of what can be considered translanguaging practices will be presented in more detail in the theoretical framework.

In the same way that code-switching is stigmatized in Canadian society, so are translanguaging practices in general. In particular in the field of education, translanguaging practices are especially frowned upon since schools are meant to uphold the national language ideologies and to teach standard language forms that insist languages should be kept apart (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Jørgensen, 2012). Moreover:

> Students who are not using languages in the "pure" way but rather in fluid and hybrid ways are considered as not really mastering the power languages and are viewed as having lower intelligence and lacking in academic skills. (Shohamy, 2012, p. 81)

It is then not surprising that when translanguaging is observed in written or oral French in school, it is often corrected or counted as a linguistic mistake (Dumais & Nolin, 2010). Despite the dominant view that translanguaging is a sign of linguistic inadequacy, linguists admit that in order to produce some types of code-switching effectively it requires the speakers to have a high level of fluency in both languages (Poplack, 2015). Although many students agree with the notion that mixing languages is unacceptable, others resist this dominant ideology. In her study of Turkish heritage language learners in London and Athens, Lytra (2015) concluded that while learners accepted and even used standard Turkish they also resisted it with translanguaging practices that were reflective of their learning context. Similarly, a Canadian study found that Anglophones who were learning French in Montréal wanted to speak like other Montréal citizens who frequently use translanguaging practices. Instead of learning "standard school French" (Blondeau &

Fonollosa, 2009, p. 417), the Anglophones wanted to learn how to speak French like a typical Montreal citizen. These examples show that even though dominant language ideologies are prevalent, they do not always determine individual language attitudes and language use.

Notably, some studies focus exclusively on understanding students' personal attitudes towards bilingualism. For example, (Kormos, Kiddle, & Csizér, 2011; Lindholm-Leary, 2016) conducted surveys of adolescents and children who were attending second language programs in Chile and the United States, respectively. Major findings pointed to students' pride in their own bilingualism, their overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards bilingualism in general and their positive appraisal of the speakers of the languages they were learning (Lindholm-Leary, 2016). Also, Kormos et al. (2011) and Bartram (2006) found a link between parental and student attitudes to language learning, showing that the more positively parents viewed language learning, the more likely their children were to also hold these positive views. With regard to teenagers' language attitudes in particular, Kormos et al. (2011) found that peers and friends also exerted influence over individual language attitudes. These positive attitudes in turn can also influence motivation to learn and use a second language and can predict proficiency (Cohen, 2014).

It has been shown that in the Canadian context, linguistic attitudes and ideologies exist with regard to bilingualism. Moreover, language ideologies and individual attitudes can play an important role in determining how a bilingual or multilingual person will use his or her languages. In particular, linguistic landscapes have also been used to explore the language attitudes or ideologies of a given area. There appears to be a connection

between the linguistic landscape, language attitudes and language use. In their quantitative study on Hispanic and Anglophone high school students' language attitudes in California, Dailey et al. (2005) concluded that:

> The more Spanish the socio-ecological climate, the less positive attitudes towards Anglo-accented speakers were manifest among the group …. Those Hispanics who had a linguistic landscape that favored English rated Anglo-accented speakers more positively. (p. 36)

Essentially, it was found that the more individuals were exposed to a language in the linguistic landscape of their community, the more likely they were to have positive attitudes toward that language. As well, when a language is used in a linguistic landscape it also encourages individuals to read it. While it may be assumed that bilingual and multilingual individuals would ignore bilingual or multilingual signs, the opposite is the case. Gorter & Cenoz (2015) found that multilingual individuals actually read all the languages on multilingual signs. This shows that the linguistic landscape can contribute to language attitudes, ideologies and language use.

Language Use

Language use is defined as "the degree to which a language is used in various aspects of public and private life" (Freynet & Clément, 2015, p. 58). When individuals are bilingual or multilingual, their languages are used in specific contexts. They learn to adapt quickly to changes in their environment or their interlocutors (Borrero & Yeh, 2010). Bilingual children as young as two years old have been reported to adjust their language use patterns according to whom they are speaking (Paradis & Nicoladis, 2007). A language's frequency of use depends on several factors.

One of the main influences on language use is the minority context. (Pisa Cañete, 2013), in her study on 42 Francophones in Ontario of various ages, noted that the younger generations tended to use English more and demonstrated more translanguaging practices. She also observed a sociolinguistic norm that applied to all Francophone minorities no matter their age. This norm dictated that, no matter the number of Francophones in a social setting, if one monolingual Anglophone was present, all the Francophones used English (Pisa Cañete, 2013). Paradis & Nicoladis (2007) also noticed a similar phenomenon in their study on French-English bilingual children in Alberta. They specifically chose children who were dominant in either French or English and measured their language use patterns with Anglophone and Francophone adults. They noted that:

> The English-dominant children seem to implicitly understand that they can use English if needed in a French context … The French-dominant children seemed to be sensitive to the fact that they cannot do the same thing in an English discourse context, and so even though their linguistic competence was limited in English, they adhered to English as much as possible in these contexts, and produced fewer French introductions or intrautterance codemixing. (Paradis & Nicoladis, 2007, p. 294)

They explain that these findings seem to demonstrate that young children pick up on cues from their context and know that most Francophones in a minority setting are bilingual whereas most Anglophones are not. This results in the children using more English in conversations with Francophones. Language use is therefore highly dependent on the context.

Perhaps one of the biggest distinctions between French-language and French immersion schools is in the area of language use. In general, in French immersion schools, language use is confined to the school context (Saindon et al., 2011). Over the summer holidays, it is not uncommon for students to experience regression in their second or foreign language skills since many do not have the opportunity to practice outside of school (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2010; F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015). Among French-language students, language is used at school and to different degrees at home and in the community, depending on the student. In French-language schools, language use has been studied alongside the ethnolinguistic environment to see what factors influence it (Landry et al., 2010). In particular, students tend to use French more when they have social networks that include Francophones, when they consume media in French and when they live in a Francophone community (Landry et al., 2010, p. 201). In a minority context, there are often a wide variety of interactional opportunities in the dominant language and minority-language experiences can be rather limited. A frequent reason for participating in activities in English among Francophone minorities is that the activity is not offered in French or there are more choices of activities in English (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Pisa Cañete, 2013).

In French immersion contexts, a popular research topic related to language use has been the idea of "willingness to communicate" (Macintyre, Burns, & Jessome, 2011, p. 82). Essentially, this research topic explores the reasons why French immersion students are willing or not to communicate with Francophones. In a study on 100 French immersion adolescents, Macintyre et al. (2011) found that the students who had Francophone friends or family were more willing to communicate in French. This study

supports the notion that "the degree of exposure to French has a direct relation to the level of oral competence in French" (Blondeau & Fonollosa, 2009, p. 417). In turn, the more one uses a language or has opportunities to use it, the more confidence one develops in learning it (Freynet & Clément, 2015).

Confidence is especially important in the French immersion school setting because French-language use can be "stressful and anxiety-provoking" for some students (Montgomery & Spalding, 2005, p. 17). If students experience anxiety with regard to their French-language skills, these feelings may interfere with their fluency in French, their ability to retrieve vocabulary and even their desire to continue learning the language (Jean & Geva, 2012). Lack of confidence in French can also lead students to underestimate their proficiency level in French (Blondeau & Fonollosa, 2009; F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015). In their qualitative study on 15 Anglophones aged 18 to 35 learning French in Montréal, Blondeau & Fonollosa (2009) noted that every participant made a comment about their poor grammatical skills in French. These comments may be related to anxiety and/or lack of confidence since learners' self-reports of their linguistic skills rarely match their actual competency level (Dimova, 2011; Lindholm-Leary, 2016; F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015). Thus, lack of confidence or anxiety seem to impact language use and perception of one's linguistic ability. Moreover, "language confidence has been found to be a precursor of identity in such a way that as confidence in using a language increases, identification to the corresponding language group increases as well" (Freynet & Clément, 2015, p. 57). Thus, language use, language attitudes and linguistic identity are linked to one another.

It is important to note that Macintyre et al.'s (2011) study and others (Evans, 2009; Letsholo, 2009) demonstrated that adolescents are able to justify their language use choices. Because patterns of language use are based on students' choices and preferences, language use offers insight into their language attitudes. Language attitudes, as mentioned, are connected to language ideologies which have also been linked to ways in which bilingual and multilingual individuals identify themselves linguistically (Mariou, 2015; Palmer, 2011). Thus, another important subject related to French immersion and French-language students is linguistic identity.

Linguistic Identity

Put simply, identity is "characterized by feelings of belonging to a group" (Freynet & Clément, 2015, p. 56). Studies on identity in the social sciences tend to agree that identity is socially constructed, complex, dynamic and multi-faceted (Faircloth, 2012; Freeman Field, 2008; May, 2012; McKinney & Norton, 2007; Norton, 2008; Pennycook, 2001). Such a definition is especially relevant for the concept of linguistic identity, since, based on the languages one speaks or learns, one can have access to multiple identities that may change over the course of a lifetime. However, an important distinction needs to be made between cultural and linguistic identity. Cultural identity can be defined as "our understanding of who we are in relation to the shared cultural communities to which we belong" (Crafter, Abreu, Cline, & O'Dell, 2015, p. 85). In some cases, a specific language and culture are shared in a community. However, one can speak a language but not belong or identify with its specific cultural group. This is the case for French immersion students who speak French but who do not share the same culture as other Francophones (Roy, 2010). Thus, although linguistic and cultural identity may often be related, they are sometimes distinct facets of an individual's identity.

To return to linguistic identity, Walsh (1991) affirms that "language is one of the principal ways people define themselves" (p. 1). This is especially true for individuals who speak more than one language. May (2012) notes that monolingual Anglophones rarely think about linguistic identity, since to them speaking English is a taken-for-granted fact. However, for individuals who speak more than one language, how they choose to identify themselves linguistically is an important subject. The linguistic identity of bilinguals and multilinguals is complex since they have more choices in terms of how to define themselves. In fact, Faircloth (2012) notes that these choices are dependent on the local context. Lamoureux's (2012) qualitative study of Francophone students' transitions to post-secondary education demonstrates that linguistic identities are context-dependent. Within their own communities, the students self-identified and were identified as Francophones. However, when they left their community, they were no longer considered Francophones by others and some students resorted to changing their linguistic identity as a result. Lamoureux (2012) states, "the narratives of these students' experience highlight how even a slight change in 'locality', a slight mobility, even an anticipated and planned one, changes the resulting negotiated linguistic identity" (Lamoureux, 2012, p. 163). This study showed how linguistic identity can change according to the context and can involve the process of negotiation.

An interesting aspect of identity is that a person may self-identify a certain way while at the same time he or she is categorized by others. In some cases, these identities are not the same. Toohey (2000) explains how one's identity can be "reconstructed" through the different ways in which individuals "position themselves and are positioned by others" (p. 62). In particular, when individuals speak both a minority and a majority

language, there can exist conflicts between these identity positions (Liebkind, 1995). The process of identity construction involves negotiating between individual and external views of one's identity (Burwell & Lenters, 2015). In her study on bilingual Montréal youth, Lamarre (2013) noted that "while Francophone and Anglophone as categories still resonate for many, there is a growing number of young people for whom these categorizations are not really pertinent, as well as not easily claimed" (Lamarre, 2013). Claiming a Francophone or an Anglophone identity in Canada is then in part dependent on how one is perceived by others.

Since linguistic identity is not often associated with a phenotype, it is not easily visually identified by others. Therefore, the concept of "passing" is relevant in that it adds another element of complexity to the definition and negotiation of one's linguistic identity. Bilinguals who are highly fluent in both their languages can sometimes "pass" for first-language speakers of each language (Skapoulli, 2004, p. 246). In Piller's (2002) study on fluent bilinguals, she noted that "as soon as Hannah's interlocutors know that she is an L2 speaker, they perceive her accent" but not before (p. 192). In this case, others did not recognize her as a language learner until she identified herself in this way. This shows that individual declarations also have an impact on others' perceptions of linguistic identity.

Within the study of linguistic identity, a popular way of viewing an individual's multiple identity facets is to speak about linguistic hybridity. Linguistic hybridity is defined as "the mixing of two distinctive, but not fixed, cultural and linguistic identities, into a new dual identity" (Dallaire, 2006, p. 34). It is important to remember that hybrids come in many different forms. Thus, a French-English bilingual is rarely 50%

Francophone and 50% Anglophone. Because bilinguals and multilinguals have choices, their identity of choice is often the one that brings them the most economic, social or personal benefits (Skapoulli, 2004). Thus, if individuals choose to identify themselves as linguistic hybrids, (i.e. bilinguals), they may be doing so because of the advantages associated with such an identity. Indeed, in Canada, French-English bilingualism has an elevated status as noted in Valenti's (2014) study. Anglophones and Francophones alike agreed that "the most practical and high-status "language" to speak at all in Québec was bilingualism" (p. 290). One of the reasons why bilingualism is so highly regarded is because it allows individuals "to circulate between linguistic communities, the minority and the majority, and local and national spaces" (Groff, Pilote, & Vieux-Fort, 2016, p. 85). Accordingly, a bilingual identity is perceived as more beneficial than a Francophone or Anglophone identity on its own.

Relationships of power also play a role in influencing the identities individuals will choose for themselves and the identity options they perceive as being available to them (Crafter et al., 2015). It is more common for linguistic minorities to develop hybrid identities than the reverse. Consequently, translanguaging practices and hybrid identities are more common among Francophones in Canada because "it is lower status minorities who are more likely to be transformed by their intercultural contacts with dominant group speakers" (Bourhis, 2011, p. 51). Related to the context under study, French-language students may be more likely to self-identify as bilinguals than Anglophones in a French immersion program and may be more likely to demonstrate translanguaging practices as well. Another reason why a hybrid identity may be preferred is because it is a way of resolving the tensions that may exist between majority and minority linguistic groups

(Bourgeois et al., 2009). For example, Landry et al. (2010) note that Francophone youth may feel “solidarity towards the Francophone community” while at the same time recognizing the usefulness of English in their everyday lives (p. 166). In this sense, a bilingual identity can be seen as a way to resolve these tensions, a way that allows individuals to pick both identities instead of choosing just one.

It is then not surprising that there has been much research in French-language schools and with Francophone minorities in Canada that has shown the prevalence of the bilingual identity as their preferred identity choice (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Dallaire, 2006; Freynet & Clément, 2015; Gaudet & Clément, 2009; Lamoureux, 2012; Landry et al., 2010; Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2008; Pilote & Magnan, 2008). Although there has been much less research on the identities of French immersion students, the research tends to show that they are leery about identifying themselves as bilingual (Roy & Galiev, 2011). Instead, they tend to devalue their French-language skills, saying that they do not have the same competency levels as native French speakers nor a Francophone accent (F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015; Roy, 2012). This may shed light on the fact that their bilingual identity is perhaps questioned by others, leading them to avoid selecting a hybrid identity since their type of bilingualism is not perceived as legitimate (Byrd Clark, 2012; Roy, 2012).

In fact, linguistic identity is often questioned by others, especially if an individual’s accent or “linguistic repertoire” do not match the local group’s defining characteristics (Lamoureux, 2012). Interestingly, it is not uncommon in Francophone circles or in research written in French for French immersion students to be identified as “Francophiles,” a term which means someone who loves French (S. Marshall &

Laghzaoui, 2012, p. 229). This identity is given to French immersion students in order to differentiate them from the Francophones who speak French as a first language. Importantly, French immersion students do not self-identify as Francophiles (G. Cormier, 2012). Although they may be identified as Francophiles by Francophones who know about their educational past, some French immersion students can develop a Francophone accent and pass for Francophones (Friesen, 2013). Another identity descriptor that is attributed to a group in research is Allophone, meaning speakers of languages other than French or English. Byrd Clark (2012) notes that this identity descriptor groups all speakers of languages other than French or English into one category, ignoring their individual characteristics and focusing on defining them as the “other” (p. 149). This identity exists due to Canada’s official language policies but it is not one that is generally chosen by the individuals to whom it refers. These examples highlight the complex and dynamic nature of linguistic identity.

One of the points in time where linguistic identity is seen to be the most dynamic is during adolescence. Adolescence, in particular, is a time where identity crises and negotiation often take place (Bourgeois et al., 2009). As youth approach adolescence, they spend more time with friends and away from their family and are more likely to adopt an identity that is distinct from their family’s (Heath, 2008). Moreover, schooling also plays a part in shaping students’ linguistic identities (Menard-Warwick, 2005). This may explain why Pilote & Magnan (2008) found an important difference between the identities of youth and their parents. Francophone youth were more likely to self-identify as bilinguals than older generations (Pilote & Magnan, 2008). It will now be important to delve into the issue of bilingualism as it relates to identity.

Technically speaking, bilingualism is the "ability to communicate in two languages" (Freynet & Clément, 2015, p. 55). However, it is much more complex than that. Due to the prevailing ideology that to be considered bilingual one must speak both languages like a first-language speaker, many individuals who can communicate in two languages do not consider themselves bilingual (Grosjean, 2010). This was shown to be the case with French immersion graduates (Roy, 2010). In reality, there are varying degrees to which bilinguals are proficient in each of their languages. As well, it is quite normal for bilinguals to have an accent in one or both of their languages. Grosjean (2010) declares that not having an accent "is the exception. Having an accent does not make someone less or more bilingual" (p. 77). Although an accent that deviates from that of native speakers of the language is not indicative of language proficiency (Derwing & Munro, 2009), it is often viewed this way. The more one's accent deviates from the native speaker norm, the more one is perceived as a learner. Moreover, learners who speak with an accent may be more likely to experience discrimination due to their accent (Derwing & Munro, 2009) which ultimately negatively impacts their confidence in that language. As a result, individuals who can communicate in two languages may avoid describing themselves as bilingual due to a lack of confidence in one of their languages. However, others may avoid choosing a bilingual identity because it can be associated with assimilation and progressive language loss.

Despite the many reported advantages associated with bilingualism, such as the "neurocognitive advantages" (Genesee, 2015, p. 6), a facility in learning other languages, increased interaction possibilities and job opportunities (Grosjean, 2010), minority-language speakers can come to fear bilingualism. As was previously mentioned, this can

result in parents and educators adopting a “protectionist role” towards the minority language, attempting to avoid all influence from the language of the majority (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 177). This fear may stem from research on the different forms of bilingualism. It is often theorized that bilingualism is not a permanent state and it will not last. Eventually, bilingualism will lead to the assimilation of the minority language. Freynet & Clément (2015) define the assimilative perspective on bilingualism:

> The assimilative perspective suggests that bilingualism serves as a mid-point on a linear continuum with monolingualism in the L1 at one end and monolingualism in the L2 at the other. (p. 56)

Over time, bilingual individuals will lean towards one end of the continuum until they, or their descendants, eventually return to a monolingual state. It is posited that, in minority-language contexts, individuals who are proficient in the language of the majority will also identify more with that linguistic group. However, based on data from the Statistics Canada Census 2006, “bilingual participants, in comparison to predominantly monolinguals, were not found to further lean towards the Anglo-dominant end of the continuum in lower vitality settings” (p. 69). This contradicts the belief that “bilingualism will lead to the disappearance of western French Canadians” (Moss, 2004, p. 85), since Francophones in these contexts are not developing an Anglophone identity. Cardinal (2004) believes that “stable bilingualism” that lasts more than one generation is in fact possible but it requires a special focus on the maintenance of the minority language in order for it to withstand the power of the majority language (p.93). To conclude, bilingualism can be stable, it is not always the step before assimilation in a minority context.

Linguistic landscape researchers have also noted a connection between linguistic landscapes and identity (Ben-Rafael, 2008; Curtin, 2008; Dagenais et al., 2008). The studies that explored identity demonstrated that the language used on signs had the power of reinforcing the linguistic group's identity while at the same time excluding other linguistic groups. Gade (2003), in speaking about Québec's linguistic landscape, mentioned how important it was to have monolingual signs in the territory that belongs to a linguistic minority. The visual impact of English was seen as a threat to the survival of French in Québec, which references the assimilative perspective on bilingualism. According to Gade (2003), minority languages need to be placed on signs and thus given a space where they are all-powerful. As a final point, linguistic landscapes can be used as a tool to reinforce identity and promote language maintenance.

Although schools may be perceived as reproducing the dominant ideologies dictating that bilingualism should be feared or that it can only be defined as double monolingualism, they have the power to resist and change these ideologies. Therefore, whether it is in French-language or French immersion schools, it appears as though developing confidence in French is of utmost importance. Confidence in the French language has been linked to greater language use and proficiency, positive attitudes towards the language and the linguistic group which can lead to identification with that group (Freynet & Clément, 2015). In the end, in both educational contexts, adolescents must negotiate with these different views on bilingualism which are complex and dynamic. Since adolescence is an important time in life for identity negotiation, the way students choose to express their multi-faceted linguistic identity is of interest for this project.

This literature review has attempted to locate French immersion and French-language education within a Manitoban context. Topics relevant to both these educational contexts include linguistic landscapes, language ideologies and attitudes, language use and linguistic identity. The next section will explore the theoretical underpinnings of this study.

Chapter Three: *Angle de prise de vue* [3] (Methodology)

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is a sociolinguistic approach that is built upon sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's main theories and the theory of translanguaging (García & Kleyn, 2016). To date, there have been many quantitative studies on bilingualism that investigate its "mental processes" and its impact on intelligence (St John, 2014, p. 24). However, it is becoming more popular to conduct qualitative studies on bilingualism that are focused on interaction and are situated in a particular sociolinguistic context (Moyer, 2008). In other words, "sociolinguistic approaches focus on communicative behavior: talk and text" (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 20). Another defining characteristic of the sociolinguistic approach is that it places great value on the way participants view their own lives. Of particular importance are the participants' language choices and how they are shaped by their personal language attitudes and by context-specific language ideologies (Roy & Galiev, 2011). Through this linguistic landscape study of three high schools, I will focus on the way students interpret their own linguistic hybridity, their patterns of language use and their attitudes. The main belief in this sociolinguistic approach is that:

> Speakers are social actors who use language as a resource to interact and establish social relations with others … linguistic signs are taken as representations of the world, and these connections to the world are never neutral. (Moyer, 2008, p. 22)

[3] Camera angle

Therefore, this study will focus on interaction and the "linguistic signs" or the "talk and text" as they occur in each school context. The following sections will review the theories that this sociolinguistic framework is based upon.

Field.

Pierre Bourdieu was born in France. He grew up speaking a minority language, Gascon, as well as the official French language. As a child, he was made fun of at school for his accent which reflected his low socio-economic background (Grenfell, 2009). Nevertheless, his humble beginnings did not hinder him from becoming a member of the academic elite and from having an important impact on the field of sociology (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). These biographical facts are important as they offer insight into why Bourdieu believed that "language is worth what those who speak it are worth" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652).

According to Bourdieu, a field is "a particular social space that involves a network or configuration of relations between positions" (Bathmaker, 2015, p. 65). Within that social space, there are actors who hold specific positions. Another characteristic of the field is that the actors are governed by the "formal and informal norms" of their specific field (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p. 3). Naidoo (2004) adds that fields are "mirrors" of the broader society, and as a result, "dominant and dominated agents" are important players all vying for power (p. 459-460). Within any given field, the social actors' positions are paramount. The norms of the field are also important as they determine the actors' initial positions of power. Field positions "are not only defined by what they are, but also by what they are not vis-à-vis other positions" (Ferrare & Apple, 2015, p. 46). Therefore, the field is a site where norms are enacted and where actors, with differing

positions of power, struggle. Fields are then potential sites for change as "any individual or collective action undertaken in the field will have implications (positive and/or negative) for all others within that field" (May, 2011, p. 236).

An example of a field is the educational field which is made up of its policies, practices and stakeholders. Schools, in turn, are also examples of fields which are made up of their own rules and practices. At the same time, schools are influenced by the policies and practices of the broader field of education and other fields as well, such as the economic field (Grenfell & James, 2004). Within the educational field, some examples of social actors are students, teachers, parents, administrators who each hold positions with different levels of power.

Power relations, as they are enacted in schools, are reflective of the greater society. Ernst-Slavit (1997) contends that "schools and classrooms reflect the experiences of the dominant class" and privilege, among other things, the language of that group (p. 43). Although schools have their own rules and practices, they are also influenced by outside fields, where certain languages are dominant. In line with Bourdieu's contention that schools reproduce inequalities, they are also fields in which, as previously mentioned, the monolingual ideology can be reproduced (Blackledge, 2001). Interestingly, Agirdag (2010) suggests how Bourdieu would view this situation:

> Bourdieu argues that domination relations can only persist as long as they are commonly perceived as something natural and obvious. In other words, it can be expected that both the dominant and dominated groups share the same opinion in favour of the dominant group. (p. 311)

This shows that much of the power wielded by the educational system is hegemonic since hegemony is not power exercised by force but by “consensual social practices” (McLaren, 1998, p. 177). Thus, within the educational field, the monolingual ideology, if present, should be accepted not only by the dominant language group but also by the dominated groups. In conclusion, the field is the social arena in which power relations play out. The next concepts, cultural capital and linguistic capital, will help explain how individuals can gain powerful positions in the field.

Linguistic Capital.

Linguistic capital is first and foremost a type of cultural capital. Cultural capital is defined as access to, understanding and knowledge of “the dominant culture in a society” (Sullivan, 2002, p. 45). The more cultural capital you have, the more you are able to “mobilize power and resources” (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007, p. 24). However, it is important to note that cultural capital is context-dependent in that the value it receives is determined by the field (Bourdieu, 1991). It follows that certain forms of cultural capital are highly valued in some fields and not in others. When value is attributed to a specific language in a specific context, linguistic capital is at play.

Linguistic capital is defined as “fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in a local and global society” (Morrison & Lui, 2000, p. 473). On an individual level, linguistic capital, coupled with education, are marketable commodities that lead to greater job opportunities which in turn lead to economic capital (Flynn, 2013). However, “on a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 18). Thus, an individual may have fluency in

many different languages, but the value of his or her linguistic capital is context-dependent. This is why languages that are more widely spoken, such as English, tend to attract more learners than less widely spoken languages. Although all languages are used for communication, some languages are considered a better "resource" to have than others and are thus worth learning (Gerhards, 2014, p. 57). Moreover, Menard-Warwick (2005) remarks that linguistic capital is most often associated with the standard form of the dominant group's language. Because individuals need to or want to learn the dominant language, this increases its value. In turn, translanguaging practices, such as a particular accent, can be seen in a negative light when they are representative of a language with a lower status. Thus, the way in which some accents are more preferred than others is indicative of a language's valuation in a particular field (Lo-Philip, 2010), and hence its potential as a capital asset to produce 'returns' in that context.

With regard to the Canadian context, both French and English have official status. Therefore, speakers of those languages have linguistic capital that is valued as it is in line with the nation's bilingual ideology. This is because when a social group believes in the value of an educational title or a characteristic such as bilingualism, this form of capital becomes "institutionalized" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Bourdieu notes that institutionalized cultural capital can be exchanged on the job market for a high-paying job (Bourdieu, 1979). It is then not surprising that Dagenais (2003) noted through census data that bilinguals tend to earn more money than monolinguals in Canada, however, this was only true for French-English bilinguals. Similarly, students in Pilote & Magnan's (2008) study remarked that it was not French by itself that was highly valued or useful; the real linguistic capital that schooling offered them was bilingualism. It is clear that

some linguistic competencies are not as highly valued as others and that the utility and symbolic worth of such competencies are context-dependent.

As previously mentioned, French immersion schools were originally developed by Anglophone parents looking for the opportunity to enhance their children's linguistic capital. In Canada, the "immersion program provides proof that French is a desirable linguistic commodity which is rewarded by economic benefits" (Makropoulos, 2005, p. 1456). To this day, Canadian parents and children are convinced that bilingualism leads to better career and employment opportunities (Cotnam-Kappel, 2014; Hambye & Richards, 2012; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2011). This belief in the economic benefits of bilingualism was refuted by Heller (2003) who found that bilingual job opportunities existed mostly in the service sector, where individuals were non-unionized and received poor pay. Nevertheless, the main motivating factor behind parents' decision to enroll their children in French immersion schools is the belief that bilingualism leads to a greater variety of job opportunities (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2011). When an educational qualification like bilingualism is institutionalized in such a way, it can also result in an increased demand from citizens to acquire that linguistic capital, leading to an "*explosion scolaire*[4]" or credentialism (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 6). In the case of bilingualism in Canada, the perceived economic value of French-English bilingualism can encourage parents to enroll their children in programs where they will learn those languages. Linguistic capital can then have a direct result on school choice. In short, the reason why some individuals become bilinguals in the first place is due to linguistic capital. However, once the choice to learn another language has been made, the

[4] Scholastic explosion

languages one speaks should be viewed holistically, as is done with the translanguaging theory.

Linguistic Habitus.

According to Bourdieu (1991), "the habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (p. 12). Habitus develops over time starting with early childhood experiences and exposure to different fields. Connolly, Kelly, & Smith (2009) note that habitus is "regarded as the internalization or embodiment in an individual of the environment within which they are located" (p. 220). Therefore, environment, upbringing and past experiences predispose an individual to unconsciously think and act in certain ways (Christ & Wang, 2008). Lehmann (2007) adds that habitus is visible in individuals' "linguistic skills, attire, networks, and social skills" (p. 92). These skills and attitudes become evident in an educational setting, especially when there is a mismatch between the differing values of students coming from different class backgrounds. In education, middle-class habitus can be seen in a positive light because middle-class parents will often support school values, which fosters in their children "a positive attitude towards school" (Sullivan, 2002, p. 149). In turn, a positive attitude towards school has also been linked to academic success (Davies & Guppy, 2010).

Although habitus is generally viewed as an attribute of individuals, researchers are starting to explore the concept of "collective habitus" as well (Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram, 2013, p. 165). H. Smith (2007) believes that it is logical to consider that members of the same community who share specific histories and practices would also share similar worldviews. In fact, Bourdieu (1991) also believed that individuals with similar backgrounds might have a "relatively homogeneous" habitus (p. 13). Yet, other

scholars question whether the concept of habitus can be used to effectively describe groups of people. Atkinson (2013) argues that it is dangerous to use the concept of collective habitus as it tends to group individuals together and homogenise them. However, Burke et al. (2013) maintain that "what is common to, and shared by, a collective is important in understanding individual members" (p. 172). In particular, collective habitus can be an especially useful concept to explore when studying advantaged and disadvantaged groups as it displays which attitudes of "superiority and inferiority are ingrained in … daily interactions" (Reay, 2004b, p. 436). Therefore, viewing habitus collectively can lead to discoveries about the aspects of habitus that are shared between members of a same group.

A form of collective habitus, ethnic habitus, (Basit, 2012; Connolly et al., 2009), has also been used to explore the unique experiences of ethnic minority individuals. Basit (2012) studied ethnic minority adolescents in England and their decisions with regards to their transitions from school to employment or tertiary education. As well, Connolly et al. (2009) used the term ethnic habitus in their study of young Protestant and Catholic children in Ireland. They were able to determine that children as young as six had developed ethnic awareness and attitudes congruent with their minority ethnic group. Interestingly, these attitudes were "not dependent on the presence of ethnic groups marked by visible, physical differences" because their study was based on religious differences (Connolly et al., 2009, p. 228). However, when using the term ethnic habitus, Basit (2012) referred to visible minority groups. In fact, although ethnic groups can be religious or linguistic, the term is most often used in literature to designate visible minorities. In this research, the term ethnic habitus will be avoided since it can stand for

many different characteristics such as religion and race. Instead, the term *linguistic habitus* will be used as it is a better description of the subject under study.

May (2012) defines linguistic habitus as "a subset of the dispositions which comprise the habitus: it is that set of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular social and cultural contexts" (p. 140). This definition is congruent with viewing habitus as an individual's set of dispositions. However, in Grenfell's (2012) definition of linguistic habitus, it is clear that it can also be viewed in the collective sense: "linguistic habitus is formed from any one individual's (linguistic) background and environment and shares features in common within the same socio-cultural milieu" (p. 66-67). Both the individual and collective nature of linguistic habitus will be explored in this research. Thus, linguistic habitus can be defined as the specific attitudes, ideologies and behaviours that are shared between actors in specific contexts, such as students in French immersion and French-language schools.

To conclude, Bourdieu's notions of field, linguistic capital, and linguistic habitus add an analytical dimension to the exploration of the French-language and French immersion school contexts. The next section will explore how the theory of translanguaging can also be a useful lens through which to view this study.

Translanguaging.

The term translanguaging was first coined by Cen Williams who used it to refer to code-switching as a teaching strategy in language classrooms (Williams, 1996). Nowadays, in some cases, the term translanguaging is thought to be either another way of referring to code-switching or a simple pedagogical tool. It is in fact much more than that because it is also a theoretical stance (Velasco & García, 2014). Translanguaging "is

an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable" (Poza, 2017, p. 101). One of the main principles of translanguaging is to view languages as inextricably connected. This is a strong contrast to the belief that each language has its own autonomous linguistic system. In such an approach, a bilingual is someone who has learnt two different languages and has developed a separate linguistic system in their mind for each language. Instead, translanguaging views all the languages an individual can speak as being part of one "integrated system" or repertoire (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401). Depending on the context, the bilingual or multilingual individual accesses different parts of their linguistic repertoire in order to communicate effectively and to understand others (Pacheco & Smith, 2015). In some contexts, communicating effectively may require using elements from more than one language. Therefore, thinking about languages holistically instead of separately is at the heart of the translanguaging theory.

However, viewing languages as being connected is not a new concept. In fact, Bakhtin (1981) also recognized the interconnectedness of languages in his term *interillumination* that he defined in this manner: "languages throw light on each other: one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language" (p. 12). Interillumination is essentially synonymous with translanguaging since both concepts believe that languages influence one another. This interaction between languages produces new forms that are distinct from each language but related to one another through the speakers (Bakhtin, 1981). Nevertheless, translanguaging pushes beyond the concept of interconnectedness in its attempt to dissolve the figurative borders between languages (Otheguy, 2016). These boundaries exist when linguistic features are defined

as being either English or French but not as both. Instead, translanguaging focuses on "how bilinguals make sense of things through language" and not on how a particular language explains an individual's communicative strategies (Sayer, 2013, p. 84). Therefore, translanguaging views bilingualism and the result of language interaction in a positive light.

Moreover, the linguistic practices of bilinguals and multilinguals are of particular interest to translanguaging theorists. This is because bilinguals and multilinguals select communicative strategies from their repertoire and often demonstrate flexibility within and across languages when they communicate (Velasco & García, 2014, p. 7). It has been noted that "translanguaging is a naturally occurring phenomenon" for multilingual individuals (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401). It is then the purpose of translanguaging to highlight these natural linguistic tendencies and to show them in a positive light. Therefore, any linguistic feature is considered valid if it serves the goal of communication. This belief offers a critical element to the translanguaging theory. Researchers and teachers should then aim to transform the existing negative views on bilingual communication in order to render translanguaging acceptable in the classroom by the students and even by the teachers.

Despite this critical stance, some translanguaging research has remained limited since some researchers do not adopt a critical standpoint, or the research itself may focus too narrowly on oral translanguaging or code-switching (Hamman, 2018; Poza, 2017). Instead, many linguistic features can be defined as translanguaging; such as translation, code-switching (Pacheco & Smith, 2015) and codemeshing, which concentrates on language alternation in writing (Canagarajah, 2011). Hornberger & Link (2012) indicate

that translanguaging practices also include the "multiple and dynamic varieties of these different languages – vernacular, formal, academic, as well as those based on race, ethnicity, affinity, or affiliation" (p. 242). In this optic, translanguaging focuses on all linguistic practices. Moreover, the theory applies to all levels of bilinguals and multilinguals, from emergent to advanced, since no matter their proficiency level, their languages are interacting (Allard, 2017). It even applies to monolinguals, since their linguistic repertoire is made up of formal and informal language, vernacular, a particular accent and vocabulary borrowed from other languages as well. Thus, when adopting a translanguaging framework, it seems essential to explore a wide variety of translanguaging practices that occur in oral and written language in order to "show connections across verbal and literary modalities" (Poza, 2017, p. 116).

Translanguaging also accounts for the influence of context or space on linguistic practices. This is because, based on the context, bilinguals and multilinguals make language choices. Since "language is never separate from contexts of use", it is equally important to understand the context surrounding linguistic practices (B. Smith, Pacheco, & de Almeida, 2017, p. 8). The notion of spatial repertoires locates context within the translanguaging paradigm by stating that "material surrounds are understood not only as a context but rather as part of an interactive whole that includes people, objects and space" (Pennycook, 2017, p. 278). Therefore, the linguistic practices of various languages belong to a single repertoire, which is also influenced by speakers and the space they occupy.

The role of linguistic landscapes in translanguaging is then twofold. First, objects such as signs in the linguistic landscape can "organize or affect speech" (Pennycook &

Otsuji, 2014, p. 180). Secondly, local linguistic practices “shape the linguistic landscapes” of places (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 168). As a result, the meaning attributed to a particular space and its identity, such as a school, is based on the interaction between the people, the signs and the local linguistic practices that occur in that place. This is why linguistic landscape researchers are starting to include translanguaging theories into their work (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015). Linguistic landscape researchers who adopt a translanguaging framework push beyond “the boundaries of individual signs and languages” (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015, p. 54). The approach views space and language holistically and requires researchers to understand the space in which signs are located on a deeper level. This may involve analyzing a sign’s relation to its space by determining who placed a particular sign in a space and how the individuals who interact with that space interpret the sign (Pennycook, 2017). Therefore, a linguistic repertoire includes linguistic identity and linguistic practices such as code-switching, accent and vernacular. Spatial repertoires are made up of the signs in a particular space. The translanguaging theory postulates that linguistic repertoires and spatial repertoires are interconnected. Essentially, the theory calls for a holistic view of language and space. Ultimately, this view is especially important for linguistic landscape research. To sum up, translanguaging practices are diverse, dynamic, naturally occurring, linked to spatial repertoires and should be viewed positively.

Yet, in educational contexts, language interaction is not often viewed in this way since translanguaging practices are thought to be linguistic mistakes (Canagarajah, 2011; Dumais & Nolin, 2010). Schools often promote a monolingual ideology that seeks to keep languages separate. This teaches bilingual and multilingual students to “inhibit the

deployment of part of their unitary competence, doing so artificially, for the sake of social rules that, in certain settings and at certain times, are important to observe" (Otheguy, 2016, p. xi). Here, Otheguy (2016) notes that particular contexts dictate the use of only one language. For this reason, it is important for bilingual and multilingual students to develop the ability to communicate in only one language. Nevertheless, translanguaging theorists uphold the notion that bilingualism "is a sustainable community resource in its own right rather than a merely tolerated transition to majority language monolingualism" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 167). While it is an educational goal to improve students' linguistic proficiency, translanguaging pedagogues "do not tell students to stop using their own language features, or to stop drawing on them for learning" (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 17). Instead, adhering to a translanguaging philosophy requires teachers to welcome translanguaging practices in their classroom, to view these practices as a resource and to acknowledge and promote linguistic diversity (Allard, 2017; Canagarajah, 2011; García & Kleyn, 2016; MacSwan, 2017; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). To conclude, García & Kleyn (2016) present the tenets of the translanguaging theory:

> 1. Bilingual children develop a single complex language repertoire, a unitary language system and a single identity as bilinguals;
>
> 2. Bilinguals are capable of communicating and acting with only certain features of their repertoire, those that respond to socially named languages;
>
> 3. To deepen the bilingual child's performances in socially named languages, it is important to first recognize and leverage their entire language repertoire. (p. 16)

Although translanguaging researchers agree to these tenets, there exists disagreement with regard to the term code-switching. In fact, some translanguaging theorists reject the word code-switching since they feel it reinforces the borders between languages by defining them as codes and saying that individuals switch from one code to the next (García & Kleyn, 2016). They prefer to use the term translanguaging in general and to focus on the individuals who use these linguistic features instead of focusing on the languages. Linguistic code-switching studies typically focus on segments of language, the grammar of code-switching, where the switch occurs and how the switch effects the sentence (Poplack, 2015). In this study, when, why and how translanguaging occurs is important. However, the focus will not only be on code-switching as an example of a translanguaging practice. It will also be relevant to discuss other translanguaging practices such as accent and linguistic identity.

Translanguaging theorists also believe that teachers can and should model translanguaging practices in their classrooms. Studies have shown positive results when this is done such as the ability to build more "inclusive classroom environments" (Pacheco & Miller, 2016, p. 534), to engage students and to "develop proficiency" in all languages (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 416). Conversely, one study indicated that teacher translanguaging did not result in a positive outcome (Allard, 2017). When English as a second language teachers in the United States used Spanish in their classrooms for clarification and to build rapport, students did not respond positively and wished their teachers would speak only in English. Allard (2017) explains this negative result by stating that translanguaging on its own is not enough, teachers have to communicate a positive "stance" towards bilingualism while at the same time they need to "leverage

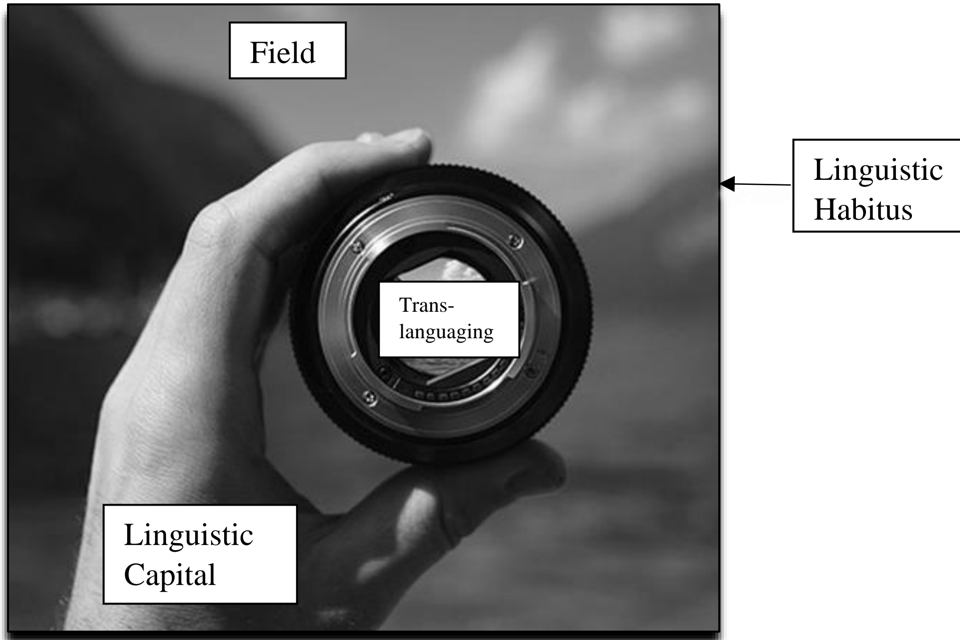
students' own language use" (p. 128). While this may certainly be true, an element that is missing in translanguaging that could also explain this result is power dynamics. In fact, newer critics of the translanguaging theory tend to agree that power dynamics are sometimes ignored in translanguaging research (Hamman, 2018; Poza, 2017). Instead, they believe in exposing power by using other sociological theories in addition to translanguaging in order to offer a more nuanced portrait. In the case of this study, as previously mentioned, I will use some of Bourdieu's main theoretical concepts, more specifically, field, linguistic capital and linguistic habitus.

If power dynamics had been analyzed in Allard's (2017) study, they might have shed light on the reasons why the students practiced translanguaging but held negative attitudes towards their teachers' translanguaging practices. For example, in order to understand the students' linguistic habitus, the field positions held by both languages could have been analyzed. In the greater American context surrounding that study (field), English and Spanish are afforded unequal amounts of linguistic capital. This may explain the students' negative response to translanguaging in their classroom, since they prefer English due to its high levels of linguistic capital. Arguably, analyzing linguistic capital, linguistic habitus and field in association with translanguaging offers a more detailed portrait of the linguistic and spatial repertoires in a context.

In conclusion, this theoretical framework posits that language is made up of linguistic practices which can be hegemonic. These linguistic practices are not only linked to individuals but also to space. Figure 1 (image modified from Skorupskas, 2017) summarizes the theoretical framework by showing that the field is the space where translanguaging practices occur. At the same time, power (linguistic capital symbolized

by the hand) is exerted in order to frame the picture. The act of taking the picture and choosing to frame it in a particular way is ultimately the result of linguistic habitus.

Figure 1: Theoretical Lens



Thus, in order to understand the translanguaging practices in their space, I developed three main research questions.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study are:

1. What are the linguistic landscapes of a French-language, French immersion single-track and French immersion dual-track high school?
2. What are the students' language attitudes, ideologies, patterns of language use and linguistic identities as reflected in and as influenced by the linguistic landscapes?
3. How do students interpret elements from the linguistic landscape of each school?

Linguistic Landscape Methodology

In order to answer these questions, this study uses a qualitative Linguistic Landscape methodology viewed through a translanguaging and power lens. Many linguistic landscape studies adopt a quantitative approach. By showing how visible a language is, they are able to draw conclusions on that language's vitality. This often involves counting how many times the language appears on signs (Rodríguez, 2013). It can also involve putting signs in categories such as "top-down" signs made by the government and "bottom-up" signs made by citizens (Ben-Rafael, 2008, p. 49). These studies are useful in determining language status and vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

While linguistic landscape research began as a quantitative methodology, it has been adopted and modified by qualitative researchers as well. A variety of different qualitative approaches have been used in this field of research. For example, "qualitative content analysis" (Leung & Wu, 2012, p. 122) involves sorting the images based on themes and "nexus analysis" (Hult, 2008, p. 88) focuses on social actions, norms and practice. However, these types of studies use the photographs as their only data source and rely mainly on a visual analysis of that data. One qualitative approach that opens up the possibility for other forms of data analysis in conjunction with the analysis of the linguistic landscape photographs is "frame-analytic approach", which I used in this study (Coupland & Garrett, 2010, p. 14).

Frame analytic approach focuses on how "text producers and consumers" attribute meaning to signs (Coupland & Garrett, 2010, p. 14). The approach is grounded in dialogism, placing importance on how individuals who live in the linguistic landscape

interact with their surroundings. Of particular importance for this study is the way in which Coupland & Garrett (2010) define discursive frames:

> Frame is a metaphor derived from photographic representation, where a border placed around an image sets limits to what can be viewed. Since a representation (e.g. of a natural landscape) is inevitably partial and selective, captured from a particular standpoint and (literal) point of view, the act of framing facilitates or naturalizes particular meanings and precludes others. (p. 15)

Purely quantitative linguistic landscape studies rarely acknowledge the role of the researcher who essentially frames the analysis by having taken the pictures. Frame analytic approach recognizes the inherent subjectivity in linguistic landscape research and allows the researcher and participants to make choices with regard to what appears salient to them. Using such an approach might result in subjective results. However, by being reflexive, I am not masking the subjective nature of my work.

Nevertheless, a way to make the subjective visible is to include analytical perspectives other than my own. Although Coupland & Garrett (2010) are proponents of a dialogic approach, their study did not include the viewpoints of participants. Instead, they analyzed the linguistic landscape based on how they thought an individual living in the area might interpret the signs. Including student perspectives, I believe, results in a more robust study. However, the student perspectives are of course based on my pictures. Drawing their attention to particular signs was still interesting since it showed what elements they noticed. Asking students to contribute in this way to my research also made it clear that they are not passive consumers of their linguistic landscape.

Akin to other forms of qualitative research, this study explored participants' experiences and aimed to collect data, in the form of interviews and linguistic landscape photographs, that would offer a rich description of those experiences (Hill, 2005). According to C. Marshall & Rossman (2011), qualitative researchers "are intrigued by the complexity of social interactions expressed in daily life and by the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to these interactions" (p. 2). Another necessary element qualitative researchers focus on is the description of the context. Essentially, the researcher should situate participants' experiences in their local, socio-historical and cultural context. In describing the context of a study, researchers need to go beyond a description of the physical context by also describing "the historical, cultural and ideological setting" (Vandeyar, 2009, p. 5). Moreover, the inclusion of photographs of the context is seen as a way to strengthen the contextual description and to offer a more objective portrait (Banister & Hodges, 2009; Spencer, 2011). Such a detailed description of the context also helps to better understand the participants' experiences (Hill, 2005). Based on the data, qualitative researchers must search out the themes and patterns that emerge and then analyze them by paying particular attention to participant voices (Anderson, 2011). The final product typically uses emic data or quotations to represent participant voices (Hackmann, 2002). In some cases, participants are also included in the data analysis which is yet another way of faithfully representing them (Smyth & Mcinerney, 2013).

This Linguistic Landscape methodology, which used the frame analytic approach, allowed me to analyze the pictures within the linguistic landscape while at the same time

it enabled me to explore the experience and perceptions of the participants with regard to their own and other linguistic landscapes.

Methods

Resonance.

My study on the linguistic landscape of three schools where French is the language of instruction is innovative in a few different ways. First, there has never been a comparative linguistic landscape study on high schools. Although Brown (2012) used a comparative approach in her study on three elementary schools, they were all minority-language schools. Whereas, I conducted research in three different educational programs in a societal context in which the minority language is also one of the country's official languages. Moreover, current linguistic landscape studies on schools lack student voices. Student voices are also lacking from educational research in general. The following sections will justify my research choices and explain how I conducted the research.

Youth participants.

It has been identified by several researchers that there exists a gap in the literature because educational research rarely includes the voices of students (Bautista, Bertrand, Morrell, Scorza, & Matthews, 2013; Borrero & Yeh, 2010; Hands, 2014; Nieto, 2010). C. Marshall & Rossman (2011) note that "those most affected by educational policy and programmatic decisions – the students – are absent from inquiry" (p. 157). Hands (2014) argues that one of the reasons why students are underrepresented in educational research is because the voices of authority, administrators and teachers, are too often legitimized over student voices. Youth were selected for this research project in order to bridge that gap and for other reasons. Students also offer a unique point of view about their schools

and their perspectives can help to develop solutions to the issues they consider important (Bautista et al., 2013).

My study's participants were especially involved in the analysis of the schools' linguistic landscapes. Students may benefit from being involved in this way in research since they may notice aspects of their environment they had not previously recognized (Sweetman, 2009). Moreover, I believe that research should be conducted "with" students instead of solely "about them" (Danaher, Baguley, & Midgley, 2013, p. 3). In this way, the participant perspectives play an important role in this study.

With regard to linguistic landscape research in particular, the perspectives of individuals who actually live in the environment under study are rarely included. Some examples of linguistic landscape studies that do so are focused on the tourism industry and utilize survey data to obtain information about tourists' expectations and reactions to the language(s) present in a particular tourist location (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015; Yan & Lee, 2014). Participant perspectives, elicited through interviews, are used even less in linguistic landscape research. The only other studies to do so were conducted by Tupas (2015) who analyzed one university student's life story in relation to her academic space, Papen (2012) who interviewed sign producers to better understand the meaning of the signs and Hanauer (2010) who asked graduate students to explain the meaning of the objects and posters that decorated their personal laboratory benches. This lack of other perspectives in linguistic landscape research is unfortunate since, "laypeople's beliefs about linguistic phenomena, otherwise known as *folk linguistics*, can be a revealing source of data" (Rowland, 2016, p. 41). Ignoring other individuals' interpretations and leaving the analysis solely up to the researcher might overlook

important aspects of how the linguistic landscape is viewed by insiders. To date, no study has shown linguistic landscape images to students from their own as well as other contexts and asked them to interpret them.

Interviews.

"Semi-structured life world interviews" were selected for this research project in order to offer insight into the participants' experiences with language and education (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 6). Semi-structured life world interviews are defined as interviews "with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life worlds of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 6). As C. Marshall & Rossman (2011) suggest, the interview questions for this study were developed based on the literature review. The interview questions were initially rather structured but this is often necessary when conducting interviews at multiple case sites (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Moreover, semi-structured life world interviews are structured in the sense that they have a particular focus and include particular themes that will be addressed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Nevertheless, this type of interview allows the researcher to change the order of the questions during the interview and to ask follow-up and clarification questions, which I did when necessary (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). My interview questions were designed to encourage the participants to freely share their opinions on the research themes. See Appendix 6: First Interview Questions for my first interview questions.

Linguistic landscape photography.

The linguistic landscape images include pictures of the art, messages, permanent and non-permanent texts found inside and outside the schools. The collection of these images can be classified as a "visual research method" since I used the images "to

explore the research questions" (Rose, 2014, p. 25). Visual research methods add another analytical dimension to research especially when they are used in "photo-elicitation interviewing" (Biag, 2014, p. 166). Using images during interviews can encourage participants to reflect on aspects of their life that they may not have previously noticed (Biag, 2014; Rose, 2014; Sweetman, 2009) and may even help them to describe the complexity of their personal identities (Matteucci, 2013). Because students spend a significant amount of time in their school, many aspects of the linguistic landscape may go unnoticed. It was important to have visual prompts for the participants since Tupas (2015), who wished to include participant perspectives on the linguistic landscape, quickly realized that the participants had trouble remembering what signs were in their environment. Moreover, seeing images from other schools helped them to better describe their own school context. Also, when regular interview data was compared to photo-elicitation interview data, it was found that photo-elicitation interviews "improved participants' recall, generated longer statements, and prompted richer and more emotionally involved storytelling" (Gubrium & Harper, 2013, pp. 69–70). Since rich data is especially important for this qualitative study, photo-elicitation interviews coupled with semi-structured interviews were useful methods to employ. See Appendix 7: Second interview (Photo-elicitation questions) for the list of my photo-elicitation questions. However, "someone must be behind the camera … and produce the image itself" (Galman, 2009, p. 198). Although participants were included in the analytical process, I ultimately framed what was to be analyzed. I acknowledge that this subjectivity has impacted the data.

Sample size.

First, I obtained approval for this study from the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board (see Appendix 1: Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval Certificates). I also needed to obtain permission from the school divisions, the schools, teachers, students and their parents before starting data collection (see Appendices 2-5). Divisional and school permissions were obtained between December 2015 and February 2016. Upon obtaining permission from various teachers, I made a short presentation during their class time in order to recruit participants. All presentations were done in French, however, students were informed that they could choose to do their interview in either English or French. In total, the presentation was done in two Chemistry, five *Français*, one History and two Spanish grade 11 classes. Initially, I had only selected one class per school. However, this did not yield a sufficient number of participants so I was required to present the project to several grade 11 classes.

Although I wanted to randomly select a sample of 30 students (10 from each school), I did not succeed in recruiting enough participants to do this. Instead, all the students who showed interest in participating in the project and returned their consent forms were interviewed. This resulted in a sample size of 37 participants; 12 DSFM students, 11 single-track students and 14 dual-track students. This sample size was chosen because it is generally agreed upon that an appropriate sample size for qualitative interview studies is between 10 and 30 participants (Mason, 2010; Trotter, 2012). Although saturation, defined as the point wherein "depth as well as breadth of information is achieved" (O'Reilly & Parker, 2013, p. 192), may well be achieved in a smaller sample size, my sample size ensured a relatively equal number of participants

from each site while at the same time all the students who were interested in the project were given the opportunity to participate.

I used a “stratified purposeful” sampling strategy because participants were purposefully selected based on the grade 11 criteria and then grouped with the other participants from their school (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 111). Stratified purposeful sampling is especially useful when subgroups in the dataset are required. For this particular study, comparison was facilitated by dividing the students into subgroups based on the schools they attended. It is important to note that although I only recruited in grade 11 classes, some grade 10 students were taking these classes a year in advance. Therefore, it is inaccurate to say that all the participants were grade 11 students. All participants were between 15 and 17 years of age and had attended their respective schools for at least one year prior to participating in the study. Consequently, they were exposed on a daily basis to their respective school’s linguistic landscape. Also, they were old enough to be able to explain their schooling history as well as able to provide developed responses (Hornsby, 2008; Makropoulos, 2010).

Participants.

There were 11 male participants and 26 female participants (see Table 3). All the DSFM participants had attended a DSFM elementary school other than one participant who had attended a French-language elementary school in another province and another participant who had been home-schooled for a portion of elementary school. Four of the single-track participants had attended DSFM elementary schools while the rest had gone to single-track elementary schools. The dual-track group was predominantly composed of students who had attended a single-track elementary school followed by a dual-track

middle school. One dual-track participant had attended a French-language elementary school in another province followed by a DSFM school. Another dual-track participant had gone to a French school in Québec, to an American International School in Germany and to a dual-track French immersion school in another province. The participants had all completed an entire school year at their respective high schools before participating in the research project.

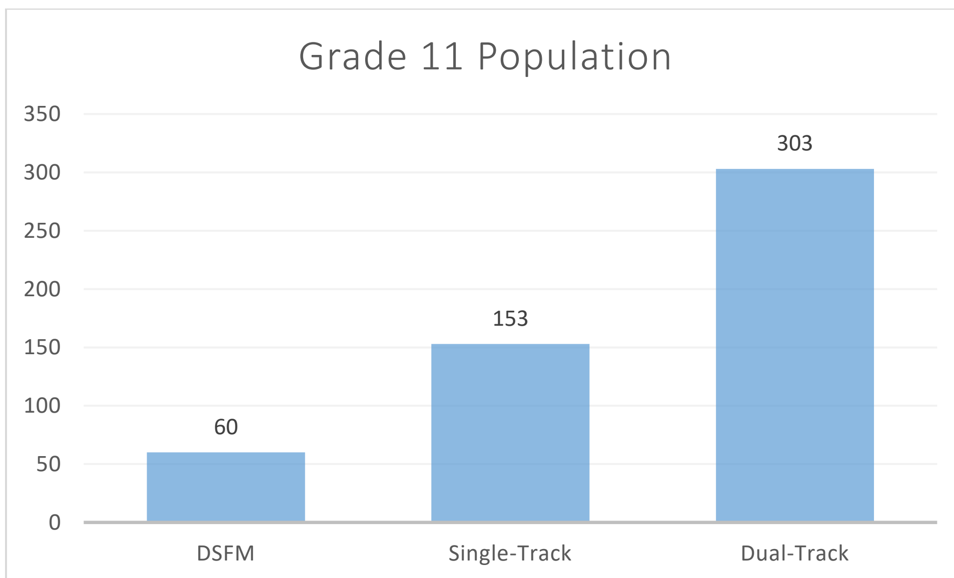
Table 3: Participants

Pseudonym	School	Sex	Age
Apollo	DSFM	M	16
Blake	DSFM	M	16
Christian	DSFM	M	15
Claire	DSFM	F	16
Elektra	DSFM	F	16
Eveline	DSFM	F	16
Jasmine	DSFM	F	16
Jonathan	DSFM	M	16
Lina	DSFM	F	16
Malana	DSFM	F	15
Raul	DSFM	M	17
Stéphanie	DSFM	F	17
Aurore	ST	F	16
Ayla	ST	F	16
Jaelyn	ST	F	16
Jomei	ST	F	16
Léonore	ST	F	16
Luc	ST	M	17
Lucille	ST	F	16
Mycroft	ST	M	17
Nikko	ST	F	16
Senna	ST	F	16
Zara	ST	F	16
Amber	DT	F	16
Anora	DT	F	16
Aura	DT	F	17
Conrad	DT	M	16
Dalla	DT	F	16

Élaine	DT	F	17
Frances	DT	F	16
Gilbert	DT	M	16
José	DT	M	16
Nicolas	DT	M	15
Nora	DT	F	17
Sophie	DT	F	15
Thea	DT	F	16
Vera	DT	F	16

The smallest school was the DSFM, followed by the single-track and then the dual-track school in terms of total student population. Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the student populations of each school. Table 4 lists the number of grade 11 students at each school and Table 5 lists the total number of students at each school.

Table 4: Grade 11 Population



It is however important to note that the dual-track participants are a minority within their school as they are only 23% of the grade 11 school population. Moreover, the French

immersion dual-track students grades 9 to 12 make up only 20% of their entire school population (see Tables 6 and 7).

Table 5: Grades 9 to 12 Population

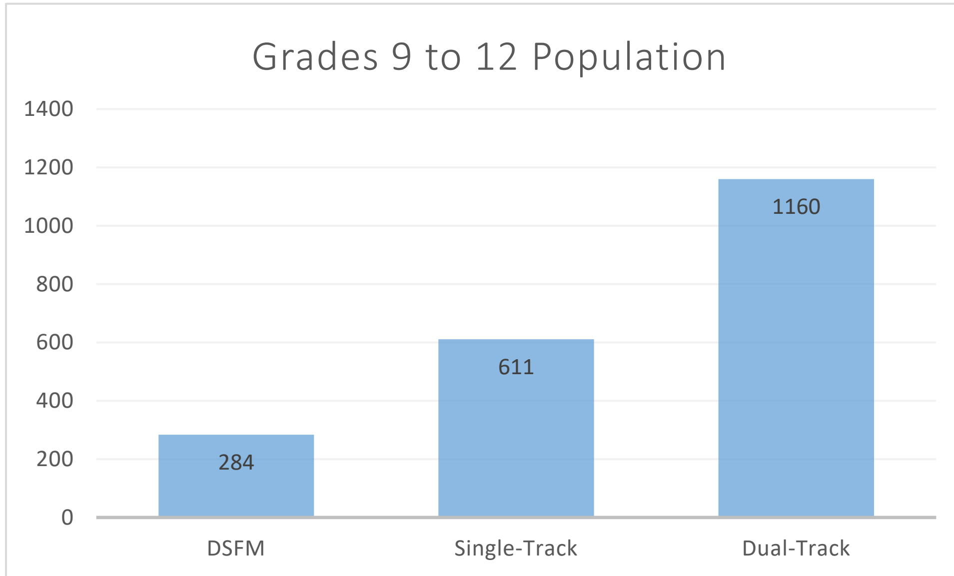


Table 6: Dual-Track Grade 11 Population

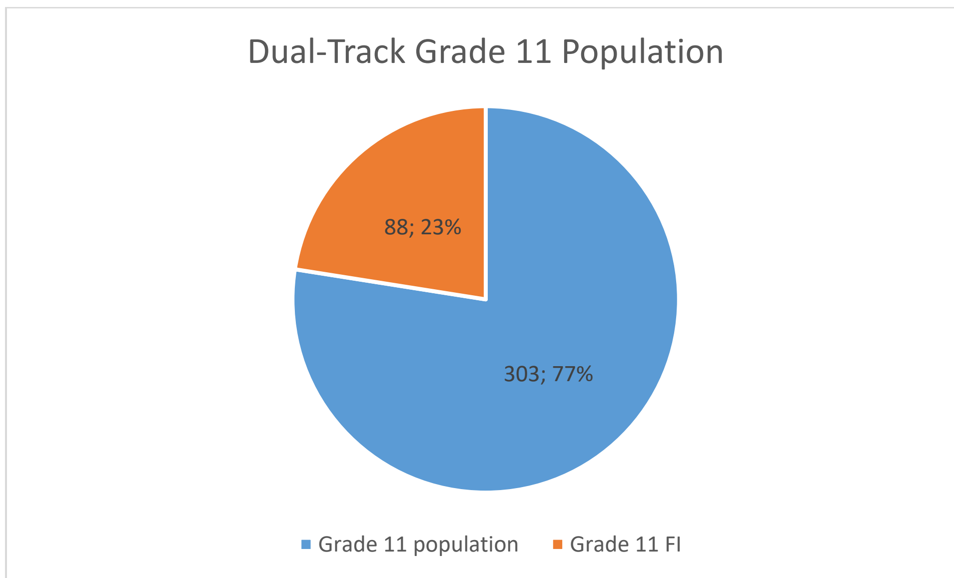
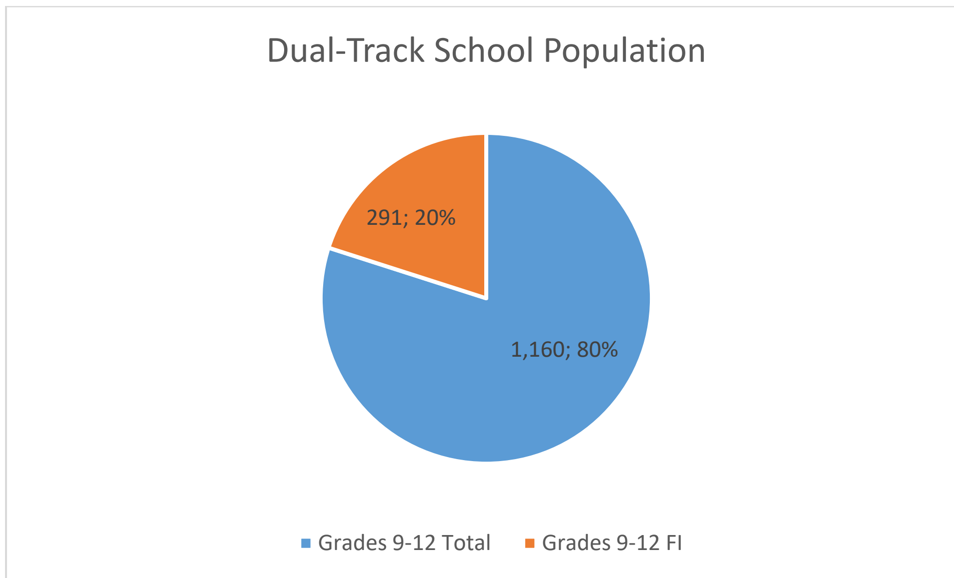


Table 7: Dual-Track School Population



When this study was conducted, 88 grade 11 students were enrolled in the French immersion program at the dual-track school. Therefore, the smallest high school based on program enrollment is the DSFM school (60 students), followed by the dual-track school (88 students) and then the single-track school (153 students).

Procedures.

The first interviews were conducted in February and March 2016 (see Appendix 6: First Interview Questions for the first interview questions). Each school offered me a private location, usually a small room or boardroom, in which I conducted the first and second interviews. These interviews lasted between 30 and 70 minutes. The majority of the interviews were conducted one-on-one. In the DSFM group, a teacher asked if the participants could do their interview with a partner since some did not want to do their interview alone. I agreed and two interviews were done with two participants at the same time. At the beginning of the first interview, students selected the interview language; either French or English. I then reviewed informed consent with them and described the

study. At the end of the interview, each participant chose a pseudonym. I provided the participants with a list of names that meant light since I was inspired by Bakhtin's (1981) description of interillumination: "languages throw light on each other: one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language" (p. 12). The majority of participants selected a name from the list and the others proposed their own pseudonym, which I freely accepted.

In February 2016, I also took pictures of the linguistic landscapes of the schools. No pictures were taken of individuals and any names found on the pictures were removed using photo-editing software. The corpus includes 336 photographs of the permanent and non-permanent signs in the schools. At the end of March 2016, I put together a PowerPoint presentation with a selection of 11 images. I also selected six images that I printed and displayed on a table in the interview room. My goal was to limit the number of images to fewer than 20 since more than that can result in the participants becoming confused and distracted (Matteucci, 2013). The images were selected in order to represent the three school contexts and to show the diversity of signs present in specific schools. Some of the images were selected because I found them interesting either because of language placement, linguistic errors or the absence of writing. In total, the 17 images used during the photo-elicitation interview included three from the DSFM school, five from the Single-track school and nine from the Dual-track school.

The purpose of the display of six images on the table was to allow the students some choice with regard to which images they wanted to analyze. Also, it was beneficial to have printed images since the students could then touch and move around the pictures if they wanted. Similarly, in their educational study, Woolner et al. (2010) found that

using printed out photographs as visual prompts resulted in more engagement from the student participants. The same collection of 17 images was shown to all 37 participants during the second interview which took place in April 2016. Participants were asked to describe the images, one by one, from the PowerPoint presentation. They were also asked to explain their thoughts with regard to the picture and to attempt to identify from which school context they thought the image was taken. Next, they were asked to select one, some or all of the six pictures on display and to describe them (see Appendix 7: Second interview (Photo-elicitation questions) for the second interview questions).

At the beginning of the second interview, I once again offered the participants the choice of conducting their interview in either French or English. All participants chose to remain consistent with their language choice. In other words, if they had chosen French for their first interview, they chose French for their second interview. I then proceeded to conduct a form of member checking. Traditionally, member checks involve the participants reviewing and offering changes to their interview transcripts or validating the analyzed themes in order to render the study more credible and reliable (Bradbury-Jones, Irvine, & Sambrook, 2010). However, when member checks are done in this way they do not often result in changes to the data since participants rarely disagree with the researcher (Kornbluh, 2015; Thomas, 2017). Ultimately, the goal of conducting member checks is to clarify information and to reach a deeper understanding of the data by showing diverse perspectives (Kornbluh, 2015). This was done during data collection by asking clarification questions throughout the first and second interviews. Before the second interviews, I reviewed the oral interview data since I had not yet started the transcription process. Based on this review of the data, I selectively conducted member

checks with participants when I needed more information or clarifications (Thomas, 2017).

At the beginning of the second interview, I reviewed informed consent with all the participants and explained how I would be using the interview data. One participant requested that I remove a specific comment from his or her interview. I made sure to omit it in the transcript and it was not included in the analysis. As well, some participants had originally not wanted to receive a summary of the findings, but changed their minds at this point in the second interview. All participants were also offered the opportunity to add comments at the end of both interviews. Since the interviews were conducted roughly one month apart, this gave them time to reflect on the topic and decide whether or not they wanted to change or add anything (Torrance, 2012). As well, participants were asked to share their own interpretations of the images and I purposefully refrained from offering my own interpretation. This was done in order to encourage the participants to analyze the images in a way that was meaningful to them. Ultimately, I feel this method allowed for the linguistic landscape analysis to be co-constructed and to represent a diversity of perspectives. Although this was not a traditional way of conducting member checks, it still resulted in pertinent changes and additions to the data while at the same time it respected the time commitments the students had been willing to give to this project.

From June to August 2016, I transcribed the interview data from both interviews. I used the online program *Transcribe* to slow down the audio input to facilitate the process. The program also offers dictation software which I tried. It was however ineffective in transcribing bilingual data and had trouble recognizing the regional French present in my data. It was therefore easier to do the transcriptions myself. Ultimately,

through repeated exposure, I became very familiar with my data which helped when it came time to analyze. I also used a standardized editing approach which involved editing the transcripts so that they would follow writing conventions without changing the actual words of the participants. An example of this approach is changing “I was gonna” to “I was going to” (Weiss, 1994). Using this type of editing approach is especially useful for quotations that will require a translation. However, I did not correct verb tenses or subject agreements since this often changed the words. As well, in oral French it is common to drop one of the two negations in a negative sentence. I did not add any negations since it would have meant adding words and making a significant change to the authenticity of the quotations.

Translation.

In order for the participants’ words to “remain in their language as long as possible”, I employed late translation (G. Cormier, 2018, p. 9). This means that only the quotations from French interviews that appear in this text have been translated. Otherwise, all French data remained in French until translation was required. For the quotations that needed to be translated, I translated. Although I am not an official translator, I am fluent in both French and English and I am familiar with student vocabulary and expressions since I have taught both languages to French immersion and French-language students. I focused on conceptual equivalence, which involves translating the main ideas instead of translating word-for-word, since this is the preferred method of translation for qualitative research (Shklarov, 2007). To verify the accuracy of the translation, I also used parallel translation. This involved getting a community member, in this case my husband, to read the passages in French and translate them to English (Sutrisno, Nguyen, & Tangen, 2014). My husband is also fluent in both French

and English and has worked with French-language and French immersion students. Parallel translation concludes with a comparison of the two translations and a discussion about any differences in order to create a more robust final translation. In the following sections, all quotations will appear in their original language. The French quotations will be accompanied by an English translation in the footnote. This was done intentionally in order to place the minority language in a position of power. Also, any translanguaging examples, whether they are French-English or English-French, will be italicized. All participant quotations will also be followed or preceded by their pseudonym and their school context, either DSFM (French-language school), ST (Single-track school) or DT (Dual-track school).

Data analysis.

The first interviews were analyzed qualitatively using NVivo 11 software. NVivo is a popular software package to use in qualitative research with many participants since it allows the researcher to systematically organize and synthesize the data (Houghton et al., 2017). The software enabled me to group the participants into three categories that I selected based on the educational context: DSFM, Single-track or Dual-track. The demographic interview data was compiled in an Excel document in order to be easily retrieved and to facilitate table generation. Then, each interview was coded following Yin's (2011) method for qualitative analysis. Passages were coded using in vivo codes that summarized sections of text. Although I had interview data in both English and French, the majority of codes were in English. This was done to promote consistency across the interviews. Exceptions to this rule were terms that were said in French even though the interview was conducted in English such as *Franglais* and *Québécois* accent. Each interview was coded individually starting with all the interviews from the DSFM

context, then Single-track and finally Dual-track. This was especially useful for the "reassembling" step because I was able to easily compare within and across contexts (Yin, 2011, p. 193).

In NVivo 11, codes are called nodes. NVivo 11 keeps track of how many times a node was referenced and also how many sources mentioned it. For example, across all the contexts the node "French immersion accent" was referenced 43 times by 24 different participants. When the number of references to a node was higher than the number of participants it indicated that, in general, participants mentioned that node more than once in their interview.

Upon completing the analysis of the interviews of one context, I made sure to export a list of all the nodes with their accompanying reference and source numbers. When I completed the next context, I cross-referenced the nodes in order to generate a list of any new nodes and also to see to what extent a particular node was referenced in that context. Once all the interviews had been coded, I was then able to determine which nodes were specific to a particular context since they were not mentioned elsewhere, how popular a node had been in a particular context and how popular a node was across all three contexts. In order to consider a node popular across all contexts, I determined that it would require at least 35 references. I chose 35 because if each participant had mentioned it at least once this would equate to 37 references. For example, as previously mentioned, the node "French immersion accent" was popular since it was referenced 43 times. My list of nodes based on each context showed that it was referenced twice in the DSFM context by one participant, 20 times by ten single-track participants and 21 times by 13 dual-track participants. This shows that the theme "French immersion accent" was

especially relevant to students who went to French immersion single- and dual-track schools.

Once all the first interviews were analyzed in this fashion, I then re-read all the quotations in each node and rearranged them if necessary. In total, 119 codes were created in the coding process. Five of those codes were referenced only once by one participant and were not included in the next step of analysis. As suggested by Yin (2011), the codes were then sorted under the themes from the literature review: language ideologies, language attitudes, linguistic identity, language use, linguistic landscape. Since not all the codes fell under these categories, I added the following emergent themes: context and school choice.

Although the linguistic landscape corpus is comprised of over 300 photographs, I did not take a picture of absolutely everything in each school's linguistic landscape. For example, elements such as Exit signs were only taken once even though the same sign appeared in several places in the school. As well, some schools had quotation posters placed throughout the school. I took pictures of some but not all of those posters. Initially, I had also wanted examples of graffiti but had trouble finding such examples. This is perhaps because graffiti is removed in schools and also because I did not frequent the places where there might be more examples of it. I did not look under tables in the cafeteria and I felt it was inappropriate to go into the student washrooms with a camera. Instead, I focused on the elements of the linguistic landscape that were evident to a regular school visitor. Also, I selected the images the participants were asked to analyze in the photo-elicitation interview. These choices made during data collection ultimately influenced what could be analyzed. As a group, when there were commonalities among

the participants' interpretations, it warranted being discussed. In the same way, if one sign "spoke" to a student in a profound way, this also warranted discussion.

Since the data that resulted from the photo-elicitation interviews was mostly descriptive, the analysis was done differently. Using NVivo 11, I created nodes based on the photograph the participants were describing. This resulted in a document for each photograph that contained every participant's thoughts on it. The photographs on display were coded in this way as well. However, since participants had the choice to speak about the photographs that interested them, I also coded this data to determine how many times a given photograph was selected by the participants. Although the participants were not asked whether or not they liked certain photographs, some chose to make these comments. Therefore, I also coded for affective responses. It was then necessary to conduct another literature review to add more detail to some of the themes and to research the emergent themes. In the findings section, participant quotations are used to present the themes and the study concludes with implications as is common in qualitative research (Creswell, 2008; Yin, 2011).

Chapter Four: Zoom Out (Findings)

In photography, a useful technique is being able to zoom in and out. Zooming in permits the photographer to focus on a particular object while zooming out focuses on the context in general. In this study, I will present the findings by first zooming out to focus on the greater context of linguistic landscapes by looking at school choice, language ideologies and attitudes, linguistic identity and language use. Chapter Five will then zoom in to specific elements (signs) that were found in the linguistic landscapes (see Figure 2, modified from (Evil, 2012)).

Figure 2: Zooming in and out

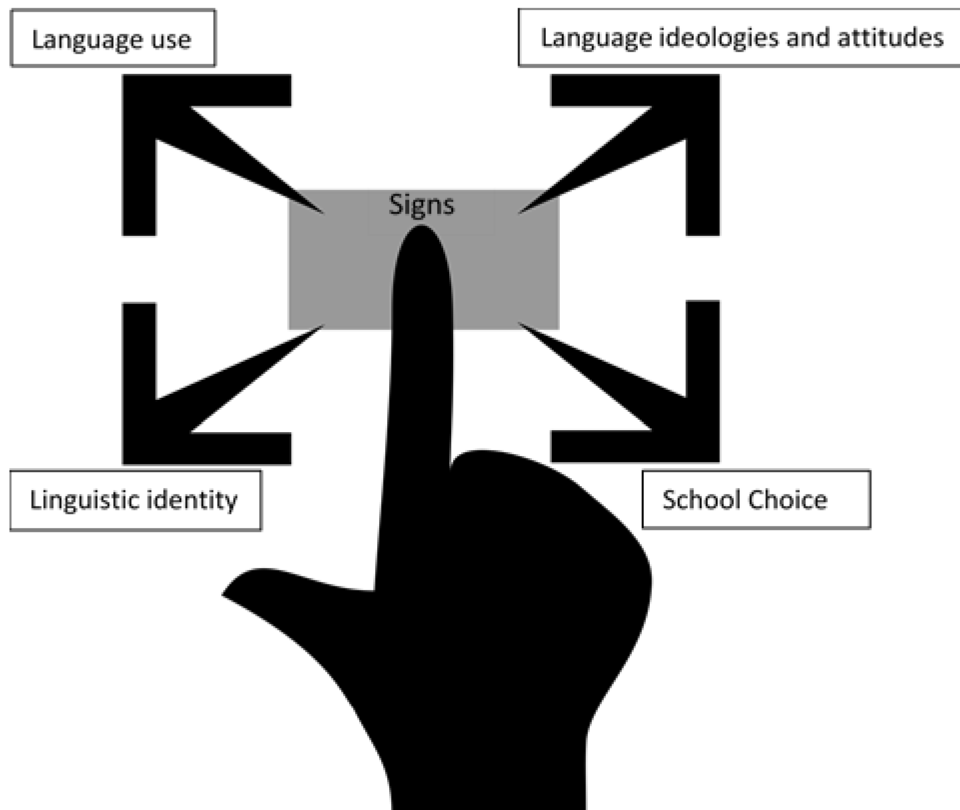


Image modified from (Evil, 2012)

The findings in Chapter Four will first be divided by school context (DSFM, single-track and dual-track) and then subdivided into the themes of school choice,

language ideologies and attitudes, linguistic identity and language use. These divisions were selected based on the themes present in the literature review and in the interview questions (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Yin, 2011). Two emergent themes surfaced during data analysis: context and school choice. It is important to note that there are some similar findings across all contexts but in particular among the two French immersion contexts. Therefore, when the findings relate to more than one context, citations from participants outside the particular context under study may be used.

DSFM: Close-Knit Group

Context.

As previously noted, the school population at the DSFM high school was the smallest. This is due in part to the *ayant-droit* policies that indicate that students must have Francophone heritage in order to attend, which is a small population to begin with. Moreover, school choice and transfer, which will be discussed in a subsequent section, also play a part in determining the school population. No matter the reason, the small student population is noted by many of the students and is considered advantageous.

One student explained how the small student population results in a sense of community that he feels is present not only in his school but in the French-language school division in general. To illustrate, he even describes the DSFM as one big family:

> Même si je ne connais pas chaque personne de la DSFM c'est plutôt comme une famille donc chaque fois qu'il y a un gros concert de la DSFM je me sens comme si j'appartiens et c'est vraiment quelque chose qui est très important à mon enfance parce que depuis le temps que je vais à l'école tous les événements, les

événements sportives ou culturels ils étaient toujours avec la communauté francophone[5]. (Raul, DSFM)

For the vast majority of DSFM participants, French is not only their school language but also the language they speak at home. Only one participant said that he only spoke English at home. The rest spoke either only French, both French and English or *Franglais*. For the participants, *Franglais* is a mixture of the two languages where essentially both languages are activated which results in translanguaging practices. Language use at home becomes an important descriptor of the DSFM context since only 16% of all the French immersion participants spoke English and French at home. To illustrate, Eveline (DSFM) describes the student population at her school and differentiates them from students in the French immersion context:

> La plupart des gens qui viennent à cette école ont des parents qui parlent en français ou des grands-parents ou les ancêtres qui parlent en français ou possiblement les gens qui vont à l'école immersion c'est moins comme à la maison ils vont pas parler en français ils vont parler en anglais[6].

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[5] Even if I don't know every single person at the DSFM it's more like a family so every time that there's a big DSFM concert I feel like I belong and it's really something that's very important to my childhood because since I've been going to school all the events, the sporting or cultural events they were always with the Francophone community (Raul, DSFM).

[6] Most of the people who come to this school have parents who speak French or grand-parents or ancestors who speak French or possibly people who go to Immersion school it's less like at home, they won't speak French they'll speak English (Eveline, DSFM).

Another aspect that differentiates the French-language school from the other school contexts is the importance given to the French language. The participants who had left DSFM schools and were currently attending single- or dual-track schools had a tendency to describe the DSFM school context as being "strictly French" (Jaelyn, ST). They also often referenced instances in which English was not permitted. Gilbert (DT) even goes so far as to say that the French-only policy of the DSFM is what made him decide to leave:

> But that's when I kind of decided that I like French immersion a lot better because my French, say you didn't know a word in French, like if you didn't know what mall was, *je suis allé au mall*[7], they would actually get you in trouble for speaking in English so I hated that … I know that some French schools they really hate it when you speak English, so mine all the time I would pass someone in the hallway and be like hey how's it going and oh speak French next time you're going to the office and it's kind of dumb.

Perhaps one of the biggest distinctions seems to be that in French-language schools teachers expect students to speak French all the time, even "at recess" (Nora, DT) and in the hallways. Luc (ST) agrees and believes that there are fewer restrictions with regard to language use at French immersion schools: "je me souviens que mes professeurs étaient plus fâchés, peut-être pas fâchés mais comme ils voulaient plus que tu parles en français dans les corridors qu'ici par exemple[8]". Although some DSFM students agree and feel

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[7] I went to the mall (Gilbert, DT).

[8] I remember that my teachers were angrier, maybe not angry but like they wanted you to speak French more in the hallway than here for example (Luc, ST).

they are forced to speak French, they either think it is a good thing or simply believe that it is the purpose of their school. For example:

> If we speak English, or if we're caught speaking English we're not in trouble, but we'll like be told to speak French. Like it's pure French here it's not English we're not really, it's not really accepted to speak in English here. (Malana, DSFM)

Malana (DSFM) makes the point that the language at French-language schools is French. It is what distinguishes French-language schools from other types of schools in the city.

The previous quotations focus on the importance of using French in the French-language school context. English language use is punished because it is a threat to the maintenance of the French language. The rules against English language use are there simply because, as one participant put it, "the DSFM they like care more about it because I don't know it's an all French school, it's always been enforced that they're supposed to be speaking French" (Nikko, ST). Caring more about the language is certainly a reason for language maintenance. In describing his teachers, Raul (DSFM) even believes they not only care about French, but that they are openly passionate about the language: "je pense les enseignants ici sont tellement passionnés par le français, quand on les passe dans les couloirs on entend deux enseignants en train de converser c'est toujours en français[9]".

However, despite educators' efforts, DSFM students admit that there is quite a bit of English language use at their school. As Elektra (DSFM) explains, "la plupart des

[9] I think the teachers here are so passionate about French, when we walk by them in the hallway we hear two teachers talking it's always in French (Raul, DSFM)

élèves, ils parlent toujours ou la plupart du temps en anglais entre eux, malgré le fait qu'ils soient francophones et je trouve ça un peu dommage[10]". This shows that however close-knit the Francophone community may be and despite attempts to maintain and protect French, the French-language school division and students are still influenced by the power of the English language. Yet, it is nevertheless clear that the parents of these participants chose to send their children to a French-language school.

School choice.

Although participants reported many different reasons for choosing their high school, it is clear that they all made a choice or a choice was made for them. Sometimes they made this choice on their own, with their parents or their parents decided. For many participants, school choice is synonymous with program choice. DSFM participants often cited language maintenance as a reason for continuing their education in the French-language school division. For example, Claire (DSFM) states that her parents chose a French-language education for her so that she would not lose her French:

> Ils voulaient que j'étais dans une école française parce qu'au Manitoba la langue majoritaire, beaucoup parlent l'anglais alors ils voulaient pas que je perde mon français si j'allais à une école anglaise[11].

As one student put it, if you are proud that you are Francophone, you generally want your children to learn the language and the place to do that is at the DSFM:

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[10] Most of the students, they speak all the time or most of the time in English amongst themselves despite the fact that they're Francophone and I find that slightly unfortunate (Elektra, DSFM).

[11] They wanted me to be in a French school because in Manitoba the language of the majority, many speak English so they didn't want me to lose my French if I went to an English school (Claire, DSFM).

> Je sais que mes parents ils le prennent à cœur qu'on est francophone et puis bilingue alors ils penseraient que ça allait peut-être nous aider éventuellement dans le futur si on va apprendre la langue puis juste comme la fierté francophone, aller à l'école française[12]. (Lina, DSFM)

Other factors influenced DSFM participants to select their high school such as the proximity of the school to their home (Apollo, DSFM), friends that were planning to attend or siblings that had previously attended (Eveline, Raul, Stéphanie, DSFM) and the school's reputation. Malana (DSFM) and her parents had "heard a lot of really good things" about the school which influenced their school selection. There were also some students who believed that graduating from a French-language school was more prestigious:

> Je voulais graduer avec un diplôme français alors je suis aussi capable de dire que j'ai gradué d'une école française et pas anglais ou immersion, être fière de graduer de faire tout en français et ne pas changer à mi-chemin[13]. (Stéphanie, DSFM)

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[12] I know that my parents take it seriously that we're Francophone and bilingual so they thought it might maybe help us eventually in the future if we were to learn the language and also just like the Francophone pride, going to a French school (Lina, DSFM).

[13] I wanted to graduate with a French diploma, so I can also say that I graduated from a French school and not English or immersion, to be proud of graduating, of doing everything in French and not switching halfway (Stéphanie, DSFM).

In her comment, Stéphanie (DSFM) mentions how continuing in French brought her a sense of pride. That pride stems from the elevated status she attributes to the French-language diploma.

Since some single-track and dual-track participants had attended a DSFM elementary school, their high school choice was important to analyze. Although there were a variety of responses such as the immersion school being closer (Luc, ST) and a less strict French environment (Gilbert, DT), the majority of students reported that course options and in particular sports were the main reason they left the DSFM. For example, "I was able to play on the hockey team and stuff and like I really wanted to play high school hockey" (Jaelyn, ST) and "je voulais jouer au football … je pense pas que l'école francophone avait une équipe de football[14]" (Nicolas, DT). The small school population makes it so that many sports and optional courses are simply not offered at DSFM schools. Ultimately, these participants felt they could still continue their education in French at a French immersion school while at the same time having more options. Although Lina (DSFM) admits that bigger French immersion or English schools have more course options, for her and her parents, French was more important.

While a desire to maintain the French language influenced school choice, the perceived association between job opportunities and the French language was also an element that influenced school choice. In fact, the code "job opportunities" was popular across all three school contexts since it contained 72 references made by 33 participants, making it the third most popular topic among all the participants. It is clear that the

[14] I wanted to play football … I don't think that the French school had a football team (Nicolas, DT).

participants and their parents strongly believe that French-English bilingualism leads to greater job opportunities. For example, Blake (DSFM) goes so far as to say that “le français c'est qu'est-ce qui m'a eu mon premier emploi[15]”. Although some DSFM students noted that bilingualism was valuable, they attributed that advantage to being French instead of to their schooling. For example, Malana (DSFM) indicates, “if I was just English I could probably only get English jobs but if I'm French I could have twice the opportunity because I speak French and English”. When making a school choice for their children, Francophone parents consider which schools will offer the most advantages for their children. In turn, their children believe that these advantages will exist for them due to their schooling. The school choice decision is then compounded by the different educational program choices and also by the power afforded to each of the official languages in the Manitoban and greater Canadian society.

Language ideologies.

The notion that English was the language of the majority in Manitoba was an especially referenced topic among the DSFM participants. Eight out of 12 participants mentioned it for a total of 19 references from the DSFM context. In both French immersion contexts, this topic was only referenced by nine other individuals. This is perhaps because, as Francophones, they are more cognizant of their language’s minority status. Whereas, dominant Anglophones may not be as aware of the prevalence of their language as it is taken for granted. It is then conceivable that issues with language status may not concern them. In an everyday example, Blake (DSFM) shows how the English language is the default setting:

[15] French is what got me my first job (Blake, DSFM).

> Quand tu reçois un nouveau téléphone c'est toujours en anglais alors tu as besoin de le changer en français et ça montre que l'anglais est plus, c'est plus tout partout que le français[16].

On the same topic, Eveline (DSFM) shows how important it is to speak English in Manitoba:

> Pour travailler au Manitoba il faut que tu parles anglais puis les gens que tu vas communiquer avec comme si tu vas au centre d'achats ou à la banque ou *whatever* ça va toujours être en anglais[17].

The DSFM participants note that the only places where French is dominant is at school and at home, otherwise English is the dominant language. For example:

> Although we do speak French at school, French is still a minority language so the times you'd actually use French outside of school are very slim and that's if you're talking to family or friends. (Jonathan, DSFM)

To illustrate further, Christian (DSFM) attributes an order to each language "la langue primaire est l'anglais *and then* la langue deuxième c'est français[18]", showing that English comes first followed by French. Thus, the DSFM participants' language ideologies showed that they were aware of each language's status in the greater society.

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[16] When you receive a new phone it's always in English so you need to change it to French and it shows that English is more, it's more everywhere than French (Blake, DSFM).

[17] To work in Manitoba you need to speak English and the people that you'll communicate with, like if you go to the mall or to the bank or *whatever* it'll always be in English (Eveline, DSFM).

[18] The primary language is English *and then* the second language is French (Christian, DSFM).

While DSFM participants seem to be more aware of the unequal relationship between French and English, some French immersion participants also noticed this. Perhaps, by virtue of studying a minority language, they develop an understanding of other linguistic groups. In fact, Aura (DT) understands that she is privileged to speak English, the dominant language of the province: "comme anglophones nous avons souvent le privilège de parler aux autres dans notre langue maternelle et on n'a pas besoin de souvent le français[19]". Unmistakably, even if both English and French are the country's official languages, they are not equally as important.

In terms of language ideologies with regard to other languages, many participants noted that they had taken Spanish as an optional course and sometimes mentioned it in the languages that they spoke. Despite this interest in another language offered as a school subject, Table 8 shows that there is very little diversity in the languages participants say they speak. The languages in this table are presented in the order the participants presented them in their interview. Interestingly, all the DSFM participants listed French first except Malana (DSFM) and Jonathan (DSFM) who incidentally also conducted their interviews in English.

Table 8 : Languages Spoken by DSFM Participants

Pseudonym	School	Languages spoken
Apollo	DSFM	French, English
Blake	DSFM	French, English
Christian	DSFM	French, English
Claire	DSFM	French, Spanish, English
Elektra	DSFM	French, English, Japanese
Eveline	DSFM	French, English, Spanish

[19] As Anglophones we often have the privilege of speaking to others in our mother tongue and we often don't need French (Aura, DT).

Jasmine	DSFM	French, English, Spanish
Jonathan	DSFM	English, French, Swahili
Lina	DSFM	French, English
Malana	DSFM	English, French, Spanish
Raul	DSFM	French, English, Spanish
Stéphanie	DSFM	French, English, Spanish

At the DSFM school, there were two participants who spoke a language other than French or English at home; these were Spanish (Claire, DSFM) and Swahili (Jonathan, DSFM). These two participants were cognizant of the status afforded to their minority language. This was evident in their comments stating that it was more challenging to maintain these languages than French or English. For instance, Jonathan (DSFM) explained that his parents had developed a "language-speaking schedule" where the day of the week determined the language they would speak at home, either French, English or Swahili in order to ensure their children would speak all three languages. As well, Claire (DSFM) believes that language loss is more likely when that language is not an official language: "si je continue à vivre au Manitoba et je ne parle pas à ma mère en espagnol je pense que je vais perdre cette langue parce qu'elle n'est pas une langue officielle au Canada[20]". The comments with regard to multilingualism show that both French and English are the official languages of instruction in Canada. In order to maintain other languages, a conscious effort, as demonstrated by some of the participants' families, must be made.

[20] If I continue to live in Manitoba and I don't speak to my mother in Spanish I think I will lose the language because it's not an official language in Canada (Claire, DSFM).

While the previous participants spoke realistically about losing these minority languages, other participants were equally realistic about losing French. Notably, no participant felt that he or she would or could lose English. When they spoke of language loss, it was always in reference to French or to another minority language. In some cases, participants mentioned factors such as graduating and leaving the school context that might lead to losing French. DSFM participants often cited personal or family examples to show the real possibility of French language loss. To illustrate:

> Mes cousins parlaient le français auparavant mais là ils ont arrêté … là qu'ils ont déménagé aux États-Unis ils ont perdu leur langue comme ils peuvent pas nous parler en français en ce moment[21]. (Lina, DSFM)

Here, Lina (DSFM) remarks that moving to a country where French is not an official language contributed to language loss in her family. Others, like Stéphanie (DSFM), note that even in Canada where French is an official language some of her cousins have stopped speaking French. On a more personal level, Raul (DSFM) describes how he feels he has lost some of his French due to the prevalence of English in his life:

> Je peux déjà remarquer un peu l'effet de tout l'anglais dans ma vie sur mon français, j'oublie certains mots que j'utilise pas souvent parce que je parle le français seulement avec un certain groupe de gens dans ma vie[22].

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[21] My cousins used to speak French but now they've stopped … since they moved to the United States they've lost their language like they're currently unable to speak to us in French (Lina, DSFM).

[22] I can already notice a bit of the effect of all the English in my life on my French, I forget certain words that I don't use often because I only speak French with a certain group of people in my life (Raul, DSFM).

Finally, DSFM participants also feel that leaving the DSFM and attending a French immersion school leads to language loss. As Claire (DSFM) notes, “beaucoup de mes amis qui sont allés à l'immersion sont en train de perdre leur français[23]”. Consequently, the language ideologies held by the DSFM participants point to the status afforded to each language and its impact on whether or not they are likely to maintain it.

Language attitudes.

Although participants were very realistic about the possibility of losing one or more of their languages, they were overwhelmingly positive about bilingualism. In fact, 26 participants felt there were no disadvantages at all with being bilingual. Others noted that in the past there was discrimination against Francophones but that is no longer the case:

> Je sais qu'il y avait la discrimination auparavant contre les francophones ici, mais de nos jours je pense que c'est quelque chose complètement positif, je ne me suis jamais fait intimidé ou discriminé contre parce que je peux parler le français, alors je dirais qu'il y a juste des avantages[24] (Raul, DSFM).

In many participants' comments it was also clear that they felt a sense of pride in their bilingualism.

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[23] Many of my friends who went to immersion are in the process of losing their French (Claire, DSFM).

[24] I know that in the past there was discrimination against Francophones here, but nowadays I think it's something completely positive, I have never been bullied or discriminated against because I can speak French, so I would say that there are only advantages (Raul, DSFM).

The DSFM participants, in particular, felt that French was important because it is the language they speak with their friends and family. As Lina (DSFM) states, being part of the Francophone community is important for her:

> Quand je fais des activités en français je suis comme heureuse et je suis confortable puis je me sens comme s'il y a vraiment une bonne communauté francophone ici au Manitoba, donc j'ai comme cette fierté[25].

In Blake's (DSFM) comment, it is clear that French is important enough for him to want to maintain it: "c'est quelque chose de très important, et que probablement je veux jamais que ça sort de ma vie parce que je ne vais pas connaitre une autre langue aussi bien[26]". Many DSFM participants agreed with Blake (DSFM) and cited the importance of language maintenance. For example, Eveline (DSFM) mentions how her mother is a strong proponent of language maintenance: "ma mère m'a toujours dit que le français est quelque chose d'important et je devrais le conserver[27]". All the DSFM participants believed French was important for them and for their parents. For Malana (DSFM) there is a clear association between how she feels about French and how her family feels about it:

> I think it is because it's part of our culture and also who we are like we're *Francophone* so if we lose that we're just we're losing our culture and we're

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[25] When I participate in activities in French I'm like happy and I'm comfortable and I feel like there's a really good Francophone community here in Manitoba, so I have like this pride (Lina, DSFM).

[26] It's something that's very important, and that probably I never want it to leave my life because I'll never know another language as well (Blake, DSFM).

[27] My mother always told me that French is something that's important and that I should maintain it (Eveline, DSFM).

losing our whole family, like it's just part of our family, part of our life so we can't really lose that.

Even when DSFM participants have a parent who does not speak French, it is clear that that parent is extremely supportive when it comes to learning the French language. Eveline (DSFM) talks about her Anglophone father's feelings toward the French language:

> Mon père est anglophone quand même *so*, il supporte la francophonie et il pense que c'est très important, il dit toujours que s'il aurait eu l'opportunité d'apprendre le français quand il était jeune il l'aurait fait[28].

Raul (DSFM) even believes that language maintenance and school choice are the result of his parents' positive attitude towards the language: "je dirais ils accordent une pas mal grosse importance s'ils ont gardé leur langue si longtemps et s'ils ont décidé de nous mettre dans la DSFM[29]". In this case, positive parental attitudes towards the language led to their desire to pass on their language and identity to their children.

Linguistic identity.

In contrast to survey studies on linguistic identity, interview data was especially useful in this study since participants could explain why they had chosen a particular identity. Although the interview question gave them examples of linguistic identities, the

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[28] My father is an Anglophone but yeah, *so* he supports Francophonie and he thinks that it's very important, he's always saying that if he had had the opportunity to learn French when he was young he would have done it (Eveline, DSFM).

[29] I would say that they believe it's pretty important if they kept their language for so long and if they decided to send us to the DSFM (Raul, DSFM).

participants were free to define themselves in any way they wanted (see Appendix 6: First Interview Questions. As Table 9 shows, the most popular linguistic identity was the bilingual identity. However, when the participants explained their linguistic identity choice it generally related to the concept of belonging.

Table 9 : DSFM Participants' Linguistic Identities

Pseudonym	School	Linguistic identity
Apollo	DSFM	Bilingual
Blake	DSFM	Bilingual
Christian	DSFM	Bilingual/Franglais
Claire	DSFM	Trilingual
Elektra	DSFM	Francophone
Eveline	DSFM	Bilingual
Jasmine	DSFM	Francophone/Bilingual
Jonathan	DSFM	Multilingual
Lina	DSFM	Bilingual/Franco-Manitoban
Malana	DSFM	Francophone/Trilingual
Raul	DSFM	Francophone/Bilingual
Stéphanie	DSFM	Francophone/Bilingual

For the following participants, feeling as though they belong to both groups has resulted in the adoption of a bilingual identity. For example, Christian (DSFM) states, "je suis les deux souvent[30]" and Jonathan (DSFM) feels like he's "in the midst of both". Although being between two cultural groups can sometimes lead to confusion or despair (Sallaz, 2010), this does not appear to be the case with these participants. Thus, the bilingual identity was preferred among the DSFM participants since it was neutral, inclusive and described their linguistic abilities.

The DSFM participants also demonstrated more complexity and hybridity in their linguistic identity definitions than the French immersion participants; hence the slashes in

[30] I am often both (Jonathan, DSFM).

Table 9. Many said they were Francophone or Franco-Manitoban as well as bilingual. While the terms Franco-Manitoban and Francophone can be defined and interpreted in different ways, I will treat those two linguistic identities in the same fashion since the participants felt that Franco-Manitoban and Francophone were more or less synonymous. Perhaps the only clarification is that for the participants Franco-Manitoban means "anyone who speaks French and lives in Manitoba" (Apollo, DSFM). But, if individuals were not raised in Manitoba, like Nicolas (DT) they do not feel part of that group. Elektra (DSFM) was the only participant who defined herself as solely Francophone. For her, it best defined her culturally and linguistically: "ç'a toujours été la langue que j'ai utilisé, puis je me sens plus à l'aise avec, j'aime la culture française alors c'est ça[31]". However, the rest of the DSFM participants included English in their linguistic definitions in one way or another.

Although Raul (DSFM) admits that most Franco-Manitobans also speak English, he still makes a point of adding bilingual to his linguistic identity. He explains how he feels here:

> Je me considère franco-manitobain parce que c'est partie de ma vie mais vraiment *the big picture is* je suis bilingue, je peux m'exprimer dans les deux langues, mais je me considère pas anglophone parce que le français est venu

[31] It has always been the language that I use, and I feel more comfortable with it, I like French culture so that's it (Elektra, DSFM).

> premier dans ma vie donc premièrement je suis francophone ensuite je suis devenu bilingue[32]. (Raul, DSFM)

It is clear that Raul (DSFM) demonstrates “solidarity towards the Francophone community” while at the same time recognizes the usefulness of English in his life, which is common for Francophone youth who select a bilingual identity (Landry et al., 2010, p. 166). Nevertheless, he also clearly states that for him French came first. Malana (DSFM) makes a similar comment, however, the reason why she places French first is different:

> I'd probably say French because it's my first language and I'm just used to it and I think that's the most interesting one, like English, everybody can speak English but French makes you more, not special, but like makes you stand out more and like it's a great credit to have, kind of beneficial.

Malana’s (DSFM) reason for indicating she is Francophone shows that she understands that there are advantages associated with being a Francophone who can also speak English. DSFM participants also admit that English plays a role in their lives. Christian (DSFM) speaks about using English to consume English media or with his hockey teammates. Lina (DSFM) agrees and describes the extent to which they are influenced by English media:

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[32] I consider myself Franco-Manitoban because it’s a part of my life but really *the big picture is* I am bilingual, I can express myself in both languages, but I don’t consider myself an Anglophone because French came first in my life, so first of all I am Francophone and then I became bilingual (Raul, DSFM).

> Quand on parle avec des amis on parle par rapport à la culture anglophone comme les films et la musique et disons nos *jokes* ou quelque chose ça serait des *jokes* d'un film en anglais[33].

It is then not surprising that 11 out of 12 DSFM participants include English in their linguistic identity.

Especially with regard to the Francophone identity, schooling also plays a part in shaping students' linguistic identities. As Eveline (DSFM) declares, going to a French-language school is one of the reasons she can claim the Francophone identity:

> Je dis surtout que je suis francophone, plutôt qu'anglophone parce que je parle en français à l'école puis je vais à une école française alors je dirais plutôt francophone mais habituellement je vais juste dire que je suis bilingue[34].

In fact, Raul (DSFM) notes that attending a French-language school reinforced his Francophone identity through participating in cultural events put on by the division. The association between the Francophone identity and French-language schooling is especially apparent in the single-track participants who went to DSFM elementary schools.

Schooling also makes it possible for Malana (DSFM) and Aurore (ST) to claim a trilingual identity. In both cases, these participants said they could consider themselves

[33] When we talk with friends, we talk about Anglophone culture like movies and music and let's say our *jokes* or something they would be *jokes* from an English movie (Lina, DSFM).

[34] I mostly say that I am Francophone more so than Anglophone because I speak in French at school and I go to a French school so I would more so say Francophone but usually I'll just say I'm bilingual (Eveline, DSFM).

trilingual since they were taking Spanish classes at school. Although other participants were also taking Spanish classes, they did not include this language in their linguistic identity generally because they felt they were not sufficiently fluent. Two other DSFM participants claimed a multilingual identity: Claire (DSFM) and Jonathan (DSFM). Claire's (DSFM) mother was born in Chile and speaks Spanish while Jonathan's (DSFM) parents were born in the Republic of Congo and speak Swahili and Lingala. Jonathan (DSFM) makes an important point that he is not often given the option to define himself as a multilingual speaker:

> Normally when they ask that question, they don't really bring up the whole multilingual aspect they just say either you're Anglophone or Francophone so knowing that, if I were asked I would say Francophone because they're not going to bring in a third option.

This references the way in which languages other than French and English are not afforded the same status within the school system but also within Canadian society.

In the same way that French immersion participants felt that they were different from Francophones attending a French-language school, DSFM participants considered French immersion students a distinct group. While DSFM participants did not use the term Francophiles to refer to French immersion students, they felt the main distinction was that French immersion students were learning in French instead of actually living in French. This is how Raul (DSFM) describes them:

> Dans les couloirs personne parle en français c'est vraiment pas une nécessité comme c'est plutôt juste leurs cours sont en français et ça c'est leur seule place où

ils s'expriment en français parce qu'ils n'ont pas la chance de s'exprimer en français à la maison nécessairement, je dirais que ça c'est la plus grande différence[35].

Lucille (ST) agrees with this statement and believes that DSFM students "have the pure French and we're just learning in French". DSFM participants also made comments about French immersion students' linguistic ability and in particular the French immersion accent.

Ironically, even though the DSFM participants would be considered to have a Francophone accent by the French immersion groups, they spoke about how their own accent is sometimes questioned. Many also felt that Franco-Manitoban French was influenced by English. In truth, Blake (DSFM) states that the language he speaks at home is *Franglais,* a combination of French and English. As well, Christian (DSFM) includes *Franglais* in his linguistic identity choice. This choice seems accurate since in explaining his linguistic identity he practices translanguaging: "bilingue et comme franglais parce que je parle en français *but then* je dis beaucoup de mots en anglais dans même temps *so*[36]" (Christian, DSFM).

Although *Franglais* is more or less locally accepted, DSFM participants speak about how their accent is not considered legitimate to other native French speakers. In

[35] In the hallway nobody speaks French it's really not a necessity like it's more so just their classes are in French and that's the only place where they express themselves in French because they don't have the opportunity to express themselves in French at home necessarily, I would say that's the biggest difference (Raul, DSFM).

[36] Bilingual and like *Franglais* because I speak French *but then* I say a lot of words in English at the same time *so* (Christian, DSFM).

some cases, they are perceived as French learners instead of Francophones. For example, Lina (DSFM) explains how her Franco-Manitoban accent was perceived when she was in France:

> Mais eux ils pensaient que j'étais anglophone, à cause l'accent franco-manitobain c'est un peu anglophone parce qu'on a beaucoup d'influences alors eux ils pensaient que j'étais anglophone qui apprenait le français mais j'ai dit que ma première langue c'est le français puis ils avaient un peu la difficulté à comprendre juste parce que mon accent était tellement différent par rapport à leur[37].

Jonathan (DSFM) had a similar experience when he traveled to the Republic of Congo. In some cases, he reported not being understood because his pronunciation was Manitoban and influenced by English. He talks about the difference in accents here:

> So they would speak the France French and I would speak the Manitoban French so like the way Manitobans pronounce some words are different than the way French people from France pronounce other words so I would automatically have an accent when I speak with them. (Jonathan, DSFM)

Other participants noted that even within Canada their accent is perceived as different because they do not have a Québécois accent (Claire, DSFM; Eveline, DSFM). Eveline (DSFM), Claire (DSFM) and Luc (ST) spoke about traveling to Québec and addressing

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[37] But they thought that I was an Anglophone because the Franco-Manitoban accent is a bit English because we are influenced by it so they thought that I was an Anglophone who was learning French but I told them that my first language is French and they had a bit of trouble understanding just because my accent was so different in comparison to theirs (Lina, DSFM).

someone in French but receiving a response in English. These types of experiences show that when Franco-Manitobans leave their local context, their accent is questioned. Raul (DSFM) sums up this idea when he declares that within the Franco-Manitoban community he does not have an accent but outside of that, he does:

> Comparé aux Québécois et aux Français de la France, définitivement j'ai un accent très différent des deux mais c'est vraiment pas le français que j'ai connu dans ma vie, tous les gens que je parle en français ils sont Franco-Manitobains comme moi donc pour moi j'ai pas d'accent c'est eux qui ont l'accent, ils diraient différemment[38].

It is clear that in the Manitoban context English, the language of the majority, influences the French language spoken by Franco-Manitobans.

However, being exposed to English early on makes it so that Franco-Manitobans develop excellent English skills as well as an accent similar to Anglophone Manitobans. In fact, many DSFM participants report passing for Anglophones (Skapoulli, 2004). They explain that when Anglophones discover they speak French as a first language they are often surprised because they assume they would have an accent or not be as fluent in English. In describing his experience of passing for an Anglophone, Raul (DSFM) compares Franco-Manitobans to “chameleons” since they “blend in” in Anglophone and Francophone circles. For example, Senna (ST) describes how her accents are accepted by

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[38] Compared to the Québécois and to French people from France, definitely I have a very different accent from them but it’s not really the French that I’ve known in my life, all the people to whom I talk to in French are Franco-Manitobans like me so for me I don’t have an accent they are the ones with the accent, they would say something different (Raul, DSFM).

both groups: “quand je parle le français ils sont comme *yeah* tu es francophone, quand je parle en anglais ils vont être comme *oh yeah* tu es anglophone[39]”. Thus, their Anglophone and Francophone identities are rarely challenged and as a result they can adopt a hybrid identity with ease.

Nevertheless, such a situation can eventually lead to language loss when minority language speakers speak and write the majority language “even better than and in preference to their own” (Fishman, 2001, p. 9). This seems to be the case with certain DSFM participants. For example, “I’m better in English and more comfortable reading in English and speaking in English” (Malana, DSFM) and “j’apprends un peu plus mieux en anglais qu’en français[40]” (Blake, DSFM). Although Raul (DSFM) says that he feels like a “bad Francophone” saying it, he notes that “maintenant dans ma vie c’est plus facile de parler en anglais, ça prend plus d’un effort parler en et même écrire en français[41]”. It seems as though for him a good Francophone is someone who is stronger in French than in English. Others such as Elektra (DSFM), Jasmine (DSFM) and Lina (DSFM) still note that French is their strongest language. In Raul’s (DSFM) previous quote, he makes the point that in order to feel comfortable in French you have to use the language, which will be the final theme explored for the DSFM context.

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[39] When I speak French they’re like *yeah* you’re a Francophone, when I speak English they’ll be like *oh yeah* you’re an Anglophone (Senna, ST).

[40] I learn a bit better in English than in French (Blake, DSFM).

[41] Currently in my life it’s easier to speak in English, it requires more of an effort to speak and even to write in French (Raul, DSFM).

Language use.

In the DSFM data, most participants admitted to translanguaging when speaking. However, only some said they did this in writing as well. Lina (DSFM) and Raul (DSFM) revealed that they used translanguaging when writing text messages. In contrast to the French immersion data, when DSFM participants used English, it was generally one-word or short phrases that were added into their French sentence. Also, they always returned to French right after the switch. Although French immersion students often reported using English because they lacked vocabulary in French, the DSFM participants did not always appear to translanguage for that same reason.

The majority of the translanguaging examples in the DSFM data were comprised of short words or expressions in English that were added into their French sentence. This type of translanguaging does not result in any syntactical changes in the main or matrix language (Poplack, 2015).

Table 10: DSFM Translanguaging Examples

Translanguaging examples	Translation
Bilingue et comme franglais parce que je parle en français *but then* je dis beaucoup de mots en anglais dans même temps *so* (Christian, DSFM).	Bilingual and like *Franglais* because I speak French *but then* I say a lot of words in English at the same time *so* (Christian, DSFM).
Je dirais en parlant *for sure* j'utilise les deux langues ici et là (Eveline, DSFM)	I would say while speaking *for sure* I use both languages here and there (Eveline, DSFM)
Ça fait rien, personne vraiment *care* à propos ça (Blake, DSFM).	It does nothing, nobody really *cares* about that (Blake, DSFM)

The first two examples reported in Table 10 show how English words or expressions were added into a French sentence. Remarkably, French equivalents (“donc”, “puis”, “alors”) of these English words were also used by the same individuals elsewhere in their interviews. This indicates that translanguaging was not done because the individuals lacked vocabulary in French.

The last example in Table 10 was produced by Blake (DSFM) who used the English verb “to care” in his sentence in French. This is an example of a switch that occurs mid-sentence and that results in a change to the syntax. In English, the third person requires the verb to end with the letter “s”. Yet, Blake (DSFM) has used this verb in French and conjugated it as you would in French. This example is different than Christian (DSFM) and Eveline’s (DSFM) examples since they mostly used transitional words in English. In Blake’s (DSFM) case, the verb “care” is more integrated into his French sentence. Translanguaging examples, such as Blake’s (DSFM), are complex and require a high fluency in both languages (Poplack, 2015).

Despite admitting that translanguaging was a normal practice, the taboo against translanguaging was especially apparent among the DSFM participants. Although some participants admit that they have translanguaging practices, they feel as though translanguaging is a sign of language loss: “I'd say if I had to put fillers in English in a Swahili sentence than that to me would be a sign that I'm starting to forget the language” (Jonathan, DSFM). As well, Eveline (DSFM) admits that she uses many anglicisms in her writing but does not know how to fix them. This shows that teachers not only point anglicisms out but consider them wrong. As well, Blake (DSFM) explains how oral

translanguaging is punished at school but how it is also a natural way of speaking for him and his family:

> Parce que si on parle, si on dit un ou deux mots en anglais ils vont écrire nos noms et puis ça ne marche pas parce que pour dire personne vraiment comme, ça fait rien, personne vraiment *care* à propos ça, comme mes parents vont voir ça et vont dire *okay, so*? quoi? Qu'est-ce que tu veux qu'on fait?[42]

Finally, translanguaging is taboo in this conversation with Elektra (DSFM):

> Elektra : D'habitude j'essaie de garder le français le plus propre possible.
>
> Gail: D'accord, alors pour toi un français propre c'est pas d'autres langues dedans?
>
> Elektra: Oui, probablement.
>
> Gail: Et en écrivant est-ce que tu as déjà combiné les deux langues?
>
> Elektra: Non, non, ça c'est vraiment propre mon écrit[43].

These passages indicate that translanguaging is a natural and perhaps unconscious behaviour among the DSFM participants. However, these linguistic practices are not seen in a positive light in the educational system. From what the DSFM participants described,

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[42] Because if we speak, if we say one or two words in English they'll write our names down and it doesn't work because so to speak, nobody really like, it does nothing, nobody really *cares* about that, like my parents will see that and they'll say *okay so*? What? What do you want us to do? (Blake, DSFM).

[43] Elektra : Usually I try to keep French as proper as possible
Gail: Alright, so for you a proper French it's not other languages in it?
Elektra: Yes, probably
Gail: And in writing, have you ever combined both languages?
Elektra: No, no, my writing is very proper (Elektra, DSFM).

they were more likely to use translanguaging practices with friends and family than in class.

Similarly, the participants' language use patterns tended to follow similar rules. The situation or the context often determined which language they would use. Many participants noted that they used French at school, in some cases at home and sometimes with friends. DSFM participants felt that initial contact framed their language choice. Apollo (DSFM) describes how he selects which language he will use:

> When people are obviously speaking to me in English and or French I feel more comfortable because that's what they start speaking and I'm not going to switch to the other language just to confuse the person.

Ironically, although my first contact with Apollo (DSFM) was in French, he chose to conduct his interview in English.

In general, participants were consistent with their interview language choice. All participants chose to conduct their first and second interviews in the same language. In terms of language choice, 75% of DSFM participants conducted their interview in French. Among the DSFM participants that conducted their interviews in English, Apollo (DSFM) explains this interview language choice by the fact that he would be able to expand more in English than in French. Finally, Malana (DSFM) explains how her interview language choice is based on the language she uses most and the contexts in which she is used to using it:

> Because yes French is my first language but I've learnt English a lot more like I learnt French in school so it's more about like speaking the proper French but

> English I've learnt it out of school so I know how to speak it in less of a proper, and I know how to communicate better with people and just know how to express my words better because I practice it a lot more so that's why I'm more comfortable doing it in English.

Malana (DSFM) associates her French with the formal school context and English with more informal activities. Therefore, for these participants, language choice was based on the language with which they were the most comfortable in the context of an interview.

For the participants who chose French as their interview language, some justified this choice by stating that it would better "represent" the French-language school (Claire, DSFM). Whereas Christian (DSFM) felt it was important to respect his school's linguistic policy: "je vais à une école française alors je devrais le faire en français *no matter what so*[44]". Others like Blake (DSFM), Elektra (DSFM) and Stéphanie (DSFM) simply felt more comfortable in French.

Although the school context often dictated French use, when it came to using French outside of school, participants across all contexts admitted that they mostly used English in extra-curricular activities such as sports. When it came to speaking with their friends, English was generally the language of choice. In the same way that language use with friends was predominantly in English, so was technology use. Participants reported using technology in French mainly for school-related activities. Malana (DSFM) explains that her main technological activity in French is turning on the French keyboard:

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[44] I go to a French school so I should do it in French *no matter what so* (Christian, DSFM).

> Most of my settings on my computer, my phone are all in English because that's what I'm used to but if sometimes we have to do French homework and I turn on my French keyboard but that's basically it.

Nevertheless, some DSFM participants admitted that they texted family members in French or would translanguage when texting. Blake (DSFM) explains how he chooses his texting language based on the person with whom he is talking:

> Si je *text* ma mère je vas la *text* en français … encore tous les personnes plus âgées que moi je vas les *text* en français mais si c'est comme un de mes amis ou bien comme ma soeur je vas les *text* en anglais[45].

This seems to indicate that for many of these participants, French is rarely used for personal reasons.

Nonetheless, DSFM participants held positive attitudes towards using French and cited some examples that showed they could and would use French outside of school if offered the opportunity. For instance, Blake (DSFM) went to see a play in French with his grandparents and Lina (DSFM) participated in activities at the Francophone cultural centre. Participants from all three contexts mentioned that attending the *Festival du Voyageur*, an annual French festival, gave them the opportunity to speak French. These positive experiences using French were almost exclusively instances in which they had to use their French outside of school. While there were similarities among the three school contexts in terms of school choice, language ideologies and attitudes and linguistic

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[45] If I *text* my Mom I'll *text* her in French … again all the people that are older than me I'll *text* them in French but if it's like one of my friends or like my sister I'll *text* them in English (Blake, DSFM).

identity, the participants at the DSFM school differed from the other groups with regard to language use. To put it simply, while DSFM participants used French at school, like the other participants, they also could and in some cases were likely to use French in various contexts outside of school.

Single-track: More English than French

Context.

In the single-track context, participants described their school language as being both English and French but for different purposes. French is used for scholastic activities and English is used for everything else. Mycroft (ST) explains how English is used for personal activities but that French is required in the classroom:

> Ici la grande majorité des personnes parlent l'anglais le plus que le français, dans les corridors c'est en anglais, sur les téléphones c'est en anglais mais *you know* dans les classes quand on doit le faire c'est en français[46].

Many students admitted that they would lose points if they spoke English in a French class. However, outside of class, even though their teachers would like them to speak French, the students were not required to do so. As Nikko (ST) states "we just don't care as much" outside of class. This is one way in which the French immersion single-track context differs from the French-language context.

The French immersion single-track context also differs from the French-language context with regard to student population. Whereas the DSFM is mostly made up of students with Francophone heritage, the French immersion single-track school is mostly

[46] Here the vast majority of people speak English more than French, in the hallway it's in English, on the phone it's in English, but *you know* in class when we have to, it's in French (Mycroft, ST).

made up of students who speak English at home. Out of all the 25 French immersion participants, only 5 spoke English as well as one other language at home (4: French; 1: Mandarin). This is perhaps what prompted Malana (DSFM) to declare that immersion schools are “more English than French”.

Four single-track participants attended a DSFM elementary school and mentioned they had at least one Francophone parent. Although I do not have statistics on the number of single-track students who are eligible to attend French-language schools, my findings seem to indicate that they are more common in the single-track context as opposed to the dual-track setting. Despite the fact that some of the French immersion participants have Francophone family members, English still plays an important role in their lives. Lucille (ST) explains how, despite the French school environment, she often speaks English at school:

> When I'm here I speak a lot more English than I do French so it's almost because it's immersion I'm allowed to almost, kind of, it gets a lot more by, but if you look at a French school you speak French and that's it.

Since English is the language shared among the students, even in a French immersion school setting, its use is entirely normal among the students. Ayla (ST) shows how English is the unquestioned language of the students:

> Avec nous *100 percent English all the time* c'est notre langue natale c'est pas qu'on verrait nos amis dans le couloir et disons comme *like* « Bien fait », *it's good job*, c'est pas quelque chose qu'on, c'est pas une langue qu'on utilise entre nous[47].

An advantage of the single-track context is that scholastic activities in French can make their way into the hallway and out of school, which is rarely the case in the dual-track setting. An example of French making its way outside the classroom are some activities students spoke about within the Francophone community. Zara (ST) mentioned an art program where students received mentorship in French. Other examples include simple things such as "school sports like I'll talk to my teachers in French when that's out of school" (Jomei, ST). To contrast with the dual-track setting, all school-related activities, and even most optional courses are in English. Ultimately, while the single-track French immersion model promotes the use of French in and outside the classroom, the students' main language of communication is English.

School choice.

In the same way that DSFM parents chose a French-language program for their children due to the program offered at the school, French immersion parents also made a similar choice. As Nora (DT) states, "we chose this school because it's the only one in the division and area that has French immersion". Although their parents selected the French immersion program for them in elementary school, the participants note that it is often

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[47] With us it's *100 percent English all the time*, it's our native language, it's not like we'd see our friends in the hallway and say *like* "Bien fait", *it's good job*, it's not something we, it's not a language we use with each other (Ayla, ST).

their decision to continue on with the program for high school. As Mycroft (ST) admits, his parents selected the French immersion program for him specifically to offer him more job opportunities. Among the French immersion participants, future job opportunities were available to them by virtue of having attended a French immersion school.

Jaelyn (ST) justifies this idea by stating, “a lot of jobs are looking for bilingual people because there's obviously people that want their services in French and some want them in English”. In Léonore’s (ST) comment, it is clear that she sees a link between her linguistic skills and economic benefit: “if I address a customer in French that speaks French they'll automatically feel closer to me like they can trust me and it really helps increase sales”. Many participants like Léonore (ST) reported that they used French at their part-time job or that having French on their résumé helped them to get hired in the first place.

If the population in general believes that French immersion students are more likely to have better job opportunities, this could explain why French immersion participants noted that the program is becoming more popular. Zara (ST) noticed that the French immersion schools in her neighbourhood were over capacity whereas the English schools were not. For that reason, she believes French immersion is “growing in popularity … so I think a lot more people are going into immersion …. It would be more of an anomaly now to send a kid to an English school” (Zara, ST). The more there is a demand for the program, the more individuals believe it is a better choice: “je crois qu'il y a comme une image que l'immersion c'est des meilleurs écoles et à cause qu'il y a

beaucoup de demandes[48]" (Ayla, ST). Nikko (ST) agrees, stating, "I think being bilingual is a lot more popular now like a lot more parents want their kids to know how to speak French even if they don't". While the popularity of the program is growing, the schools offering the single-track model are mostly located within the urban setting. This results in unequal access to the French immersion program depending on where you live.

Language ideologies.

Whether through schooling or family background, all the participants speak both French and English. It was therefore important to understand how this group of individuals defined bilingualism. The vast majority of participants defined bilingualism in a way similar to Anora's (DT) definition: "fluently speaking both languages and being able to understand them". Participants felt it was necessary to have a mastery of both languages, especially in speaking. In fact, the word "fluent" was mentioned in 10 participants' definition. This references double monolingualism, the idea that in order to be considered bilingual, one must speak both languages like a native language speaker. Jaelyn's (ST) definition highlights this idea: "I think bilingualism is more like, to me it's more even".

Another recurrent element in participants' definitions was equating bilingualism with French-English bilingualism and ignoring the other languages that may make someone bilingual. In defining bilingualism, they speak specifically about language skills

[48] I think there's like a perception that Immersion they're better schools because it's in high demand (Ayla, ST).

in French and English: “une personne qui peut parler français et anglais[49]” (Blake, DSFM), and “lorsque tu es aussi à l'aise en français qu'en anglais et heureux de parler les deux langues[50]” (Elektra, DSFM).

Also, simply taking language classes does not result in bilingualism. For example:

> Tu peux pas juste dire que tu es bilingue après avoir pris quelques cours d'espagnol …. Tu dois vraiment t'exprimer au courant de ta journée dans ces deux langues ou être confortable à t'exprimer[51]. (Claire, DSFM)

Zara (ST) agrees and states the individuals who take French classes “would know French, but I don’t think they would be bilingual”. In this way, students in French immersion and at the DSFM can differentiate themselves from English school students who take Basic French classes. Viewing bilingualism this way might also influence individuals to avoid defining themselves as a bilingual if they feel their mastery of one language is not sufficient to say they are bilingual.

In the single-track context, when participants were asked which languages they spoke, they generally listed English first (see Table 11). However, in both the single-track and dual-track contexts there was no association between the interview language and the order they chose, as was seen in the DSFM findings.

[49] A person who can speak French and English (Blake, DSFM)

[50] When you’re as comfortable in French as in English and happy to speak both languages (Elektra, DSFM).

[51] You can’t just say you’re bilingual after having taken a few Spanish courses …. You have to really express yourself throughout the day in both languages or be comfortable expressing yourself (Claire, DSFM).

Table 11 : Languages Spoken by Single-Track Participants

Pseudonym	School	Languages spoken
Aurore	ST	French, English, Spanish
Ayla	ST	French, English, Spanish
Jaelyn	ST	Hungarian, French, English, Spanish
Jomei	ST	English, French, Spanish
Léonore	ST	English, French, Mandarin
Luc	ST	English, French
Lucille	ST	French, English
Mycroft	ST	English, French, Ojibway
Nikko	ST	English, French, Spanish
Senna	ST	English, French
Zara	ST	English, French, Spanish

Table 11 lists only four languages other than French or English that were spoken by the participants. By combining the findings of the DSFM and dual-track contexts with Table 11, participants listed a total of five different languages, other than French and English. However, this does not accurately show the linguistic backgrounds of the participants since they do not always speak the same languages as their parents. Participants noted the following different linguistic backgrounds (in alphabetical order): Hungarian, Icelandic, Lingala, Mandarin, Ojibway, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swahili, and Ukrainian. As Table 11 shows, some of these languages have been lost. Individuals reported either speaking the languages as children and later on losing them or never having learned them. Some had decided to start learning another language simply due to a family connection. In many cases, participants did not list these other languages in the languages they spoke, as shown in Table 11. For instance, Aurore (ST) defines herself as

bilingual since she speaks both French and English and maybe trilingual since she speaks "a little bit of Spanish". Yet, she mentions later on in passing that she is also of Ukrainian descent, "I love learning languages like I'm starting to learn Ukrainian because I'm Ukrainian so I know like four languages now and I just love it" (Aurore, ST).

When they mentioned another language that they spoke, participants often added that they spoke only "a little bit of" that language (Jaelyn, ST and Mycroft, ST). They also remarked that in order to maintain a non-official language, a sustained effort was required. Léonore (ST) spoke of attending weekend Mandarin classes while Mycroft (ST) explained that classes coupled with attending cultural ceremonies helped him to acquire Ojibway:

> J'ai pris des classes et aussi mes grands-parents sur le côté de mon père sont autochtones … dès que j'étais né presque tous les années mes parents m'ont apporté à des cérémonies et c'est là-bas où beaucoup des gens et beaucoup des ainés ont parlé la langue[52].

French immersion single-track participants were also candid about the possibility of losing French, especially after high school. For them, it was highly unlikely that they could lose English but likely that they would lose French if they did not make a conscious effort to maintain the language after high school. For example:

> Depending on what I do after high school like I know a lot of people who said they took French immersion but they don't really remember French anymore so

[52] I took classes and also my grandparents on my father's side are Aboriginal … since I was born, almost every year my parents took me to ceremonies and that's where lots of people and lots of elders spoke the language (Mycroft, ST).

like if I don't do a career choice that like has French involved in it, I probably will lose it. (Frances, DT)

As Frances (DT) and others note, once French immersion students graduate they no longer have a place where they would use the language. This relates to language ideologies since they see few opportunities to use French because it is a minority language. This may also indicate that French immersion students are not particularly motivated to seek out opportunities to speak in French. As has been shown, many factors can contribute to language loss. Nevertheless, the perceived status of the language certainly impacts which language will most likely be lost.

Language attitudes.

In general, French immersion students held very positive attitudes towards bilingualism. Speaking French was considered advantageous. Some of the advantages participants listed included neurocognitive advantages (Genesee, 2015), such as, “it's good to get your mind understanding like the same thing in different ways” (José, DT) and “I think it's good for your brain just to be able to know more than one language” (Léonore, ST). Again, the French immersion participants differ slightly in terms of what makes them proud. Some have clearly developed a personal connection to the language and feel a sense of pride because of that:

> C’est quelque chose qui est une grande partie de ma vie, j'ai commencé en français quand j'avais 3 à 5 ans et je pouvais pas vraiment visionner ma vie sans avoir le français étant une partie[53]. (Ayla, ST)

[53] It’s something that’s a big part of my life, I started in French when I was 3 to 5 years old and I couldn’t really picture my life without French being a part of it (Ayla, ST).

Other French immersion participants are proud that they can speak French. For them, it is an ability, similar to an athletic ability. This is clear in the following statements: "It's really awesome being able to speak both languages" (Jaelyn, ST) and "j'aime avoir le français, j'aime être capable de parler, de lire en français[54]" (Dalla, DT). On the other hand, Élaine (DT) admits that she might consider French more important if it enables her to get a job later on in life but that currently "it is just another thing that I do". Nevertheless, all 37 participants of this study felt that French was important for them. In that sense, they displayed positive attitudes towards the French language and their ability to speak it.

Linguistic identity.

As Table 12 indicates, all the French immersion single-track participants chose to include bilingualism in their linguistic identity.

Table 12: Single-Track Participants' Linguistic Identities

Pseudonym	School	Linguistic identity
Aurore	ST	Bilingual/Trilingual
Ayla	ST	Bilingual
Jaelyn	ST	Bilingual
Jomei	ST	Francophone/Bilingual
Léonore	ST	Bilingual and a half
Luc	ST	Bilingual
Lucille	ST	Bilingual
Mycroft	ST	Bilingual
Nikko	ST	Bilingual
Senna	ST	Bilingual/Franco-Manitoban
Zara	ST	Bilingual

[54] I like having French, I like being able to speak, to read in French (Dalla, DT).

The only two participants outside of the DSFM who claimed a Francophone identity were Senna (ST) and Jomei (ST) who had both attended DSFM elementary schools. Even then, Jomei (ST) questions whether or not she can still claim that identity: "I'm francophone but I mean since I don't go to the DSFM anymore it's like hard to call myself francophone". As Senna (ST) explains, her French immersion peers see her differently:

> Senna: Ils me voient comme un *Frenchie*, je pense que oui.
>
> Gail: Pourquoi penses-tu qu'ils t'appellent ça?
>
> Senna: Parce que je viens d'une école francophone[55].

This seems to indicate that French-language schooling can legitimize the Francophone identity. Notably, all the participants who had gone to a French immersion elementary school chose the bilingual linguistic identity.

For some French immersion participants, the bilingual identity was especially attractive because it was a neutral term. Bourgeois et al. (2009) theorized that minority speakers may adopt a hybrid identity in order to resolve the tensions that may exist between the linguistic groups. Surprisingly, this was not a finding that arose in the DSFM data but with one single-track individual:

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[55] Senna: They see me as a *Frenchie*, I think so.
Gail: Why do you think they call you that?
Senna: Because I come from a French school (Senna, ST).

Mycroft: J'aime surtout bilingue parce que, je pense parfois dépendant des gens que tu rencontres il y a parfois un stigme entre être francophone ou anglophone encore un peu.

Gail: Comme alors, la discrimination?

Mycroft: Parfois oui je trouve.

Gail: Contre qui les anglophones ou les francophones?

Mycroft: *Well*, ça serait les deux groupes qui ont un peu de discrimination entre eux *you know* envers l'un et l'autre, moi je ne veux pas être une partie de ça alors j'aimerais juste être neutre.

Gail: Alors pour toi bilingue c'est neutre?

Mycroft: *Yeah*[56]. (Mycroft, ST)

While Mycroft (ST) is attracted to bilingualism because it is neutral, others feel it is an inclusive term.

Since bilingualism as a term does not reference particular languages, some participants felt it was an inclusive term. Ayla (ST) notes that the bilingual identity includes even those who do not have Francophone or Anglophone heritage: "je dirais *again* bilingue *that's what I am* à cause que mes parents n'ont, ne sont pas ni anglophones

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[56] Mycroft: I especially like bilingual because, I think sometimes depending on the people that you meet there's sometimes a *stigma* associated with being Francophone or Anglophone even now a little bit.
Gail: So like discrimination?
Mycroft: Sometimes, yes, I find.
Gail: Against whom, Anglophones or Francophones?
Mycroft: *Well*, it would be both groups who have a little bit of discrimination between them *you know* against one another, me I don't want to be a part of that so I would just like to be neutral.
Gail: So for you bilingual is neutral?
Mycroft: *Yeah.*

ni francophones, *they're nothing of the kind*[57]". A similar response was that participants felt they belonged to both groups but that a bilingual identity was preferred since it described them better. This was the case with Luc (ST), "je suis francophone mais je suis aussi anglophone alors je parle les deux langues alors je suis bilingue[58]".

Another group of participants believed they belonged in neither the Anglophone nor the Francophone groups. In that case, defining oneself as bilingual meant belonging to a new group without having to pick sides. Nora's (DT) comment illustrates this point: "I think because I know two languages but I don't identify with like Anglophones or like Francophones". The participants of this study rarely defined themselves as Anglophones or felt they were a part of that group. They may be avoiding the term Anglophone because they feel it describes someone who can only speak English (Léonore, ST). This may be related to the Manitoban context, wherein many Anglophones are in fact monolingual.

Due to schooling or to family background, some students add other languages to their linguistic identity. This was the case with Léonore (ST) who defined her identity as, "bilingual and a half" based on her competence in Mandarin. She felt that she was fluent in both French and English but since she could only "kind of read" in Mandarin, she could not yet consider herself trilingual. This relates to the idea that in order to consider yourself bilingual you have to speak each language fluently. Related to the concept of fluency and linguistic identity was the idea of accent.

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[57] I would say bilingual *again that's what I am* because my parents don't have, are neither Anglophones nor Francophones, *they're nothing of the kind* (Ayla, ST).

[58] I am Francophone but I am also Anglophone so I speak both languages so I am bilingual (Luc, ST).

Accents in general were the most highly referenced code in this study with a total of 98 references from 33 participants. The French immersion participants in this study believed that the most prestigious French accent was a Francophone accent. In referencing their own or a teacher's accent, French immersion participants used the following adjectives: "terrible" (Élaine, DT, Nikko, ST), "bad" (Nikko, ST; Léonore, ST) "not very good" (Élaine, DT), "cringy" (Jomei, ST) and "grossest" (Sophie, DT). In contrast, when speaking about Francophone accents, they used the following adjectives: "good" (Nikko, ST) and "nice" (Élaine, DT; Vera, DT). Clearly, these French immersion participants prefer Francophone accents.

When describing the French immersion accent, most participants described it as a French accent that is strongly influenced by English. As Aurore (ST) notes, the French immersion accent is not one that is desirable since it indicates that you are a learner: "I have troubles there, like I don't sound French, I sound like those English people that try to speak French". Anora (DT) believes that French immersion students have a particular accent because of their school context:

> I think we all kind of talk English when we're talking French …. Just because we do speak English the majority of the time, like we don't have the French accent because we're from here.

Although Jonathan (DSFM) attends a French-language school, he has friends in the French immersion program and he describes their accent in this way:

> Well yeah because immersion French, you can tell the difference between someone who went to a French school and someone who went to an immersion school …. The way they pronounce words it's really English it's not French …. I

don’t really count them as fluent French, like their French is alright but it’s not good.

Jonathan (DSFM) places judgement on an accent to determine proficiency in French. If an accent deviates too much from the native language speaker norm, then that person is not considered as proficient in French, whether it is the reality or not. However, judgments with regard to what is a good French accent and what is not a good accent were present in all the educational contexts. The following passage shows that my own French accent was considered desirable by one of the participants. This was particularly interesting to me since Lucille’s (ST) interview was in English. Therefore, the only time she had heard me speak French was when I was recruiting participants in her class. This shows how quickly individuals are placed in a group based on accent:

> Lucille: I think I have an immersion accent for French.
>
> Gail: And what does that mean an immersion accent?
>
> Lucille: If you speak French it's different from how I speak French, I speak more like I feel like I don't pronounce my words like with accents and I don't have the rrr when I speak.
>
> Gail: Was that an r?
>
> Lucille: Yeah like most immersion people speak, we speak like we're getting by with French and I feel like with how you speak French it's like, I'm assuming it's your first language. (Lucille, ST)

This section described the various reasons why French immersion single-track participants chose the bilingual linguistic identity for themselves and why they avoided other linguistic identities.

Language use.

DSFM and French immersion participants both had a particular accent that was reflective of the context in which they spoke the language. Other examples of translanguaging practices were evident in all the contexts under study. Translanguaging practices were referenced 77 times by 34 participants making it the second most popular code in this study. In the French data, there were many examples of English words, expressions and complete sentences in English. Although much less common, some of the English data also contained small words or short sentences in French.

The data that was collected from the French immersion students' interviews showed that those participants would change to English for a lengthier period of time than the DSFM participants. Ayla (ST), Dalla (ST) and Mycroft's (ST) French interviews contained entire passages in English. Ayla (ST) and Mycroft (ST) eventually switched back to French. An excerpt from Ayla's (ST) interview (see Table 13) shows how the French immersion students would typically switch seamlessly from one language to another.

Table 13: French immersion Translanguaging Examples

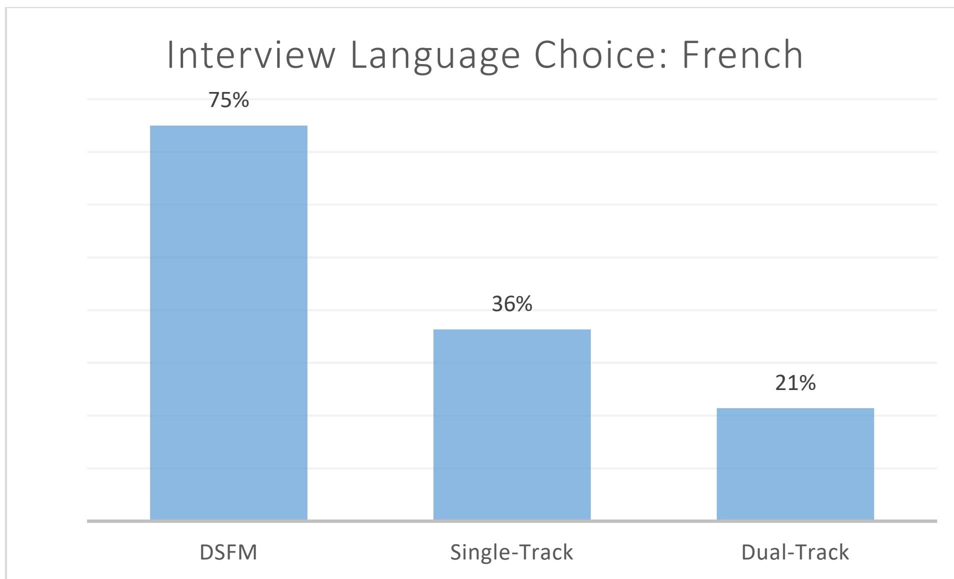
Translanguaging Examples	Translation
J'ai demandé à mes parents pas trop pour la langue mais à cause que tous mes amis étaient ici, *the music program is really great*, et quand j'avais 14 ans je voulais être musicien *and then that switched half way through grade 10* (Ayla, ST).	I asked my parents not so much for the language but because all my friends were here, *the music program is really great,* and when I was 14 years old I wanted to be a musician *and then that switched half way through grade 10* (Ayla, ST).
Elle est un *reading recovery teacher* je ne sais pas c'est quoi ça en français (Dalla, DT).	She's a *reading recovery teacher* I don't know what that is in French (Dalla, DT).

In some cases, the French immersion students would continue so long in English that this would prompt me to ask the following question in English. For Dalla's (DT) interview, I caught myself and asked her specifically if she wanted me to continue asking the questions in French or in English. She chose French and responded to the rest of the questions in French with the addition of some words in English here and there. Some French immersion participants switched to English because the topic was more personal and in other cases it was due to a lack of vocabulary in French. To illustrate, Dalla (DT) switches to English and admits that she does so because she does not know how to say the expression in French (see Table 13). In describing how she switches from one language to another, Anora (DT) explains how her switches are due to a lack of vocabulary in French: "when I'm talking in French I know I kind of go back and forth between French and English …. If I don't know the word in French I'll just say it in English and just keep going like that". Many participants said they adapted their translanguaging choices to the situation or the person with whom they were talking. They felt the same way if they chose to speak in only one language. For instance, Jaelyn (ST) states, "if I'm in a situation where it's French I'll do it because I'm confident in French". In the French immersion findings, it seems as though level of comfort places an important role in translanguaging practices as well as language choice.

The single-track participants were more likely to conduct their interview in French than the dual-track participants (see Table 14). This might indicate that they feel more comfortable expressing themselves in French than the dual-track participants. Two of the single-track participants who chose an interview in French had attended a DSFM elementary school which might have influenced their interview language choice. If we

remove them from the data, this changes the result to 22% French interviews in the single-track context. This supports S. Marshall & Laghzaoui's (2012) interview language choice findings. In their case, 22% of their French cohort university students conducted interviews in French when they were offered the choice of either a French or an English interview (S. Marshall & Laghzaoui, 2012).

Table 14: Interview Language Choice: French



When explaining their interview language choice, most participants justified their choice by comfort level. Some believed that they would have trouble understanding the questions. For example, "because there would be some things that you would say that I would be like what can you repeat that? It would be easier just to do English" (Aurore, ST). Two participants mentioned that if they had done their interview in French they would have spoken in English especially when they would not know how to say something in French (Frances, DT; Jaelyn, ST). In a similar comment, Nikko (ST) explains why she chose an English interview: "because my French accent is bad and when it comes to French I'm slower at thinking of what to say" (Nikko, ST). These

participants picked English because they were more comfortable in that language and were less afraid of making mistakes.

When it came to speaking with their friends, English was generally the language of choice. Jaelyn (ST) and Senna (ST) were the only French immersion students who spoke French with friends. However, they both mentioned that they only spoke French with friends from their former DSFM elementary school. It is not surprising that French immersion students, who's main language is generally English, would prefer to speak to friends in English.

Dual-track: The Border

Context.

In the dual-track setting, participants described their school language as being predominantly English. Because their program is housed within an English school, they need to use English outside of class. As Sophie (DT) illustrates, "I have friends in the English side too so if I'd be talking with them it would just be in English". Since the French immersion students represent only 20% of the school, many staff and teachers do not speak French. Nora (DT) indicates how this influences her to speak in English:

> It's definitely not as enforced as much here and not all the teachers speak French here so we're not always communicating in it and the people around you speak English so you're going to speak English to them as well.

The participants also noted that the English school environment even seeps into their French classes where most students do not speak French:

> If everyone's talking English and I'm the only one talking French I would feel kind of silly even though it's French class but I really like wish people would make

more of an effort because I really want to speak French in class but nobody does (Élaine, DT).

As Élaine (DT) described, there seems to be peer pressure to speak in English. Dalla (DT) agrees, stating:

> Je sais que tous mes amis, ils ne parlent pas français en classe …. On utilise nos têtes français mais on n’utilise pas nos bouches … ou comme dans le temps libre, on ne parle pas français, c'est vraiment bizarre si tu vois quelqu'un qui parle français à un autre élève[59].

It is even perceived as odd if a French immersion student speaks in French with another student, even in class. In terms of language learning, the students recognize that this is problematic. Frances (DT) admits, “I don’t think we practice enough orally like to make the students comfortable”.

Some students believe that the fault lies in teachers’ expectations: “I feel like the teachers don't push us hard enough to want to speak French that much or we don't have to so we just automatically go to English in our heads” (Frances, DT). To support this idea, Dalla (DT) described how one teacher would present all his or her material in English and the students would be required to translate to French for their notes. On the other hand, earlier, Élaine (DT) recognized that at least some of the fault lies with the students who could put more effort into speaking French. Many dual-track students mentioned that at their single-track elementary school, students spoke more in French. They also

[59] I know that all my friends, they don’t speak French in class …. We use our French minds but we don’t use our mouths … or like during free time, we don’t speak French, it’s really weird if you see someone who is speaking French to another student (Dalla, DT).

noted that they would receive prizes and stickers for speaking in French in elementary school, which motivated them at the time but would no longer work for them now.

At the high school level, French becomes less mandatory. Students in the dual-track school have more course options and many of those options are not offered in French. They have to calculate their French credits in order to make sure they have enough to earn their French immersion diploma. “As long as you get enough French credits” then you can take optional courses and even Science or Math in English (Thea, DT). When some students, like José (DT), are especially interested in music, which is only offered in English, they must take Science and Math in French in order to have enough French immersion credits. Many other students spoke of taking optional courses in English because they were not offered in French or because they wanted to try the course out in English. For example:

> This semester I took Biology in English and I think that's it, I'm taking my Math in French and Chemistry in French but I wanted to take Biology in English because I'm interested in that later in life and I want to take that at an English university (Nora, DT).

Some students even used the option to avoid French immersion teachers they dislike (Dalla, DT). The students admit that due to their English school environment, their refusal to speak French and courses offered in English, they are less exposed to French.

The most notable difference between the dual-track context and the other school contexts is the way in which the participants describe their relationship with the other students in the school. A special section of the school, designated the French block, is where all the French immersion classes are located. Two things seem to heighten the

difference between the two groups of students: the division of physical space and the student population. With regard to physical space, Vera (DT) notes “they have their own block and we have our own block …. Just because it’s a different language doesn’t mean we’re any different but it’s always seemed really different” (Vera, DT). The purpose of the separate blocks is perhaps to encourage French use outside the classroom and to offer a space where the language can be placed on the walls. However, it seems to also work as a “border” (Sophie, DT) separating the English students from the French. Nora (DT) mentions how the separate sections influence who she feels she should be associating with: “I saw that separation and everybody did and you hung out with the people who were in your French track in your class”.

Comprising only 20% of the school population, the dual-track participants recognize that they are different. Moreover, Vera (DT) notes that the English students feel this difference as well since they have been known to tease the French immersion students by calling them “Frenchies”:

> Being French we've always been picked on like even like in Gym class in middle school we were always called the Frenchies and like we never understood why, just because we speak a different language, like it's nothing, I never liked that, it was a negative experience. (Vera, DT)

Many mentioned that one of the differences between the English and French tracks is that the French immersion program is more academically challenging:

> I have some friends in English track and we're in the same course but in different languages and we'll like do homework together and it'll be the same sheet but mine will have more questions so it's a little harder. (Frances, DT)

Others feel that they are more well-behaved and motivated:

> I almost feel like even with just a little bit of French kids are different like, I don't want to say that kids are nicer with French but it's like everyone's more open-minded. (José, DT)
>
> The kids who are in French immersion … they care more about school, they're just kind of like different being in a French classroom rather than an English classroom. (Anora, DT)
>
> There is kind of a stereotype that the French kids are like the good kids at my old school and like the English kids were the not so good ones. (Nora, DT)

The French immersion dual-track students consider themselves to be very different from the average student who attends the regular English program. Finally, Vera (DT) references different levels of socio-economic status as well as different educational opportunities in her comment:

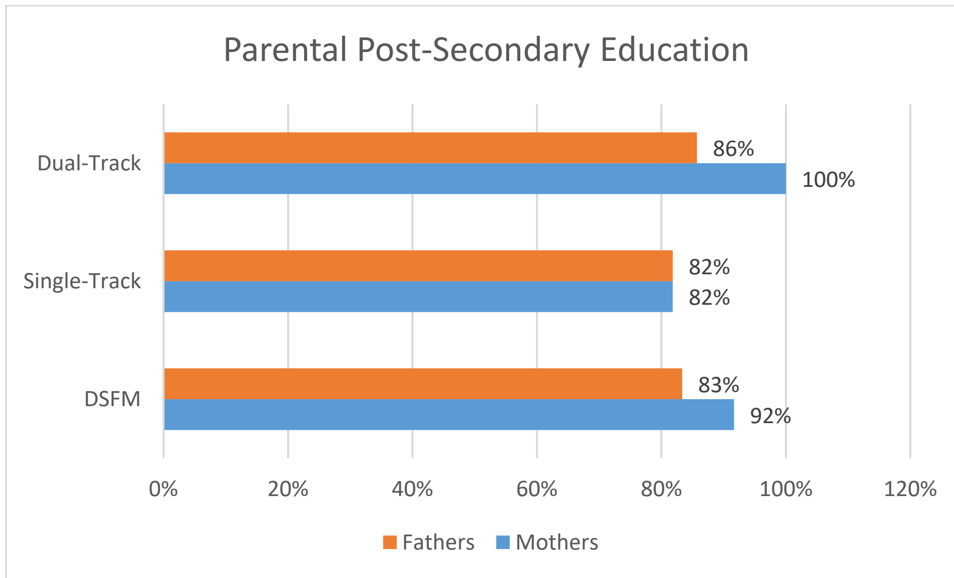
> The English kids have always not liked the French kids, they've always seemed, this is going to sound really really bad but like dirtier almost like I feel like a lot of people have said this, French kids they have better education, like we have more opportunities this way so English kids have always seemed lower which I hate saying it but that's just how it's always been.

These characteristics, as identified by the dual-track participants, exist despite the fact that the English and French immersion students live in the same school district and attend the same school. Since these students feel they are different from other students at their school, the reasons why they or their parents chose the program need to be reviewed.

School choice.

One area in which the dual-track students may in fact differ is with regard to their parents' level of education. Table 15 summarizes parental levels of education across all three school contexts.

Table 15: Parental Post-Secondary Education



In de Rocquigny's 2014 study, she found that 77% of Manitoban English school mothers had a high school diploma. Interestingly, all the dual-track participants have mothers who finished high school and who went on to attend a post-secondary institution (see Table 15). Out of all the groups in this study, the dual-track group had the highest level of parental education followed by the DSFM and single-track groups. Because of the high levels of parental education reported by the participants, it is important to look more closely at the school choices they have made for their children.

With regard to initial enrollment in the French immersion program, the participants noted that their parents had selected their elementary school and the French

immersion program for them. The majority of the dual-track participants explained that they themselves or their parents chose their high school specifically because it offered the French immersion program. Although the single-track students spoke of an increase in French immersion schools in their area, the dual-track students remarked that there was a lack of school choices that offered the French immersion program. Some remarked that they are required to travel far to school in order to participate in the program (Dalla, DT). Also, they mentioned that there were no single-track high schools in their division and only one dual-track high school that offered the program. Since not everyone can or does participate in the program, this increases the value of the French immersion diploma.

Another factor that contributes to the exclusivity of the French immersion dual-track program that many students noted was that throughout their schooling other students had left the French immersion program. They feel that students transfer out of the program because it is too academically challenging to learn in French. To illustrate, Conrad (DT) describes why some of his friends left the French immersion program:

> Some people who drop out of the French program, I have friends that have over the years of course it's been thinning out towards this grade …. I find that it's just the comprehension usually, just having to use it in every other class it's easier for them to learn English whereas I have no problem learning anything in French.

Also, in the dual-track setting, students can drop out of the French immersion program without leaving behind their friends or having to change schools. This is important because many participants indicated that the reason they selected their school was because their friends were going there. Thus, the students that are still enrolled in the

French immersion program in high school have made a conscious decision to stay. Aura (DT) describes why students choose to stay: “je pense que ceux qui sont encore là qui n'ont pas changé au programme anglais, on comprend que c'est un avantage[60]”. It is precisely the advantage Aura (DT) speaks about that incites parents to enroll their children in French immersion in the first place.

Conrad’s (DT) previous comment that described one reason why students leave the French immersion program also touched on the idea that over the years the program had “thinned out”. Since many students leave the program, it results in a small, homogenous group in high school. To support this idea, Frances (DT) compares her program to a private school, mirroring Holmes’ (2008) comment that French immersion education is like “a private education without tuition” (p. 200):

> I think it's the closest thing to a private school sort of, like it's free but we're still getting that opportunity and we still have a chance to do it and I would definitely suggest it because why not, I like having that up on everyone else who doesn't. (Frances, DT)

This comment also illustrates how there are perceived advantages associated with enrolling in the French immersion program.

[60] I think that those of us who are still here who haven’t switched to the English program, we understand that it’s an advantage (Aura, DT).

For many French immersion participants the educational title that testifies to their bilingualism and offers them potential advantages is the French immersion diploma. For example:

> I definitely hope to get a better job or a better chance to get a job because I speak French, I want to get the French immersion diploma so that shows up … because a friend of mine who can't get the job he wants because he doesn't speak French told me to keep sticking with French so that I'm bilingual. (Gilbert, DT)

In the same way, José (DT) declared "I know that it's very easy to get a job if you have the French immersion diploma. These comments show that graduating from a French immersion school gives them access to the bilingual job market, something they would not have if they left the program. In some cases, the promise of this credential is what motivates them to "stick with French" (Gilbert, DT). As has been shown, Francophone and French immersion parents alike make an educated choice when they send their children to school.

Language ideologies.

In terms of language ideologies, the dual-track participants were no different than the other participants in this study. Speaking both French and English becomes a representation of Canada's identity as a bilingual country. Vera (DT) explains how Canada's official languages differentiate the nation from others such as the United States:

> I think it's one of the main things we're known for is our bilingualism, like the U.S. they have Spanish but it's not something that's like, I don't know if it's

> considered their second language but here in Canada it's French and English, those are the two main ones and those are our languages, that's really unique to us I think.

Although the “two languages are known for being Canadian” (Lucille, ST) and they are part of “la culture canadienne[61]” (Lina, DSFM), some participants note that the bilingual ideology is more wishful thinking than a reality. As Stéphanie (DSFM) remarks, Canada may have the reputation of being a bilingual country but not all Canadians are bilingual:

> Je trouve que souvent le Canada c'est comme Oh ils parlent français et anglais alors c'est un peu comme quelque chose qu'on est connu pour même si tout le monde peut-être parle pas les deux langues[62].

Although many also believe Canadians should “speak both national languages, both French and English” (Gilbert, DT), they recognize that this is not the case. For instance, “we say we're a bilingual country but most of the country is mostly just English …. It's a good perk to have if you're bilingual in Canada but I don't think it's necessary” (Nikko, ST). Nikko (ST) and others make the important point that you really only need to know English in order to get by in most places in Canada.

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[61] Canadian culture (Lina, DSFM).

[62] I often find that Canada it’s like Oh they speak French and English so it’s a bit like something we’re known for even if perhaps not everyone speaks both languages (Stéphanie, DSFM).

Language attitudes.

All the participants considered French to be personally important for them and many believed bilingualism led to job opportunities. In this study, participants spoke of several other advantages connected to bilingualism. Thirty-three participants referenced job opportunities, 25 referenced communication possibilities and 20 referenced travel as advantages associated with bilingualism.

When participants expanded on the relationship between bilingualism and traveling, many spoke of visiting French-speaking countries or the province of Québec. For example, Jomei (ST) notes how it was useful to speak French while she was in Europe: “I was in France and Paris this summer and I went to Belgium as well so like I was able to speak to them which was really helpful”. Sophie (DT) is motivated to learn French in order to travel “I really want to travel like I want to travel around the world and speak French in different places”. Participants felt that when you traveled and you could speak that country’s language, you were able to develop deeper connections with individuals and learn more about their culture. In the same line of thought, Luc (ST) and Ayla (ST) spoke about how speaking French enabled them to understand another culture, through music or movies, etc. Sophie’s (DT) following comment shows not only her desire to communicate with more people but also the ability to act as a bridge between two linguistic groups:

> You meet more people that way and like there's not really a boundary in between the two languages, you know more people …. It's like you're split down the middle and like these two people the English and the French but if you can speak

> both languages you can like go from side to side and like get people to meet through that.

The French immersion program may in fact be successful in uniting Francophones and Anglophones, commonly known in Canada as the "Two Solitudes" in reference to Hugh MacLennan's book (MacLennan, 1945). These comments showed why participants felt French was important for them and why they held positive attitudes towards the language.

When French immersion participants have a parent who is Francophone, they usually make similar comments about the importance their parents attribute to French. However, French immersion participants whose parents do not speak French often admit that French is not important for them. For instance, Anora (DT) states, "I don't think it's that important to them because they don't speak it but I think that they like that I can speak it". Frances (DT) agrees, stating, "no, I wouldn't say so, they never spoke French or took French but they chose French for me". This shows that although their parents may be very supportive of language learning, they have no real attachment to the French language. Furthermore, Élaine (DT) explains that her parents were especially interested in the linguistic capital associated with French: "I think they think it's important for jobs after high school and they never got that opportunity so I think they kind of wanted to give me that opportunity". While the students may commonly believe that French is personally important for them, clearly, the reasons why it is important differs from person to person.

Linguistic identity.

Among the dual-track participants, the bilingual identity was also the most popular linguistic identity choice. However, as shown in Table 16, the dual-track participants selected only one linguistic identity for themselves, either bilingual or Anglophone. At the DSFM and at the single-track school, additions and slashes in the description of their identities were more common.

Table 16: Dual-Track Participants' Linguistic Identities

Pseudonym	School	Linguistic identity
Amber	DT	Bilingual
Anora	DT	Bilingual
Aura	DT	Bilingual
Conrad	DT	Bilingual
Dalla	DT	Bilingual
Élaine	DT	Anglophone
Frances	DT	Anglophone
Gilbert	DT	Bilingual
José	DT	Bilingual
Nicolas	DT	Bilingual
Nora	DT	Bilingual
Sophie	DT	Bilingual
Thea	DT	Bilingual
Vera	DT	Bilingual

In some cases, dual-track participants based their bilingual identity choice on linguistic competence. If they felt they were fluent enough in both languages, they selected the bilingual identity. This was the case for Anora (DT) who explains her choice in this manner: "I can still speak both the languages, understand them, like I can have a conversation in both languages so I'd say I'm bilingual". Although Conrad (DT) admits that he is not equally as strong in both languages, he still prefers a bilingual identity: "I'm definitely close to being quite fluent in both, just some of the vocabulary is missing there".

Similarly, if individuals felt their French-language skills were not strong enough, they avoided selecting the bilingual identity. This was the case with two participants, Élaine (DT) and Frances (DT). They describe why they would have to call themselves Anglophones: “I don't use French other than in class” (Élaine, DT) and “I'm not super comfortable like I'm nothing like a Francophone …. I'm not super strong like I wouldn't brag about how I speak such good French and stuff” (Frances, DT).

On a similar topic, French immersion participants rarely felt they could claim the Francophone identity. They believed this mainly because they did not share the Francophone culture, they did not speak French at home or it was not part of their heritage. For example, Vera (DT) notes, “If I was Francophone I would be in a French school, I wouldn’t be in this district, it would be different, so definitely just bilingual”. Vera’s (DT) comment also relates to how schooling impacts linguistic identity. As Zara (ST) believes, in order to consider yourself Francophone “you kind of have to be born into that”. Léonore (ST) mirrors her comment by stating, “I’m not French, I speak it but I am not, I don’t have French DNA so I wouldn’t even call myself Francophone”. Clearly, for these participants, being a Francophone is something more than just speaking the language.

One way in which French immersion participants felt they were different from Francophones was with regard to their accent. French immersion participants were also quick to make judgements on teachers’ accents. Even though an accent that deviates from that of a native speaker of the language does not mean that the individual is not a proficient speaker (Derwing & Munro, 2009), it is clear that the participants perceive it this way. Élaine (DT) clearly prefers her teachers’ Francophone accents to her own: “I

hear like certain teachers speaking and it's like oh I wish I had an accent like that because it sounds really nice". Others show a clear distaste for a French accent influenced by English. To illustrate, Léonore (ST) talks about one of her teacher's accents: "her accent was just so English and her slangs, I could just not stand it, I couldn't stand it". Sophie (DT) makes a similar comment: "I had a middle school teacher with the grossest French/English accent and it was just like oh my gosh stop talking". Although these participants' own accent may not measure up to the native-speaker norm, they define a good French immersion teacher as one with a Francophone accent. In turn, if they feel their own accent is not "Francophone" enough, they may avoid identifying themselves as Francophones and even as bilinguals, which was the case for two dual-track participants.

Language use.

While dual-track participants reported using French less at school than the other two school contexts, they still spoke about translanguaging practices and displayed them in their interviews. For example, Vera (DT) explains how translanguaging is a common practice not only among students but teachers as well:

> There's always that little bit of Frenglish that you end up using because teachers use it even like if they're trying to explain a concept to you and then for 2 seconds they'll switch over and then they'll switch back, it's just I don't know a common thing to do.

In Vera's (DT) example, it also appears as though teachers are using English to verify or ensure comprehension, indicating that they may be less exposed to French in the classroom.

Perhaps because they have less opportunities to use French, Aura (DT), Ayla (ST), Dalla (DT), Luc (ST), Mycroft (ST) and Nicolas (DT) all mention that a French interview offered them the opportunity to “practice” their French. Although Aura (DT) states she wanted to practice, she also mentions that her choice was influenced by the research language:

> Aura: Pour pratiquer, pas vraiment obligée mais je voulais le faire pour toi parce que tu fais ta recherche en français alors.
>
> Gail: Je fais ma recherche en français et en anglais.
>
> Aura: Ben parce que j'avais l'option alors, et c'est pas souvent qu'on a l'option de parler comme une vraie conversation en français, comme je pouvais demander des questions à des enseignants mais c'est pas souvent que tu as une longue. conversation en français alors c'était une opportunité[63].

Even if I clarified that the research was being conducted in both French and English, Aura (DT) seems to have selected French as a sign of respect for me. Other researchers have noted that participants may want researchers to feel “welcome” and so they select the researcher’s language for their interview (Chuchu & Noorashid, 2014, p. 182).

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[63] Aura : To practice, not really forced to but I wanted to do it for you because you’re doing your research in French so.
Gail: I’m doing my research in French and in English.
Aura: Well because I had the option so, and it’s not often that we have the option of having a real conversation in French, like I could ask teachers questions but it’s not often that you have a long conversation in French so it was an opportunity (Aura, DT).

Although I attempted to offer the participants a real language choice, it is clear that power dynamics can influence their decisions.

Aura (DT) also explains how students rarely have the opportunity to have a "real conversation in French". As a language teacher, I had mixed feelings with regard to this comment that came up in several French interviews (Aura, DT; Ayla, ST, Eveline, DSFM and Raul DSFM). On the one hand, I was happy that I had given the participants the opportunity to use their French in an authentic manner. In fact, Koulouriotis (2011) also found that when second language learners conducted their interview in the language they were learning they often felt a sense of pride and accomplishment afterward. On the other hand, I also felt disheartened, especially when DSFM participants made similar comments. For example:

> Juste maintenant en parlant français comme j'ai pas eu une si longue conversation comme ça, ça fait si longtemps, je trouve que c'était vraiment une bonne opportunité à parler en français … comme à l'école on n'a pas tant d'opportunités comme ceci au Manitoba puis comme même aux profs je parle même pas aux profs si longtemps que ça …. Au début je pensais que ça allait possiblement un peu plus facile à répondre en anglais par contre j'aime le fait que je l'ai fait en français[64]. (Eveline, DSFM)

[64] Just right now speaking French like I haven't had such a long conversation like this, it's been so long, I find that it was a really good opportunity to speak French … like at school we don't have many opportunities like this in Manitoba and like even with teachers I don't even speak with teachers as long as this …. At first I thought it would have potentially been a bit easier to answer in English however I like the fact that I did it in French (Eveline, DSFM).

Although it is clear that Eveline (DSFM) is happy that she conducted her interview in French, it is disheartening because it shows to what extent Francophones are also limited in their opportunities to speak French.

When it came to the French immersion dual-track participants' technological activities, these were also mostly done in English. In general, they said they would use technology in French if it was related to school activities. Some mentioned that they used *Google Translate*, *Va Conjuguer* or *monpatron.com* to check their work in French. Léonore (ST) and Mycroft (ST) reported having sent e-mails to teachers in French. Nevertheless, as Dalla (DT) indicates, she only uses technology in French when she is required to for school but not in her personal life. Since social media and texting were activities that they did in their personal time, they were generally done in English. As Nora (DT) notes the "people I text don't speak French so" she does not have the option to text in French. Some exceptions to this English technological norm were Ayla (ST) and Gilbert (DT) who used social media to communicate with friends in France and Québec respectively.

Nevertheless, many participants listed examples of situations in which they would use French outside of school. These examples pertained mainly to speaking to immediate or extended family, or using French while traveling or working. Amber's (DT) cousins only speak French so she "has to" speak to them in French. Participants also noted using their French when they went to Europe, Québec and even to Saint-Boniface, the French quarter in the city of Winnipeg. In these situations, some participants act as translators for their parents who do not speak French (Apollo, DSFM; Zara, ST). Interestingly, when

participants spoke about positive experiences using French, they cited travel, work or cultural experiences, never scholastic activities.

It was clear that the French immersion participants felt a sense of pride when they were required to use their French-language skills outside of school. José (DT) explains how he had to use French once at his job: “last summer, no one could understand this woman so I was like working in the back in the warehouse and they said José come and talk to this woman”. In their jobs, their language skills set them apart from the average worker. As Vera (DT) notes, “I’m the only one there who speaks French, I even have a little pin on my name tag that says that”. With regard to traveling, when she was in France, Aura (DT) was pleased that she could understand the signs in French:

> Quand j'étais en France je voyageais avec ma famille et j'étais capable de lire tous les *signs* et pour les comprendre … c'était pas trop trop nécessaire parce que quand tu es touriste tout le monde te parle en anglais mais c'était, ça m'a donné la confiance de comprendre ce que je lis et ce que je vois autour de moi[65].

These types of experiences are extremely important for French immersion students. In fact, Mycroft (ST) admits that a positive encounter with a Francophone while he was traveling was one of the reasons why he decided to continue with the French immersion program.

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[65] When I was in France, I was traveling with my family and I was able to read all the *signs* and to understand them … it wasn’t that necessary because when you’re a tourist everyone speaks to you in English but it was, it gave me the confidence to understand what I read and what I see around me (Aura, DT).

Although the participants mentioned a variety of instances wherein they were proud that they could speak French, many also noted that using French was “stressful and anxiety-provoking” (Montgomery & Spalding, 2005, p. 17). In some cases this was because they were not confident about their grammar (Anora, DT; Nora, DT), pronunciation or accent (Élaine, DT; Nikko, ST) or vocabulary (Eveline, DSFM) in French. Moreover, the educational system adds to this stress by evaluating language skills. Ayla (ST) notes, “si j'écris quelque chose que c'est pour des points ça me cause un peu plus de stress[66]”.

Because French immersion and French-language students take all of their courses in French, many are also fearful that they will experience difficulties if they attend an English university. Dalla (DT) believes university will be more challenging for her: “quand j'arrive à l'université ces cours sont en anglais … alors ça serait probablement plus difficile mais ça c'est juste une théorie que j'ai[67]”. In a similar comment, Aurore (ST) indicates that if she were to have children she would not send them to a French immersion high school: “I feel like in high school I’d switch them to English just so that it’s easier for them in university”. Nikko (ST) also mentioned that she might have trouble in particular with Science and Math courses since she plans to continue post-secondary education in English. While this may be simply lack of confidence, it may also be a reference to the

[66] If I write something and it’s graded, it stresses me out a bit (Ayla, ST).

[67] When I’ll get to university those courses are in English … so it would probably be more difficult but that’s just a theory that I have (Dalla, DT).

myth that French immersion students do not develop strong academic skills in English.

In conclusion, these dual-track findings pointed towards less of a focus on the French language at school and an apparent "border" between the English and French immersion programs offered at the school.

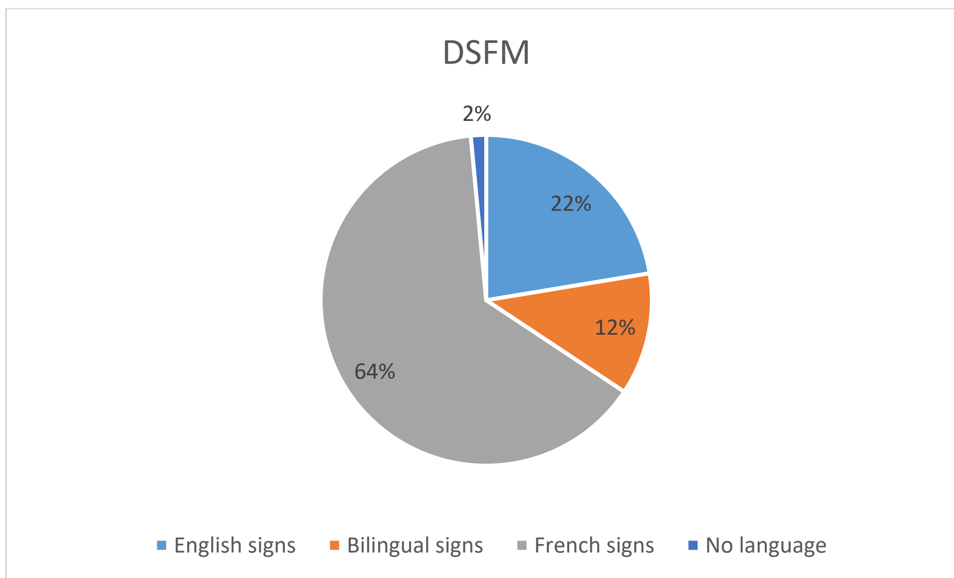
This presentation of the findings zoomed out to show how the school context, school choice, language ideologies and attitudes, linguistic identity and language use were all relevant findings in the greater context surrounding each school's linguistic landscape. The next section of the findings will zoom in to take a closer look at particular elements from each school's linguistic landscape.

Chapter Five: Zoom In (Findings)

The following section analyzes the linguistic landscape signs. For the purpose of describing the school contexts, I have included descriptive statistics on the linguistic landscapes. However, the linguistic landscapes were not analyzed quantitatively and statistical significance was not the goal. The first part describes the languages found on the signs using descriptive statistics to offer a snapshot of how English and French interact in these school contexts. The second part reviews how the participants analyzed signs from their own and other schools' linguistic landscapes.

At the DSFM school, as Table 17 shows, 64% of the signs are French-only. While there are very few French/English bilingual signs, 22% of the signs are English-only. Within the DSFM school, the only two languages that were found in the linguistic landscape were French and English.

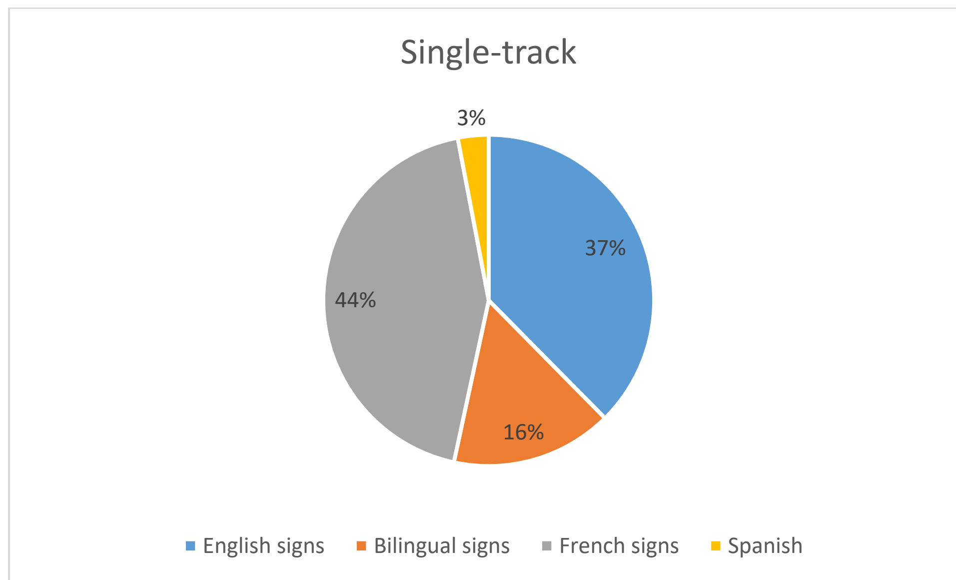
Table 17: DSFM Linguistic Landscape



In the single-track context, there are more French-only than English-only signs. Both languages are close to being equally represented within the school (see Table 18).

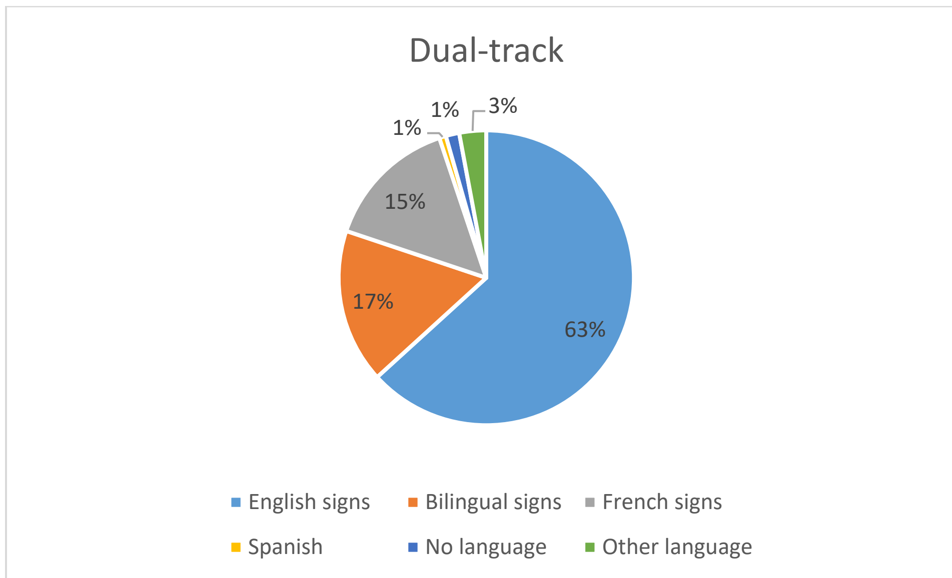
There was a slightly higher percentage of bilingual signs compared to the DSFM context. The three languages found in the school's linguistic landscape were English, French and Spanish.

Table 18: Single-track Linguistic Landscape



With regard to the dual-track context, 63% of the signs were English-only (see Table 19). This was very close to the same number of signs (64%) that were French-only in the DSFM school. This school also had a higher percentage of bilingual signs in comparison to its French-only signs. The majority of the French-only signs were located in the French block where the French immersion classrooms were located. Although there were also some bilingual signs in the French block, they were also found elsewhere in the school. A variety of other languages were found in the school. The sign that contained the most variety is Figure 20: Dual-track Welcome Sign. The only other sign that contained other languages was a Workplace Health and Safety poster that was translated into a few different languages, including Spanish.

Table 19: Dual-Track Linguistic Landscape



Linguistic Landscape Expectations

Participant expectations for their own and other school's linguistic landscapes were generally accurate. For them, there was or should be a clear link between the school's identity and its linguistic landscape. Eveline (DSFM) shows how she associates her school's identity with its linguistic landscape: "ici c'est vraiment en train de promouvoir qui on est comme personne puis comment on représente qui on est et notre culture de notre école[68]". Malana (DSFM) clearly states that the purpose of her school's linguistic landscape is to encourage students to speak only French "I think they should be in French because we are a French school and they're always encouraging us to speak French and only French". At the DSFM school, most participants believed that the majority of the signs would and should be only in French. Although Claire (DSFM) admits that on the rare occasion there are some signs in English at her school, she

[68] Here it's really trying to promote who we are as people and how we represent who we are and our school's culture (Eveline, DSFM).

explains that these signs are from outside sources and that is why they are in English. Claire's (DSFM) observation holds some truth since some of the English signs were for post-secondary educational opportunities in English (see Figure 3) or for graduation pictures (see Figure 7). However, French instructions for the students were added on to the poster in Figure 7.

Remarkably, when there were English-only signs in the school, some participants thought that they were bilingual. Both Eveline (DSFM) and Lina (DSFM) spoke about the signs advertising programs at the University of Manitoba. While this poster is only in English (see Figure 3), both participants thought it was bilingual. As Lina (DSFM) believes: "il y a quelques affiches qui sont par rapport à l'université puis ça c'est … je pense que c'est en anglais et français[69]". This is interesting since it indicates that participants expect the DSFM linguistic landscape to be only French or at least bilingual. As Table 17 showed, although its linguistic landscape is mainly French, it is not only French. In fact, there is a significant portion of English-only signs in the DSFM linguistic landscape.

[69] There are some posters that are about university and that's … I think that's in English and French (Lina, DSFM).

Figure 3: University of Manitoba Poster

A difference between the two French immersion contexts is that the single-track school does not need to justify the presence of French-only signs. In the dual-track school, “half the kids can’t speak French so they wouldn’t understand it so it should be English around the school” (José, DT). Since all the students in a single-track school speak French, there is no real need for English-only signs. As Zara (ST) believes, “we’re supposed to speak French here so why not have everything in French”. As Figure 4 indicates, all the permanent signs for locations within the school were written in French.

Figure 4: Single-track Gym Sign

Participants believed that there was a relatively equal representation of both French and English in their school. Within the single-track school, student-created posters were often only in French. Yet, there were also examples of student-created posters in English (see Figure 9: Single-track Valentine's Day).

Many French immersion participants made a connection between the language of the school's linguistic landscape and language learning. To illustrate, Luc (ST) believes that bilingual signs help to retain French vocabulary, "si tu vois quelque chose en deux langues tu peux voir ce que ça dit dans une langue et là dans la tête tu peux te souvenir ce que c'est dans l'autre langue[70]". Conrad (DT) agrees and makes a similar comment about the importance of bilingual signs in his school, "of course if it's both, people can read in both languages, but it encourages people that are in the French track to actually read it in French and apply it more". Some participants even felt that the more French signs there were in their school, the more students would speak French (Malana, DSFM; Senna, ST; Thea, DT and Vera, DT). Ultimately, the single-track linguistic landscape displayed a relatively equal number of French and English signs with a slight emphasis on French.

[70] If you see something in two languages you can see what it says in one language and then in your head you can remember what it is in the other language (Luc, ST).

Participants from the dual-track school expected there to be mostly English signs. Despite this expectation, many participants felt that because their school had the two programs, signs should be bilingual (Anora, DT and Nora, DT). As José (DT) noted, since the majority of the students are in the English program, it makes sense for there to be more English signs. Since the French immersion students represent only 20%, it is then not surprising that French signs make up only 15% and bilingual signs 17% of the linguistic landscape. With that in mind, some students believe that everyone understands English and for that reason it would be excessive for everything to be bilingual (Nicolas, DT).

As Landry & Bourhis (1997) indicate, a change in language in the linguistic landscape signals a change in territory. It was clear that students felt this change in territory within their dual-track school. For example, "it depends where you are, in the French department they're usually in French, in a French class they're always French but around the school it's English" (José, DT). Dalla (DT) went on to clarify that all the French posters in the French department were put up by the teachers. Her assessment is accurate since none of the French posters in the dual-track school appeared to be student-created. There were several examples of French student-created posters in the other school contexts.

Many participants noted the change in language when they entered the French block and they seemed to believe that this was the only place in the school where there were French signs. This assessment was found to be inaccurate since throughout the school many permanent location signs were bilingual. As well, there were framed quote

posters (some in French and some in English) throughout the school. Still, the bilingual permanent location signs were not all uniformly bilingual. Some washroom signs and some locations, such as the Media Production laboratory (see Figure 5: Dual-track Media Production Laboratory) were only in English. When the location signs were bilingual, English was placed on the left and thus in a position of power followed by French (see Figure 17: Dual-track Cafeteria) (Backhaus, 2008).

Figure 5: Dual-track Media Production Laboratory

There were also mistakes in French on some of these permanent bilingual signs. For example, Figure 17: Dual-track Cafeteria should be written *Cafétéria* instead of *Caféteria*. As well, the French portion of the library sign had an accent but in the wrong direction, it should read *Bibliothèque* instead of *Bibliothéque* (see Figure 6: Dual-track Library Sign). These mistakes and the positioning of French on these signs indicate that French has a lower status within the school since the mistakes have gone unnoticed.

Figure 6: Dual-track Library Sign

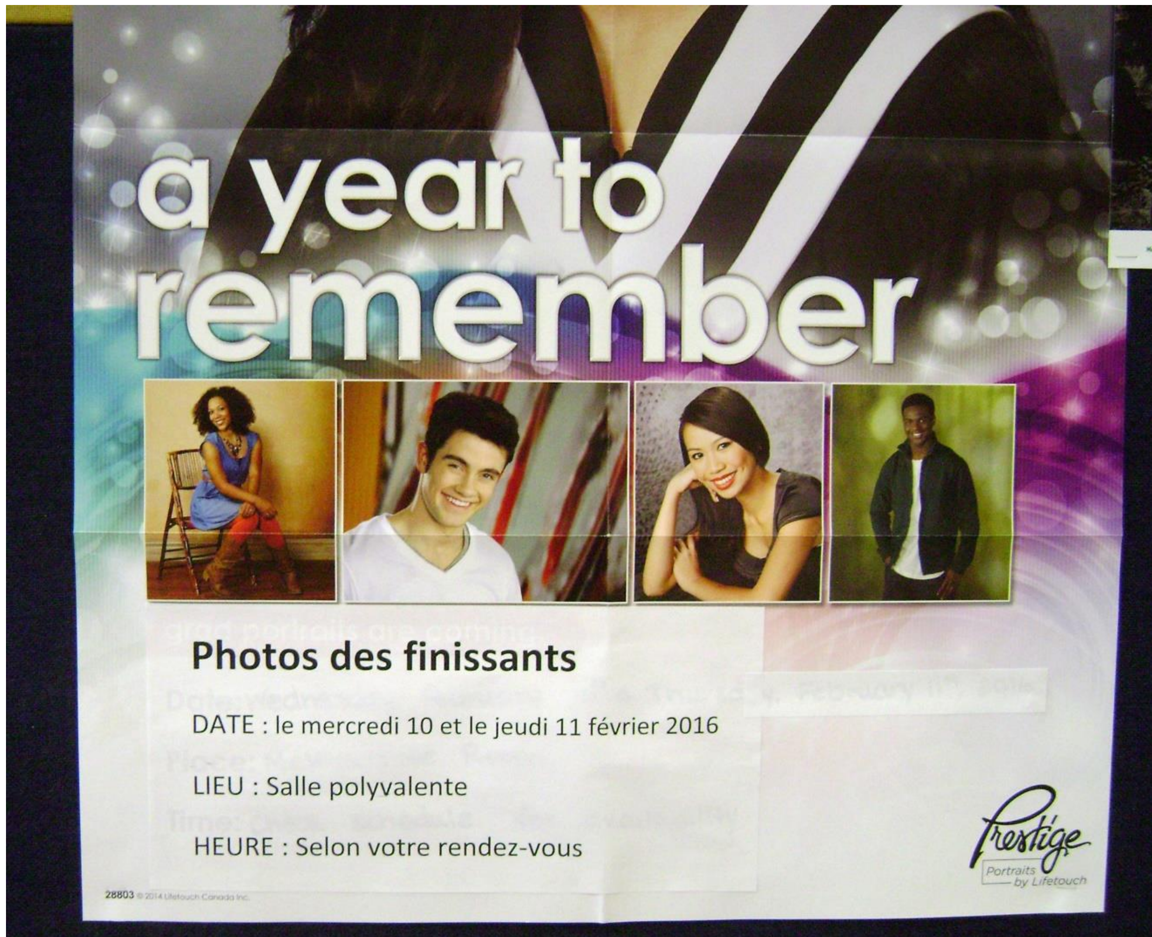
While the dual-track school was the only school where grammatical and spelling mistakes were found on their permanent location signs, the single-track school also had some mistakes on other signs. Figure 12: Single-track Health & Safety is misphrased and is missing accents on the French part of the sign, it reads "*la securite et l'hygiene du travail*" when it should say "*la santé et la sécurité au travail*". Participants also expected that grammatical mistakes would be more common in the French immersion contexts than in the French-language one. When tourists in Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau's (2015) study noticed mistakes in the linguistic landscape of the place they were visiting it tended to have a negative impact on their experience. For the most part, participants did not notice these mistakes. However, when they did, they often associated the particular image with individuals who had a lower level of French proficiency. In conclusion, before even conducting an analysis of the images, participants had already revealed attitudes and expectations towards their own and other schools' linguistic landscapes.

Linguistic Landscape Analysis

The following images are some of the images the participants viewed during their second interview. In some cases, participants recognized an image as belonging to their school and were able to identify where it was located within their school. When participants saw a French-only sign, they believed it came from the DSFM school. When they saw a bilingual sign, they thought it was from the single-track school. Finally, an English-only sign indicated either a dual-track or an English school, even though this was not an actual research site. This seems to show that participants feel the language(s) of a school's linguistic landscape are reflective of its identity.

Photo analysis 1.

Figure 7: DSFM Graduation Photos



This bilingual poster (see Figure 7: DSFM Graduation Photos) was found at the DSFM school. The title in large font is in English. However, the information for the students is written in French on a paper that is used to cover up the English information. If you look closely, you can see the English words Date, Place and Time underneath the white paper. This shows that an effort was made not only to have the information in French but also to remove the English information. The fact that the information for the students was written in French indicated to many dual-track participants that it would not be at their school since “it would be in English if it was at our school” (Élaine, DT).

Since all the students at the dual-track school would be able to understand the English information, an effort would not be made to add French information.

The mere presence of English incited some DSFM participants to say that it could not belong to their school. For example, “j'imaginerais pas qu'on aurait une publicité comme ça dans notre école parce que d'habitude tout est en français[71]” (Raul, DSFM). However, Luc (ST), believes the image could be found at his school and he justifies having an English title because it is a poster from an outside company. Since most signs outside the school are in English, he believes that the company was just not able to change the title for his school. It is very possible that the poster was only available in English. Moreover, because of the placement of the title, it would be more difficult to cover it up.

Photo analysis 2.

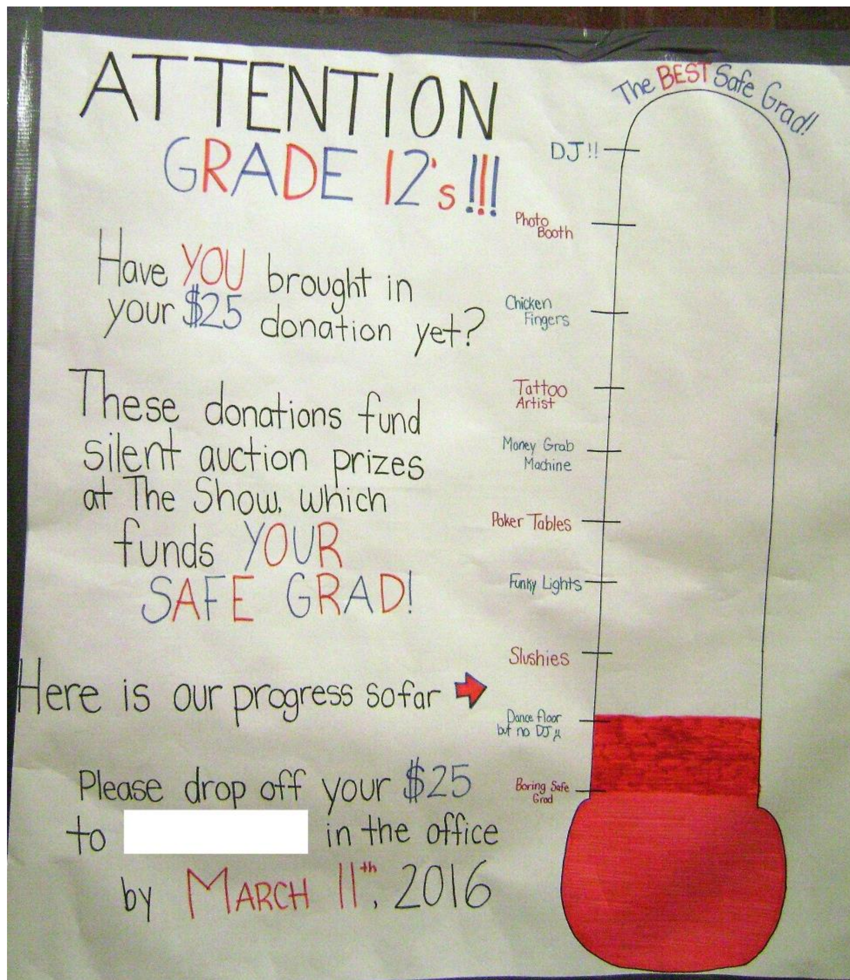
The second image (see Figure 8: Dual-track Safe Grad) located at the dual-track school was written in English only. Since the participants believed it to be a student-created poster, those who attended the DSFM and single-track school felt that it would not be seen in their school. Although Frances (DT) recognizes the poster as belonging to her school, she indicates that since there was no French, she would have assumed it came from an English school:

> If it wasn't at my school I would think it's just an English school but … this is from our school and it's in all English and it's for everybody though so I guess

[71] I wouldn’t imagine that we’d have an ad like that in our school because usually everything is in French (Raul, DSFM).

there should be French but I think they just do everything in English …. So they just did that for easier purposes.

Figure 8: Dual-track Safe Grad

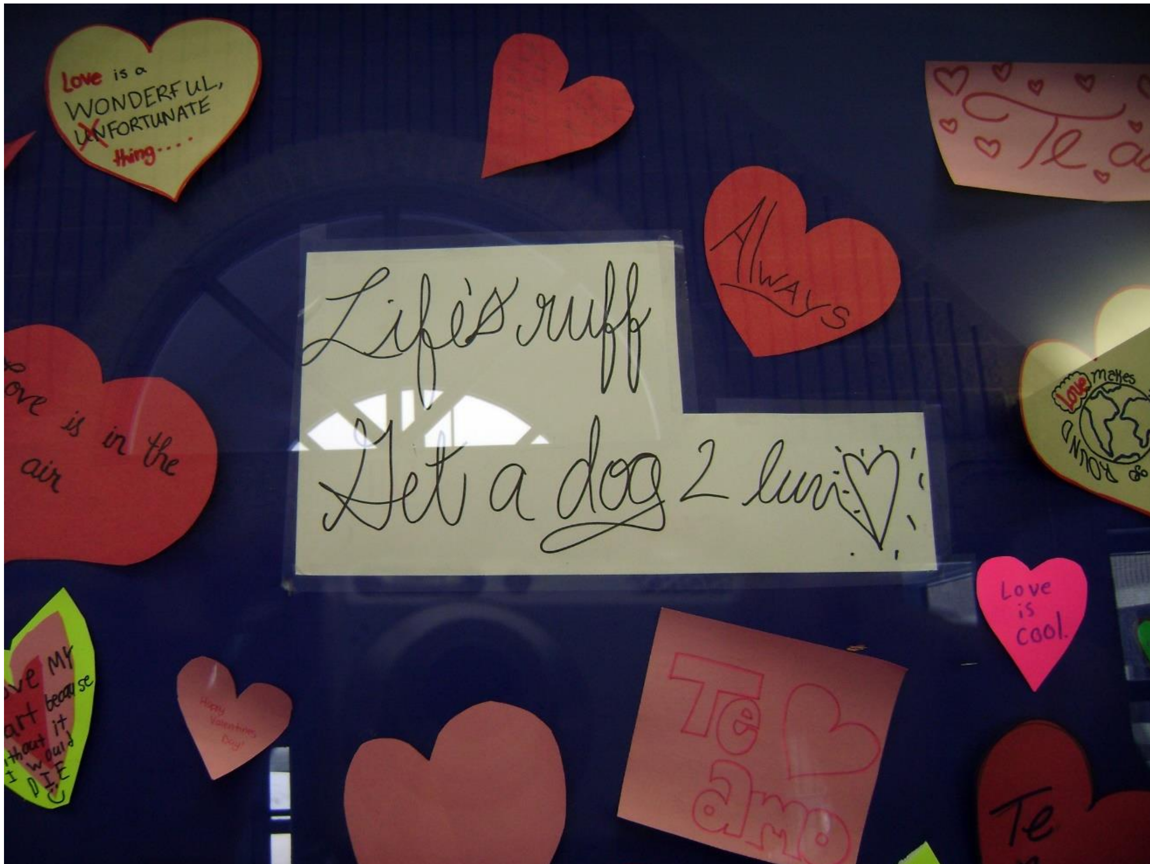


Both Elektra (DSFM) and Eveline (DSFM) felt that such a poster would not exist at their school, since everything students create must be written in French. Elektra (DSFM) even states that students would be punished if they had written a poster entirely in English. The single-track students also indicated that they would not be allowed to create a poster entirely in English. Léonore (ST) states, “our posters should be in French so I don't know maybe it's an unapproved immersion school poster”. Since all the

committees at a single-track school are made up of French immersion students, posters promoting activities for the students can be written in French. This is not the case at the dual-track school. As Zara (ST) indicates, at her school, “nothing that a student would make would ever be 100% in English”.

Photo analysis 3.

Figure 9: Single-track Valentine’s Day



However, the following display (see Figure 9: Single-track Valentine’s Day) found at the single-track school contradicts Zara’s (ST) statement. In reading the hearts, many participants noticed that they were all written in English or Spanish. Although many single-track participants remembered that this had been posted at their school, they were often surprised that French was not included in this display. Léonore (ST) states, “if

it were up to me I would put a few hearts in French too”. This shows that she believes a bilingual message is acceptable but it should also include French.

The use of Spanish was justified because the school had a Spanish program. The use of English was justified since it was about “emotions” which are easier to communicate in English (Luc, ST) or because it is more “difficult” or “inconvenient” for students to write in French (Ayla, ST). This is interesting since, clearly not all the students are taking Spanish, yet it seems less difficult and more convenient for them to write a message in Spanish. Both Eveline (DSFM) and Raul (DSFM) remarked that English is used more “liberally” in French immersion schools, since there are not as many rules against using it.

Photo analysis 4.

Since Figure 10: Dual-track Film Club was written all in French, many participants believed that it was in a DSFM school, including DSFM participants. However, this movie poster was located in the dual-track school “in the French hallway” (Élaine, DT). Other dual-track participants described that the poster advertised a French movie club. During lunch hour, students could watch a film in French. Based on the posters in the hallway, it appeared as though the majority of the movies were popular English movies translated in French. Although Luc (ST) was not aware of the film club since this was not an activity at his school, he was still able to understand the purpose of such a poster: “c'est quelqu'un qui voudrait que les élèves écoutent un film en français pour mieux apprendre[72]”.

---

[72] It’s somebody who would like the students to watch a French movie to learn better (Luc, ST).

Figure 10: Dual-track Film Club

Sophie (DT) also sees another purpose for this poster: “it's supposed to make French seem like fun for everybody like show people that the French people they have movies and stuff too”. Single-track participants were especially against watching a movie in French for “fun”. As Léonore (ST) states, “only real French people watch French movies”. Zara (ST) agrees and believes that “I think it’s rare that someone from our school would go out and watch a French movie unless they are French”. Ayla (ST) believes that this poster would not be in her school because her teachers know that

French immersion students would never go to see a movie in French, especially not a French translation of an English movie, “we would just go see it in English”.

Photo analysis 5.

Figure 11: Single-track Committee Poster

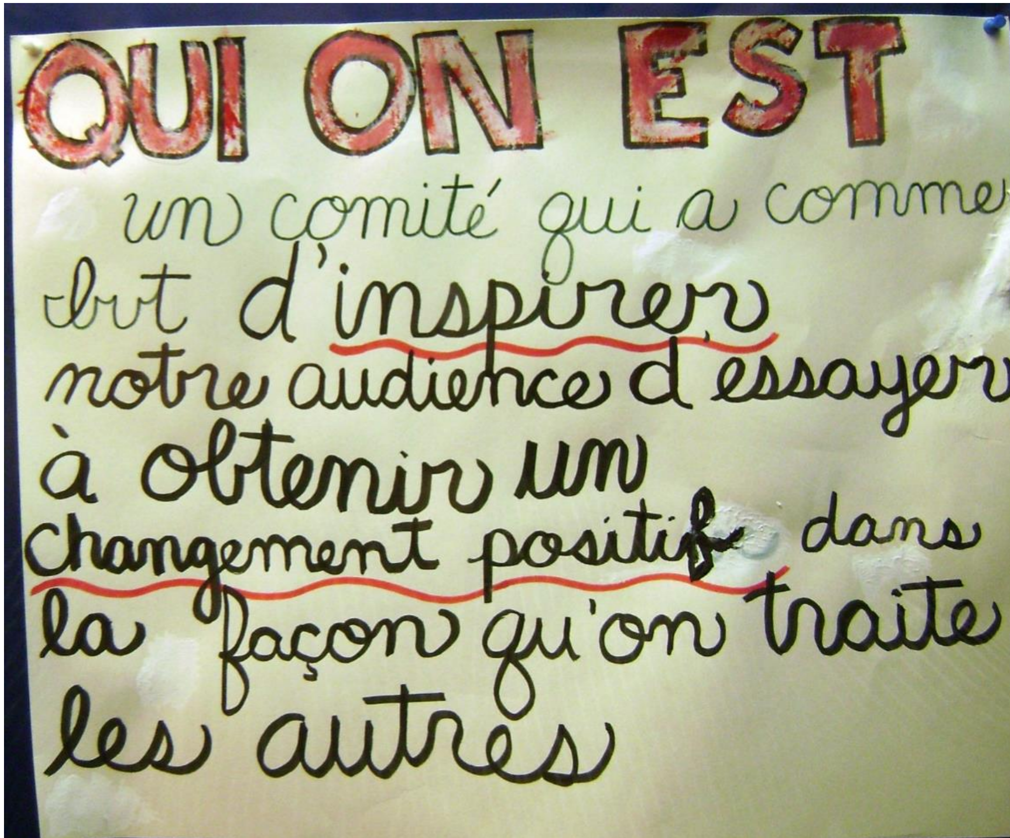


Figure 11: Single-track Committee Poster was another supposedly student-created poster this time from the single-track school. Although this poster is written entirely in French, the phrasing could be better. Some students also noted the mistakes. For example, Elektra (DSFM) initially assumed this came from a French immersion school due to the phrasing but later admitted that DSFM students could make the same mistakes, “il y a une ou deux erreurs de français un peu alors ça se pourrait que soit d'immersion

quoi que dans les écoles françaises on fait aussi des erreurs[73]". A dual-track student also identifies this as a French immersion poster since there are mistakes:

> José: I would just say that that is a French immersion school because the French is bad.
>
> Gail: What is bad about the French?
>
> José: It's just like not put together, it's put together like I would put it together and like not as a Francophone would put it together. (José, DT)

It is clear in this statement that José (DT) believes that Francophones have a more "correct" French and that he has not yet achieved that level. Both Léonore (ST) and Senna (ST) notice that white-out was used on the poster. Both believe that students from a French-language school would not use white-out on a poster. Léonore (ST) felt that "kids that are full French are like really good and you can tell" (Léonore, ST) so there would be no need for white-out. While Senna (ST) admits that even if Francophones made a mistake in French they wouldn't make the whole poster and then realize afterwards that they had made a mistake (Senna, ST). These comments seem to show that native French speakers are held in high regard and that their French is considered "proper", as Elektra (DSFM) put it in her first interview.

Photo analysis 6.

Figure 12: Single-track Health & Safety was another example of a sign that contained mistakes. Eveline (DSFM) noticed the French sign was missing accents. For that reason, she felt it would be found at a French immersion school, since at her school

[73] There are one or two mistakes in French a bit so it's possible that it's from immersion although in French schools we also make mistakes (Elektra, DSFM).

they would not have forgotten the accents. In particular, the placement of English on top of French in this sign was relevant to many participants. Backhaus (2008) noted that when a language was placed above another, it was in a position of power. When explaining why English was placed above French, students often referenced the importance of English. For example:

> Nora: Often times they'll use English to kind of catch people's eye because it's usually the first language and it's easier to understand and this is important.
>
> Gail: So when something's important it's usually in English?
>
> Nora: Yeah, even in class the teachers will talk to us in English if it's something they really want to stick into our heads. (Nora, DT)

Figure 12: Single-track Health & Safety

Clearly, English is seen as the more legitimate language since it is being used for things that are "important". Ayla (ST) agrees with the idea that important information is communicated in English. However, she notes that it might be to ensure comprehension:

> Si c'est quelque chose qui est important comme *Health and Safety* ou Éducation sexuelle on le fait en anglais et en français ou juste en anglais pour qu'on est certain que les étudiants comprend alors ça c'est plutôt une caractéristique des écoles bilingues, je parlais à des amis qui vont aussi en immersion française et

c'est la même chose, si c'est quelque chose de vraiment important pour qu'on comprend et qu'on sache c'est en anglais[74]. (Ayla, ST)

It is possible that this sign is in English so that visitors such as Anglophone parents might be able to read it (Senna, ST). Both Elektra (DSFM) and Malana (DSFM) felt that it was a typical French immersion practice to place English first. They felt that at their school French always came first and more often than not English was not even there.

Photo analysis 7.

While participants thought that the analogy of French being the irritating sand that becomes a pearl in Figure 13: Dual-track Learn French Poster was interesting, many felt it was odd that the poster was written only in English. As Ayla (ST) states "seulement une école anglophone aurait une annonce publicitaire à propos de français en anglais[75]". Like Ayla (ST) many felt that the poster was "selling French" (Gilbert, DT) since it spoke about the advantages of learning French. Since this sign was located in the French immersion department and was written entirely in English, some dual-track participants felt it was not meant for them since "we already know French" (Vera, DT). For that reason, they do not necessarily feel like they are the target audience. Instead, they felt this poster was meant to encourage English students to take basic French classes.

[74] If it's something that's important like *Health and Safety* or Sexual Education we do it in English and in French or just in English so that we make sure the students understand so it's more so a characteristic of bilingual schools. I was talking to friends who also go to French immersion and it's the same thing, if it's something that's really important that we should understand and know it's in English (Ayla, ST).

[75] Only an English school would have an ad about French in English (Ayla, ST).

Figure 13: Dual-track Learn French Poster

Still, some participants felt the message applied to them because it is true that "sometimes it's frustrating but then you can have lots of opportunities coming out of school" (Élaine, DT). This comment shows how this poster uses the linguistic capital associated with French to attempt to increase participants in the program or to encourage the current students to stay. The message is that while it may be frustrating at times, you will receive a reward for your effort in the end. While some students believe this is true, others do not buy into this by stating that "if you're irritated about learning French then don't be in the French program" (Vera, DT).

Photo analysis 8.

In the dual-track school, some classrooms and locations in the school were demarcated by symbols instead of words (see Figure 14: Dual-track Class Sign).

Figure 14: Dual-track Class Sign

Sophie (DT) believes the purpose of having symbols instead of words was so that everyone would understand, “no one struggles with the pictures like it’s pretty basic to understand”. Therefore, such a sign was thought to be inclusive of all the different languages spoken at school. However, many participants found it difficult to decipher what the images meant while others disagreed with the choice of images. The dual-track participants thought the orange image with the people was the resource room, whereas none of the other participants guessed that.

Several participants disagreed with the use of the Eiffel Tower which they felt represented the French block or a French classroom. Manitoban Francophones in particular felt it was not a symbol that represented their culture. As Jonathan (DSFM) notes, the Eiffel Tower is something English people associate with French “I think it’s more of an English thing …. If you’re French in our French community there’s so many other things to choose from”. Some participants were even bothered by the use of the

Eiffel Tower and declared that "la langue française pour nous représente pas juste la Tour Eiffel et Paris puis la France, je pense que ça représente plus que ça[76]" (Eveline, DSFM). Ironically, in choosing the Eiffel Tower, the sign that was probably meant to be inclusive does not properly reference the French immersion students, Franco-Manitobans or other Canadian Francophones.

Photo analysis 9.

Figure 15: DSFM Doors Locked was the image the most recognized as being from the DSFM school. All the DSFM participants stated that it was in their school and many French immersion participants felt it had to come from the French-language school. The fact that the sign was only written in French, that the time was written in French and that the word *verrouiller* was used were reasons why French immersion students felt it came from a French-language school. Many French immersion participants did not understand the word *verrouiller* and some guessed based on the context that it meant locked or closed (Jomei, ST; Léonore, ST; Senna, ST; Thea, DT).

In speaking about this sign, three participants replaced the word *verrouiller* by *barrer*, which is a common Franco-Manitoban word from Old French that means to lock the door (Gaborieau, 1999). Here, it is almost as if Christian (DSFM) is translating the standard French, "'portes verrouillées' ça veut dire que les portes sont barrées à 16 h chaque soir *so* après l'école[77]".

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[76] The French language for us isn't just represented by the Eiffel Tower and Paris and France, I think it represents more than that (Eveline, DSFM).

[77] "Doors locked" that means the doors are locked at 4 o'clock every evening *so* after school (Christian, DSFM).

Figure 15: DSFM Doors Locked

Some of the DSFM participants noted that the sign is memorable because of its location (Apollo, DSFM; Claire, DSFM and Eveline, DSFM). Apollo (DSFM) describes that "everyone walks past that sign to go to their lockers" and Eveline (DSFM) said that she saw the sign every day. This indicates that students are in fact reading the signs in their school's linguistic landscape. Moreover, certain locations in the school, or high

traffic areas, are important places to post French messages since they will be seen and seemingly remembered by everyone.

Photo analysis 10.

Figure 16: Dual-track Université de Saint-Boniface

This poster (see Figure 16: Dual-track Université de Saint-Boniface) was found in the dual-track school. Similar posters advertising *Université de Saint-Boniface* were also in the single-track school. Notably, while I was visiting the DSFM school, there were no advertisements for the Francophone university, even though it appeared as though in many of the schools, late winter was the time when most post-secondary schools advertised in high schools. Most participants felt that the poster could be located in anyone of the school contexts, since *Université de Saint-Boniface* accepts French-language as well as French immersion students.

As José (DT) notes, even if the poster can be found in French immersion schools, the students may feel intimidated by the Francophone university:

> José: It's advertising a French university and not a lot of immersion people would go to a French university.
>
> Gail: Why not?
>
> José: Just because it's not their strong language and I'd like to learn in my strongest language so I understand everything. (José, DT)

This also shows that while some French immersion students are anxious about attending university in English because they have learnt everything in French, others do not even consider continuing in French because they do not believe their French is sufficiently strong.

Although the poster is written in French-only, dual-track participants believe that it was the type of poster they would see in the French block. Specifically, they considered

it to be a poster that a teacher would have put up to encourage students to continue after high school in French.

The following images were not analyzed by all the participants. They chose which images they wanted to analyze from a selection of six images that were displayed on a table in the interview room. For the most part, participants were relatively consistent in their analysis. If they felt that French-only signs belonged at a DSFM school, they generally continued to say this in the second step of analysis. However, some images in this section were selected more often for analysis than others. This shows that some elements of the linguistic landscape elicit more views than others.

Photo analysis 11.

Figure 17: Dual-track Cafeteria

Figure 17: Dual-track Cafeteria contained 26 references. Many students noted that since the words are so similar in French and in English, the translation is futile. The purpose of this sign is then a symbolic one. José (DT) believes the two languages are present on this sign because “we’re a country of two languages”. This references Canada’s bilingual ideology. On the other hand, others believe the French translation is there to offer “une représentation égale des deux groupes[78]”within the school. In that

[78] An equal representation of both groups (Nicolas, DT).

sense, the sign reflects the school population (Nicolas, DT). While Nicolas (DT) believes having both languages is a sign of equality, Vera (DT) notes the placement of English first: “English before French that's usually how it goes because we are another afterthought …. You'll never not see that because English is the first language”. Since the French version is missing an accent, it is conceivable that French is in fact an “afterthought” (Vera, DT) because it was not deemed important enough to verify the spelling before ordering the sign.

Photo analysis 12.

Figure 18: Dual-track Environmental Committee

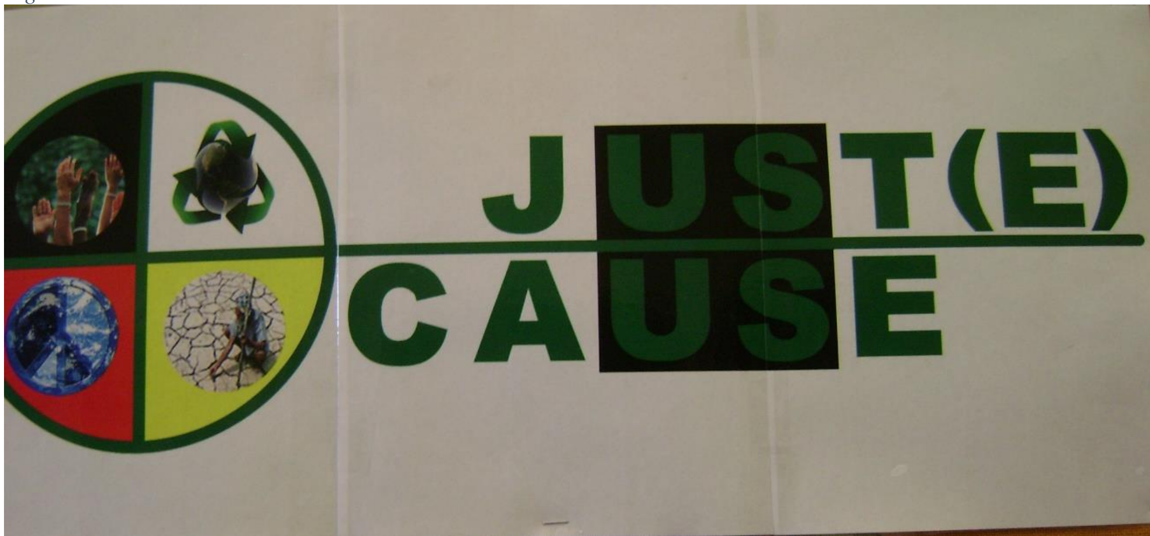

Figure 18: Dual-track Environmental Committee confused some participants who thought it was the expression “just ‘cause” (just because). Gilbert (DT) explains how this is a bilingual sign “this one is French immersion as well because they have the option of the E which includes the French word *juste*”. Gilbert’s (DT) choice of words is pertinent because French immersion in this dual-track school is an optional program. Although many students thought it was interesting that the sign worked in both languages, some noted that there was an emphasis on English since the word “us” was highlighted in

black. Luc (ST) believes the purpose of the sign was to try to include French but he feels it was made by an Anglophone since there is emphasis on the word “us”.

Moreover, although the words exist in French, the placement of the words is incorrect. In French, it should be “*une cause juste*” instead of “*juste cause*”. Again, it seems as though the sign was originally created in English and the addition of French was an “afterthought” (Vera, DT).

Photo analysis 13.

Figure 19: Single-track Outdoor Sign

Figure 19 was referenced by 28 participants. Many participants noted that French was placed first in this sign. For them, that meant that it was either a French-language school or a French immersion school who emphasized French. The placement of French was especially important to some participants since it was on the outdoor sign. This showed them that the language was important for the school. Nicolas (DT) said that seeing French on the sign even before you enter the school indicates that it is a bilingual school. Sophie (DT) believes that the sign is targeting different audiences: “it's almost like it's saying first to the students who are speaking French and then to the parents that might only speak English”. For many participants, like Sophie (DT), using both

languages meant you were being inclusive since different groups of people could read the sign. Generally speaking, inclusion was viewed differently among the three school contexts. If a sign was written only in English, dual-track participants were more likely to say that everyone would understand it. In the single-track setting, participants felt bilingual signs were inclusive since the students and visitors could understand. Finally, at the DSFM school, many participants felt there was no need for English since everyone spoke French. Many of them also felt that bilingual signs were a good thing to have, especially for parents who did not speak French.

This sign also prompted Vera (DT) to speak about her own school's outdoor sign:

> There's nothing ever French on that, like I see it all the time, I always drive by it, nothing ever is French, like they'll be like congratulations to the girls' volleyball team winning the championship … I mean I think maybe once I saw like a Welcome *Bienvenue*, but I've not seen it since, I might have dreamed, I might just be wishing for it to be there.

For Vera (DT), the outdoor sign is especially important since it makes announcements that people driving by can see. She indicates that students and staff see it every day. In the same way that Eveline (DSFM) and Lina (DSFM) thought the University of Manitoba sign in their school included French, Vera (DT) thinks her outdoor sign might have had French once. However, she admits that this might be wishful thinking. Her comment also indicates that English would have been written first on her school sign.

Although French comes first, the expression Open House is plural in French and should read "*Portes ouvertes*". While none of the participants noticed this mistake, two

DSFM participants unconsciously corrected it by referring to the event on the sign as "les portes ouvertes[79]" (Blake, DSFM; Elektra, DSFM).

Photo analysis 14.

Figure 20: Dual-track Welcome Sign was the most referenced image of the group since 33 of the participants chose to analyze it. In an attempt to identify all the languages on the sign, I contacted the company that produced the sign. They never responded. However, I learned that they were based in London, United Kingdom. Using the Omniglot Website (see bibliographical electronic resources), which showed how to say welcome in a variety of different languages, I was able to identify all the languages on the sign. Table 20: Languages Present on the Welcome Sign lists the languages included on the sign.

While not all the world's languages could be included on such a poster, the absence of certain languages, especially in the Canadian context, is noteworthy. Jonathan (DSFM) mentions how he immediately noted the absence of Swahili on the sign: "I looked at it earlier as soon as I walked in the room, I did a quick scan and I didn't see Swahili in there, um, no, no, it says Welcome twice". Such a sign gives the impression of inclusivity. However, it is doubly exclusive when you do not find the language you speak on the sign. Just like Jonathan (DSFM), many participants noted that welcome was written twice on the sign. While it may just be a reference to Australia since the Australian flag is placed beside the second welcome, participants tended to think it meant that English was more important in the sign.

[79] Open House

Figure 20: Dual-track Welcome Sign

Table 20: Languages Present on the Welcome Sign

Languages Present on the Welcome Sign	
English x2	
Portuguese	Punjabi
Japanese	German
Danish	Greek (modern)
Arabic x2	Polish
Italian	Hebrew/Yiddish
Czech	Farsi
Hindi Sanskrit	Irish (Gaelic)
Afrikaans	Welsh
Turkish	Spanish
Russian	Urdu
French	Mandarin Chinese (simplified characters)

Many students also noted that welcome was placed at the top of the sign, in a large font and was in red. Font size and colour are often used in the linguistic landscape to indicate language status (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015). The following citations show how the participants noticed that there was an elevated status attributed to English on this sign:

> The fact that Welcome is still at the top in huge letters, I think that if you were to walk in the school and you looked at it Welcome would be the first thing that you

> see … and it's big and it's in red which is like an eye-captivating colour. (Jonathan, DSFM)
>
> It’s mainly English but then it shows, it’s saying welcome in all these different languages. (Jaelyn, ST)
>
> English is the bigger more dominant one featured. (Mycroft, ST)
>
> It’s kind of the one that catches your eye first so maybe they’re saying English is still like the main language. (Nora, DT)
>
> I don’t like that our English welcome is the dominant because it’s just like look we’re, it’s also above everything else so it’s like we’re holding ourselves above you. (Vera, DT)

Although participants felt that the purpose of the sign was to “promote diversity and valuing other languages” (Nora, DT), they clearly saw that the most valued language in the sign was English.

Many participants appreciated the diversity of languages present in the sign and often had positive affective responses to the sign, saying things such as that is “heart-warming” (Apollo, DSFM) and “a nice big hug of colours and languages” (Vera, DT). At the same time, Eveline (DSFM) believed that the sign represented how Canada was a multicultural nation. Despite these positive statements, many participants from the DSFM and the single-track school stated that such a sign would likely not be posted in their school because they did not have a diverse population of students and because French was not listed at the top of the sign. For example, in analyzing this sign, Léonore (ST) describes her school population:

> Léonore: We're not that culturally diverse here.
>
> Gail: So what do you mean by that?
>
> Léonore: I mean, I don't mean to be rude or anything or racist or anything but I'm sure you've walked around here, about 90% of the people here are white I mean I don't think we have anyone from East India or like anything like that.

Ayla (ST) agrees stating "c'étaient toutes des personnes blanches …. *We're basically the little clump of KD that doesn't get dissolved for some reason*[80]". Ayla (ST) compares her school's population to the popular Macaroni and Cheese bought in a box. When you mix the powdered sauce with milk, it makes a consistent sauce that can contain residual clumps if it is not mixed properly. Her analogy seems to point towards the fact that French immersion single-track students are not sufficiently mixed with other linguistic or cultural groups. This results in "white people" being clumped together in the French immersion program. Interestingly, these comments are made by two participants with a non-Anglophone linguistic background. This perhaps renders them more able to see the lack of diversity in their school.

In the DSFM context, some participants felt that the only place they would see such a sign would be in their Spanish classroom since they learnt another language there (Blake, DSFM; Christian, DSFM). For them, Spanish seemed to represent multiculturalism and diversity instead of just another language they learnt. Other students felt the sign did not fit into their school's linguistic landscape because their school only promotes French. For example:

[80] It was all white people …. *We're basically the little clump of KD that doesn't get dissolved for some reason* (Ayla, ST).

> C'est que la DSFM ils aiment beaucoup promouvoir le français mais quand ça vient à promouvoir les gens qui ne sont pas français ils sont vraiment à la défensive, pas que je, comme je comprends pourquoi parce qu'ils veulent garder notre héritage et notre culture mais on va jamais retrouver quelque chose comme ça ici à l'exception si on aurait un club de différents héritages mais on n'a pas[81]. (Claire, DSFM)

Although Eveline (DSFM) feels as though students at her school are very accepting towards individuals from different cultural and religious backgrounds, she still cannot picture this sign in her school because "ils veulent vraiment promouvoir le français dans notre école[82]". Jonathan (DSFM) agrees and states that French-language schools "only roll with French".

The analysis of the linguistic landscape signs showed that the participants recognized elements from their own school's linguistic landscape. Since they were familiar with their school's identity, they were also able to judge whether or not a sign might be a part of their school's linguistic landscape. In doing so, they often revealed the symbolism behind language placement and language use in the linguistic landscape. Although not every sub-theme from the first interviews surfaced in the linguistic landscape analysis, participants still made clear associations between linguistic

[81] The DSFM they really like promoting French but when it comes to promoting the people who aren't French they're really on the defensive, not that I, like I understand why because they want to maintain our heritage and our culture but we would never find something like this here except if we had a heritage club but we don't (Claire, DSFM).

[82] They really want to promote French in our school (Eveline, DSFM).

landscapes and school contexts, language use, linguistic identity and also revealed language attitudes and ideologies.

Chapter Six: *Temps d'exposition*[83] (Discussion)

It is the purpose of this section to answer the research questions, which were:

1. What are the linguistic landscapes of a French-language, French immersion single-track and French immersion dual-track high school?
2. What are the students' language attitudes, ideologies, patterns of language use and linguistic identities as reflected in and as influenced by the linguistic landscapes?
3. How do students interpret elements from the linguistic landscape of each school?

In order to respond to research question one, this section will present a portrait of each of the schools' linguistic landscape. Within each portrait, I will address question 2 by looking at language attitudes, ideologies, language use and linguistic identity one by one. Question 3 will then be addressed in the final theme of each portrait, entitled spatial repertoire (see Table 21 for a visual representation of this organization). I will argue that each school's linguistic landscape is comprised of a linguistic repertoire as well as a spatial repertoire and that they are interconnected. The linguistic repertoire is comprised of the themes of school choice, language ideologies, attitudes, linguistic identity and language use, and particularly translanguaging practices. The spatial repertoire is not only the signs within the linguistic landscape but the "interactive whole that includes people, objects and space" (Pennycook, 2017, p. 278). Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to offer a holistic view of these scholastic linguistic landscapes.

[83] Exposure time

Table 21: Discussion Organization

	School Choice	Language Ideologies (Q.2)	Language Attitudes (Q.2)	Linguistic Identity (Q.2)	Language Use (Q.2)	Spatial Repertoire (Q.3)
DSFM Linguistic Landscape (Q.1)	Linguistic Capital Habitus	Tenet 3 Field	Field Linguistic Habitus	Tenet 1 Linguistic Capital Linguistic Habitus	Tenet 1 Tenet 2 Tenet 3 Linguistic Capital Linguistic Habitus	Tenet 1 Tenet 3
Single-track Linguistic Landscape (Q.1)	Linguistic Capital Tenet 3	Linguistic Capital Field	Tenet 1 Tenet 3 Linguistic Capital Linguistic Habitus	Tenet 1 Field Linguistic Habitus	Tenet 2 Tenet 3	Tenet 3
Dual-track Linguistic Landscape (Q.1)	Linguistic Capital	Tenet 2 Tenet 3	Tenet 3	Tenet 1	Tenet 2	Linguistic Capital Field

The following section will be divided first into the linguistic landscapes of each school context. Each linguistic landscape will then be sub-divided into the themes of school choice (p. 198, 217, 229), language ideologies (p. 201, 219, 231), language attitudes (p. 203, 221, 231), linguistic identity (p. 205, 223, 232), language use (p. 208, 225, 233), and spatial repertoire (p. 213, 227, 234). These divisions were selected based on the themes present in the literature review, in the interview questions and in Chapter 4 (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Yin, 2011). The theme spatial repertoire was added in order to address research question 3. As well, the three tenets of translanguaging will be interwoven into these themes. To review, the three tenets of translanguaging are as follows:

1. Bilingual children develop a single complex language repertoire, a unitary language system and a single identity as bilinguals;

2. Bilinguals are capable of communicating and acting with only certain features of their repertoire, those that respond to socially named languages;

3. To deepen the bilingual child's performances in socially named languages, it is important to first recognize and leverage their entire language repertoire. (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 16)

Issues of power, in particular, linguistic capital, linguistic habitus and field will also be explored and interwoven into each linguistic landscape. By using Bourdieu's concepts as a theoretical framework, it will become clear that translanguaging practices are not neutral but influenced by relations of power. Since translanguaging has been criticized for overlooking power relations (Hamman, 2018; Poza, 2017), an importance has been given to some of Bourdieu's sociological theories in this study. Arguably, if power elements are ignored, the context in which translanguaging practices occur is not adequately described. Since understanding the particularities of each educational context was always the goal of this study, linguistic power relations need to be addressed. Finally, the conclusion will summarize the responses to each of the research questions.

DSFM: Protecting French

Figure 21: Poster in a DSFM School

[84]

Image from (Mormina, 2017)

School choice.

In Canada, school choice is influenced by first language (Holmes, 2008). In Manitoba, the majority of Franco-Manitobans also speak English. This allows them three different school choices for their children: French-language, French immersion, and English-language. Since the parental levels of education reported in this study are higher than the average Manitoban population (de Rocquigny, 2014), the parents of the DSFM participants likely made an informed choice when selecting their child's school. In fact, middle-class parents generally seek out approaches to success and advantages for their children when they enroll them in specialized educational programs or elite schools (Reay, 2004a). Such a strategy is reflective of the habitus, since they believe that these programs will offer their children a competitive edge. Essentially, this belief influences

[84] Stay calm, we speak French here.

their school choice. Parents may consider the DSFM advantageous for various reasons also cited by the participants. Some examples include proximity of the school to home, the school's reputation and smaller class sizes.

However, it seems as though many of the participants' parents selected the DSFM due to their desire to maintain the French language. While their ultimate goal may be additive bilingualism, they nevertheless selected a school where French was the language of instruction. This is not surprising since:

> In Canada, the value of bilingualism, and particularly additive bilingualism, is generally highly respected. Both Francophone and Anglophone parents want their children to be proficient in both official languages. However, many are unaware of the optimal conditions fostering additive bilingualism. (Landry et al., 2010, p. 236)

With regard to the parents and the participants in this study, I would argue that when they select a French-language school for language maintenance reasons, they are doing so because they are aware that education in the minority language is more likely to lead to additive bilingualism and French language maintenance.

Even though French language maintenance may be important, as Landry et al. (2010) note, Canadian parents generally want their children to speak both official languages. This is because they understand that there is linguistic capital associated with English. When Stagg-Peterson & Heywood (2007) conducted a study on immigrants they noted that they associated linguistic capital with knowing the dominant language as well as with their heritage language. This is the case for the DSFM participants as well since

they believe French is personally important for them, they see the advantages associated with knowing it but also recognize the importance of English in their lives. Therefore, they are aware that in the Manitoban and Canadian contexts, both French and English hold linguistic capital. Being able to speak both those languages, as they can, is even more valuable then only speaking one.

French-English bilingualism holds its own linguistic capital since it is commonly believed that it leads to greater job opportunities (Pilote & Magnan, 2008; Yoon & Gulson, 2010). Realistically, for many Franco-Manitobans, the minority context they live in makes it so that they are “circumstantial” bilinguals, meaning that they have no choice but to learn English, the dominant language in Manitoba, in order to participate in society (Mahendra & Namazi, 2014, p. 41). While schooling in French is an important factor that positively influences French-language maintenance, many of the participants also speak French at home. Therefore, in some cases, their access to the language and the linguistic capital associated with knowing it were given to them at home. Thus, the school is not always solely responsible for French-language instruction, as is often the case with the French immersion program.

Nevertheless, some students leave the DSFM for French immersion or English schools, mainly due to sports and other optional activities not offered at the DSFM. Middle-class parents are often interested in enrolling their children in extra-curricular activities, like sports, since they develop skills such as discipline, cooperation, teamwork and are also linked to health benefits. These skills are highly valued in school and in the workplace. Moreover, the development of these skills fosters cultural capital (Lareau, 2002). However, by leaving the DSFM in order to gain cultural capital, they may lose

some of their linguistic capital. Participants in this study made a clear link between leaving the program and losing French. For them, the French-language diploma demonstrates their motivation to continue studying at a French-language school when they could have easily transferred to an English or a French immersion school. Moreover, some participants attribute more value to the French-language school diploma since they feel it validates their French proficiency. In some cases, they hold themselves above the French immersion students who in turn hold themselves above the regular English program students. This occurs due to the language ideologies associated with bilingualism in Canada.

Language ideologies.

Although translanguaging theorists call for educators to start viewing bilingualism positively and not to focus on specific languages (Tenet 3), the reality is each language has a different status within its community. As fields, schools are simply acting as "mirrors" of greater societal norms (Naidoo, 2004, p. 459). Outside the school, as agents, both languages hold an agreed upon status. When a language is defined as being a minority or majority language, this definition not only outlines the specific position the language holds within a particular field but it also defines the relationship between the languages within that field. Actors, or specific individuals, are then defined as minority or majority-language speakers. This explains why Bourdieu (1977) believes that "language is worth what those who speak it are worth" (p. 652). In this case, the reverse, speakers are worth what their language is worth, is also true.

Within the Manitoban context, French holds a secondary position vis-à-vis English. Since English is the language of the majority, it is a desirable language to speak.

As a result, the DSFM students typically expressed positive attitudes toward English and many chose to include their linguistic abilities in English in their linguistic identity choice. As Franco-Manitobans age, they become more and more aware of the importance of speaking English since it is the language of the majority. In some cases, they start speaking and writing in English "even better than and in preference to" French (Fishman, 2001, p. 9). Assimilation is then a very real outcome for many Francophone minorities in Manitoba. In fact, participants in this study stated many examples of French language loss, within their immediate and extended families, among themselves and their friends. Because of the unequal status of each language in the field and the real possibility of language loss, teachers and parents feel the need to protect French. The presence of English in French writing or oral activities at school is viewed negatively since it undermines the authority of French within the school. The majority English norms outside the school creep in through the students' translanguaging practices and this threatens the language's status within the school. It is then not surprising that teachers punish English use and correct translanguaging practices orally and in writing. Essentially, teachers seem to prefer French language use that is not influenced by English.

When countries have one official language, the monolingual ideology exists since that language receives a higher status in comparison to other languages in the field (Blackledge, 2001). However, as already mentioned, Canada has a bilingual ideology; wherein French is of secondary importance outside of Québec. This bilingual ideology may also be masking the importance of languages other than French and English (Mady, 2014a). Although Canadians may have the reputation of accepting other cultures, that

acceptance is symbolic since it does not give their languages official status. Multiculturalism may be an important national ideology, however, it is promoted as multiculturalism through a bilingual framework (König et al., 2015). Those same federal policies have made it possible for French to be the language of instruction in many schools, while other languages are defined as “heritage languages” and can be taught as optional courses or after school and on the weekend (Duff & Li, 2009, p. 4). Although the purpose of heritage languages is to offer immigrants the opportunity for language maintenance, the languages offered in schools do not always represent students’ backgrounds. The most popular other language offered in Manitoban schools is Spanish. Tavares (2000) notes that Spanish is not targeted to students of Latino origin but instead to those who are interested in the language for economical or personal reasons. He also believes that the increase in popularity of this language in Manitoban schools is due to globalization. It is important to note that heritage languages do not include official languages or any Aboriginal languages (Haque & Patrick, 2015). Home languages other than French, English or Spanish are then “hidden” in schools across Canada, since students may speak them but they are not taught at school (Prasad, 2015, p. 503).

Tenet 3 requires educators to leverage the students’ linguistic repertoire. First, they must recognize it in order to leverage it. Pretending that the DSFM is a monolingual French space is inaccurate and does nothing to recognize the linguistic advantage of being bilingual or multilingual, which the students are.

Language attitudes.

As with the other school contexts, the DSFM participants’ linguistic habitus includes positive attitudes towards bilingualism. They are at liberty to hold these positive

attitudes and to feel pride in their bilingualism because of the current status afforded to French and English in the field. As mentioned by some of the participants, discrimination against Francophones is no longer the issue it used to be. In fact, the Francophone disadvantage noted in the early 1900s has changed over time (Corbeil, 2013; Wanner, 1999). French in Manitoba has gone from being banned in schools (Hébert, 2004) to being promoted in the French-language, the French immersion and the Basic French programs.

Moreover, the participants' parents, in their school choice and in their everyday lives, have made it clear that their linguistic habitus is made up of positive attitudes towards language learning. These positive parental attitudes are imparted to their children who also hold positive attitudes towards French and language learning (Bartram, 2006; Kormos et al., 2011). As a result, many DSFM participants proudly declare their Francophone heritage and their current bilingualism. Additionally, the value afforded to French-English bilingualism in the field encourages them to maintain the language for themselves and for future generations. Already in high school, these participants know that in order to maintain a minority language they will be required to exert an extended effort. They know how easy it can be to lose a language because they were all able to share examples of language loss in their family and friends. While they all wish to maintain the French language because it is personally important to them, the minority status afforded to the language in Manitoba makes language maintenance more challenging.

Linguistic identity.

With regard to Tenet 1, it was clear that the DSFM students developed a bilingual identity and a single complex language repertoire. This may in fact be a common characteristic of all students at DSFM schools due to the unique nature of the French-language school division. The rest of the school divisions in the province are divided into geographical zones. However, the DSFM includes all the French-language schools of the province. As a result, Franco-Manitoban children, no matter where they live, share the common experience of being educated in French in the same school division if their parents chose a French-language education for them. Because the students generally all have Francophone heritage, they also share the experience of being minority-language speakers. This contributes to bonding which is "the close inward looking relations between like-minded individuals" (Mandzuk & Hasinoff, 2010, p. 50). It is then arguable that these participants might share specific attitudes, and that these attitudes may make up a collective habitus. In fact, repeated exposure to one another is an important factor in determining collective habitus, it is also a factor that solidifies new translanguaging practices and language change among youth (Kerswill, 1996).

As a result of the Manitoban context, many Franco-Manitobans from birth are regularly exposed to English. This increased exposure results in their ability to pass for Anglophones (Piller, 2002). With this particular group, although their languages influence one another, they have adopted specific linguistic features (linguistic habitus) for each language, such as an accent from each group. The French spoken by Franco-Manitobans is a distinct variety called Laurentian French (R. Mougeon, Hallion, Bigot, & Papen, 2016). In particular, it can be differentiated from Eastern Canadian varieties due

to its sustained exposure to English (Hallion & Lentz, 2015). Many Franco-Manitobans refer to Laurentian French as "*Franglais*" or Frenglish (Hallion Bres, 2006, p. 13). Notably, DSFM participants were aware that their French was distinct from other varieties due to the fact that it was influenced by English. This seems to indicate that the DSFM participants had a single complex language repertoire that contained both English and French. They were even aware that English had influenced their French. For example, they mentioned how their Franco-Manitoban accent is influenced by the English language because monolingual Francophones outside Manitoba detect that they have an English accent. This mirrors Lamoureux's (2012) study on Franco-Ontarians whose Francophone identity was questioned once they left their Francophone community.

Within Manitoba, DSFM participants can pass unnoticed from Anglophone to Francophone groups. As one student put it, they are "chameleons" (Raul, DSFM), demonstrating a flexible yet complex use of their unitary linguistic repertoire. However, outside Manitoba, these participants spoke of instances wherein they had to reconstruct or justify their linguistic identity to others (Toohey, 2000). While they are still attending a French-language school, their Francophone identity is reinforced since as students they belong to a particular group based on the language they speak. Once they complete high school, some might reconstruct their linguistic identity especially if it is often questioned by others.

For now, schooling in the French-language school division may be encouraging students to choose a particular linguistic identity (Menard-Warwick, 2005). While some of the main goals of the DSFM are to foster the Francophone

identity and to maintain the French language, when given the choice, DSFM participants preferred to define themselves as bilinguals. Some also added the Franco-Manitoban or Francophone identity to their linguistic identity, which they might not have done had they not attended a French-language school. In describing their linguistic identities, bilingual students often mentioned that they felt as though they belonged to both Francophone and Anglophone groups (Freynet & Clément, 2015) and that the bilingual identity best described their fluency levels in each language. While it was never explicitly said, they may be selecting the bilingual identity due to the fact that there is linguistic capital associated with French-English bilingualism in Canada (Valenti, 2014).

Although the DSFM focuses on language maintenance and encourages the development of a Francophone identity in its students, realistically, these students are not and will not become monolingual Francophones. Consequently, punishing English use at the DSFM does not result in French-language maintenance. It is inevitable that French-language students will learn English. If you ask most parents and students, it is also desirable that they achieve a high level of proficiency in English due to the linguistic capital associated with this language. Although schools feel the need to promote standard language forms, translanguaging practices should not be punished since they are natural linguistic practices. Educators and community members alike need to recognize the positive attributes of translanguaging, since they are in fact an important aspect of the students' linguistic identity. As Raul (DSFM) put it, "*the big picture is* je suis bilingue[85]".

[85] *The big picture is* I am bilingual (Raul, DSFM).

Language use.

In terms of linguistic identity, the DSFM participants showed hybridity. That hybridity was also evident in the way they used their languages. Their single complex language repertoire was indeed comprised of a variety of translanguaging practices. The DSFM translanguaging practices were distinct from the other groups studied. Many of the examples found in the DSFM interview transcripts could be defined as "voluntary" translanguaging since the individuals did not need to fill in a gap in their sentence due to missing French vocabulary (Konidaris, 2004, p. 31). While French immersion students often reported using English because they lacked vocabulary in French, the DSFM participants did not always appear to use English for that reason. This is perhaps the most important feature of their translanguaging practices. It shows that the reason why DSFM participants are translanguaging is perhaps simply because they are activating their single complex linguistic repertoire. In the same way that it is common for DSFM students to use translanguaging practices when speaking among themselves outside of class (Hallion & Lentz, 2015), it is also a normal way for them to speak with their friends and sometimes family members. Essentially, they are using both languages to communicate their ideas in a natural and effective way. In terms of their linguistic habitus, translanguaging is a natural, in some cases unconscious, behavior that they share. The use of English in a French context also shows to what extent the English language holds desirable linguistic capital, since English makes its way seamlessly into French conversations. While a translanguaging perspective would view these practices as legitimate and would even celebrate them, there exists a negative attitude toward translanguaging practices in the DSFM context.

In French-language schools, translanguaging is seen as proof that an individual is on the path toward assimilation. Translanguaging frightens parents and teachers who want to maintain the French language and pushes them to adopt a "protectionist role" towards the minority language (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 177). In the classroom, teachers protect French by avoiding or minimizing contact with English and by banning translanguaging since it does not respect the standard form of the language (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Jørgensen, 2012). In fact, translanguaging and anglicisms are viewed as linguistic errors in French-language schools (Dumais & Nolin, 2010). In the French-language classroom, English is seen as a threat to the preservation of the French language (Walker, 2006).

The findings in this study are concurrent with Heller (1997) who also found that translanguaging was frowned upon and even punished in the classroom as standard French was the only linguistic variety accepted by the teacher. Participants in this study reported having being punished for using English orally or for making mistakes in writing that were influenced by their knowledge of English. Participants either disagreed with their teachers' attitudes toward translanguaging practices, felt ashamed because they felt translanguaging represented their poor proficiency in French or this negative attitude pushed them to view both languages as completely separate. According to the participants, it seems clear that DSFM teachers would rather they shut off the "English" features of their linguistic repertoire. Nevertheless, Franco-Manitoban parents and teachers are certainly justified in their belief that French needs to be protected otherwise it will disappear. The perceived status of the language certainly impacts which language

will most likely be lost. A very real idea that is not mentioned in the translanguaging theory is the possibility of language loss.

Tenet 2 postulates that bilingual children are capable of using only certain features of their linguistic repertoire. For many of the DSFM participants, the situation or the context often determined which language they would use (Borrero & Yeh, 2010). More specifically, DSFM participants reported mostly using French at home, at school and English with friends and during extra-curricular activities. DSFM participants in particular felt that initial contact framed their language choice. Many participants said they adapted their language choice to the situation or the person to whom they were talking.

Some students made clear links between French and the formal school context and between English and more informal activities. This supports the idea that in some cases bilinguals only use one of their languages in a specific context and outside that context they may feel uncomfortable using it (Nortier, 2008). For some, being at school dictates the language they should use. Outside of school, the English part of their repertoire is activated in mundane everyday situations like while they are shopping. This is because they are required to use English to communicate with other Manitobans.

While the DSFM participants agree that the school context is the place where they are supposed to use French, they admit that this does not always happen. Although my initial contact with all the participants was in one of their classrooms in French, many still chose to conduct their interview in English. Therefore, even though Apollo (DSFM) and Jaelyn (ST) declare that if they are speaking to a Francophone or if the situation dictates French use, they will answer in French, when given the choice they spoke in

English. This shows the power of the English language since despite many social cues, participants still choose it over French and may feel more comfortable doing so.

The linguistic capital associated with English in the greater society also influences another translanguaging practice common among DSFM students, which is refusing to speak French at school. This behaviour, common among the DSFM and French immersion participants, is one of the dispositions that make up their linguistic habitus. Moreover, Heller (1997) believes that refusing to speak French in a French-language school is an act of defiance against school authority. “Significantly, English then becomes available as a means of contesting that authority” (Heller, 1997, p. 146). Ironically, although they are minority language speakers, this resistance is done through the dominant language (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002). Johnson & Johnson (2015) and McCollum (1999) both studied Spanish immigrant students in schools in the United States and also found that they chose to speak in English even when they were grouped together. McCollum (1999) believes the students behaved this way because they “saw English as more prestigious due to the rewards that accrued from speaking it” (p. 126). This then supports the notion of linguistic capital since it is considered prestigious to speak English. While Canada is thought to promote a bilingual ideology, the dominance of the English language can still be seen in French-language schools through the students’ refusal to speak French.

If the students are refusing to speak French and the teachers and staff are insisting on no English, this potentially creates animosity between these groups within the school. While it is certainly important to teach standard language forms, this can be done without creating a taboo around English-language use and translanguaging. It is however

important to proceed with caution. When translanguaging practices were encouraged in a dual-language Spanish-English classroom in the United States, English became “the preferred social language in peer interactions and was more likely to be integrated into Spanish instructional time than vice versa” (Hamman, 2018, p. 32). Of course, the focus should be on the minority language. Thus, French should be the focus of the linguistic landscape and it should be used as much as possible among the students. This is because outside the school, students are easily exposed to English. They are required to activate this part of their linguistic repertoire on a regular basis. If the goal is to leverage their bilingual repertoire, there needs to be a strong focus on French. The linguistic capital associated with French is less in Manitoba than English. Therefore, for students to develop French proficiency, they need to be exposed to French in their school space and in their classrooms. To protect French, students have to read, write and speak French and they have to be given reasons and opportunities to do so. If the only language they need to communicate is English then the French part of their linguistic repertoire gets shut off. In the minority setting, in order to treat both languages equally, one has to be treated unequally (Olsen, 2011). This means that to counteract the extensive exposure to English, parents and teachers need to extensively expose Francophone children to diverse varieties of French, including vernacular, formal and informal French. As Dallaire (2006) notes, many Francophone youth associate French with mandatory activities. In order to encourage Francophone students to develop positive Francophone identities, educators and parents have to “promote activities” that will associate French “with fun and play” (Dallaire, 2006, p. 35). Moreover, there is no real need to limit the exposure to other minority languages since they do not pose a threat to French-language maintenance. In

summary, DSFM students need to be placed in situations where they are required to use French.

Additionally, DSFM students need to be taught that translanguaging practices are acceptable in certain contexts. Translanguaging is fine with friends and family. Nevertheless, certain situations dictate a more formal use of language. As Otheguy (2016) notes, students have to be taught to shut off parts of their repertoire because society requires this. Instead of counting anglicisms and other translanguaging practices as mistakes and devaluing students' language repertoire, teachers should present French equivalencies whenever possible. They should also clearly indicate which exercises require formal writing and as a consequence the activation of only a part of the students' linguistic repertoire. In the same way, they should accept translanguaging in informal situations when it is done to communicate authentically. In order to leverage their linguistic repertoire, students could analyze their own translanguaging strategies by bringing in examples of their text messages or other artefacts. As well, some activities, even in writing, should require the students to use both languages. In doing so, the school could continue to limit the exposure to English but at the same time leverage the natural bilingual practices exhibited by their students.

Spatial repertoire.

The spatial repertoire within the DSFM school was reflected in particular in two themes: language ideologies and linguistic identity. First, in line with language ideologies, English and French were the only languages represented in this linguistic landscape. Thus, only French and English were the legitimate languages used within the school. This supports the Canadian bilingual ideology. While it elevates the status of both French and English it also masks other languages. This was especially evident in the

analysis of the Welcome Sign (Figure 20). No Aboriginal languages were present on the sign. While the five most widely spoken languages in Manitoba in 2011 were English, German, French, Tagalog and Cree (Government of Canada, 2013), the sign did not represent the linguistic reality of the Manitoban context. Tagalog and Cree were not included on the sign. This is perhaps due to the fact that the sign was created in the United Kingdom where Welsh and Gaelic are more well-known minority languages. As well, only two out of the nine linguistic backgrounds mentioned by the participants (Hungarian, Icelandic, Lingala, Mandarin, Ojibway, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swahili, and Ukrainian) were represented on the sign. It is important to mention this particular sign at this point even though it was not a sign found in the DSFM linguistic landscape. Many DSFM students remarked that this particular sign would not be found at their school since their school focused only on French.

As a result, the focus on French and English as the country's official languages may be contributing to language loss of heritage and aboriginal languages in the Canadian educational system, as represented in their absence on the Welcome Sign. In particular, this sign showed that the students are aware of language status in the field outside and within their school. English is unquestionably given an elevated status. French as well is important because it is the language used or supposed to be used at school. All other languages are either absent or masked. It is then of utmost importance for all schools to recognize all the languages students speak. That is the first step towards being able to leverage their linguistic repertoires.

With regard to linguistic identity, the DSFM students as well as other participants felt that the DSFM schools' linguistic landscape would be 100% French-only. This

assumption holds some truth since the majority of the signs were written in French-only at the DSFM school. However, the linguistic landscape analysis of the DSFM showed that 22% of the signs were English-only and bilingual signs existed as well. The students are then creating an image of the DSFM school that reflects the importance it places on French. This French-only image is in no way a reflection of the DSFM's actual linguistic landscape or of the students' actual linguistic identities.

What might be contributing to this French-only image envisioned by the participants is the fact that the DSFM's linguistic landscape appears to be regulated by teachers and administrative staff. Students are aware that they are only allowed to post signs in French. Some students even indicated that they would be punished if they posted something in English. Despite the belief among the students that English is not allowed in their school's linguistic landscape, the linguistic landscape actually contains quite a few English-only posters. One can only assume that the English-only signs were then placed there by staff or teachers since the students say they would not be allowed to put up anything that was not in French. This supports Hambye & Richards (2012) who noted that French-language schools are then a "fictional creation" of a "monolingual space" (p. 179). While there are in fact 22% English-only signs, students do not see them. This is perhaps because in their minds' eye the French-language school is a monolingual French space that does not allow other languages. This was evident when English-only signs were referenced by students as being bilingual signs. Although the signs in reality did not contain any French, the participants thought they were bilingual. This is perhaps due to their belief that if a sign was written in English in their school it would have to contain French as well.

Seeing the French language when it is not actually there could also be reflective of students' single complex language repertoire. In this sense, students see both languages working together even when they are not both there. The English sign is then activating their bilingual language repertoire. In a linguistic landscape study, Gorter & Cenoz (2015) found that when multilingual participants read multilingual signs, they read all the languages and did not focus on just one. While my participants also read both languages, they more importantly created a bilingual sign in their mind when it did not in fact exist. This seems to indicate that while the school attempts to protect French by isolating French from English, the students' translanguaging practices demonstrate that they are actually working with both languages in a more holistic way.

In conclusion, the DSFM's linguistic landscape is a reflection of the need to protect French and more importantly to protect French from English. Although there are measures in place to ensure a French monolingual space, English still occupies a position of power within this school's linguistic landscape. This is reflected in the students' linguistic identity choice since they, in general, prefer to identify themselves as bilinguals instead of Francophones. In order to leverage their entire language repertoire, the spatial repertoire within the school should avoid giving the impression that it is French-only. In reality, the scholastic linguistic landscape of the DSFM school contains a surprising amount of English and a lack of other minority languages. Therefore, instead of promoting French-only, the DSFM should focus on becoming French-plus. French plus English, French plus whatever in order to truly represent the DSFM students' complex language repertoires.

The next two portraits will be presented on the French immersion program in the single-track followed by the dual-track school. While I have chosen to present a separate portrait of each context, many of the translanguaging practices observed apply to the French immersion program in general and are not specific to either the single- or dual-track context. The main difference is with regard to the spatial repertoire of each school.

Single-track: "Say oui to opportunity"

Figure 22: French for Life

(https://mb.cpf.ca/resources/for-educators/french-for-life/)

School choice.

French immersion participants declared that bilingualism led to better job opportunities. For them, French-English bilingualism held linguistic capital. The educational title that testified to their bilingualism was the French immersion diploma. It is then clear that their linguistic capital has been "institutionalized" (Bourdieu, 1986), since they believe that their diploma can be exchanged for a job. When an educational qualification like bilingualism is institutionalized it can lead to an increased demand from citizens to acquire that linguistic capital, resulting in an "*explosion scolaire*[86]" (Bourdieu,

[86] Scholastic explosion

1979). The parents of these participants were likely aware of the linguistic capital associated with French and ensured their children would have access to those educational opportunities by enrolling them in the French immersion program. Ultimately, this increases the popularity of the program since it offers non-Francophone students the opportunity to access a form of linguistic capital they would not have been able to acquire at home. While it is clear that over the years the French immersion program has become more popular, there are a diversity of reasons that explain this school choice. As mentioned by some of the participants and other research studies, the perceived school climate, academic excellence and the semi-private nature of the program certainly attract some parents (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2011; Yoon & Gulson, 2010). These reasons are essentially by-products of the French immersion program and have nothing to do with the language of instruction. In choosing the program for the abovementioned reasons, parents are focusing more on the acquisition of cultural capital instead of the linguistic capital associated with French in Canada.

When school choice is influenced by the perceived cultural or linguistic capital associated with the French immersion program, it places a focus on the economic value of linguistic skills. This can be detrimental since it leads to instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). While some participants indicated that French helped them to get a job, this is not the only advantage associated with being bilingual. Nevertheless, their part-time jobs may be reinforcing their belief that bilingualism leads to job opportunities. At the same time, Heller (2003) notes that most bilingual jobs are in the service sector and receive poor pay. In fact, the students who reported having a part-time job mostly worked in the service sector. Thus, they may currently have more job

opportunities due to their bilingualism but this may not necessarily be the case in the future.

While participants mentioned other advantages associated with being bilingual, the most cited advantage was job opportunities. This may in part be due to the way in which the French immersion program is promoted (see Figure 22: French for Life). While the poster in particular does not say "job opportunities", the participants in this study focused on how French might lead to employment opportunities instead of other opportunities. For many, the reason why their parents enrolled them in the French immersion program in the first place was for the perceived future job opportunities. If they are only learning French in order to use it in a particular context, for example at work, they are essentially sectioning off a part of what should be a holistic linguistic repertoire.

Tenet 3 requires educators to first recognize and leverage the students' language repertoire. Surely, recognizing the advantages of bilingualism goes deeper than a focus on job opportunities. If we wish to see a change in students' motivation with regard to learning French, the benefits of bilingualism in general should be the advantages that the French immersion program promotes. If that changed, maybe parents would select French immersion for different reasons.

Language ideologies.

Language ideologies were reflected in the participants' definitions of bilingualism. First, participants tended to equate the term bilingualism with French-English bilingualism. Certainly, the research subject could have influenced this association. However, other Canadian studies have also noted the tendency for Canadians

to equate bilingualism with French-English bilingualism and not other languages (Kouritzin et al., 2009). This is due to the bilingual Canadian ideology that dictates that both French and English are official languages and worth speaking. Since these participants all speak both the nation's official languages, in choosing to identify themselves as bilinguals, they may be reinforcing the Canadian bilingual ideology and the value of both English and French in the field. This is especially true if they select a bilingual identity over a multilingual one.

Within the French immersion single-track field, both French and English are "dominant agents" (Naidoo, 2004, p. 459) but there exists a struggle since their field positions are unequal. By definition, French and English in this field are not simply languages. They are defined more importantly in relation to one another and by the type of power they wield (Ferrare & Apple, 2015). For the French immersion participants, French holds a position of power within their school since it is the language of instruction. However, English is just as powerful if not more powerful since its power is unquestioned. As represented in the linguistic landscape and within the school, English is used more freely in comparison with the DSFM context. It is clear that English is not feared. Although it holds an important position in the linguistic landscape, English does not exercise its power by force. It is simply there because it is both "natural and obvious" (Agirdag, 2010, p. 311) for it to be. This supports the notion that "schools and classrooms reflect the experiences of the dominant class" and privilege the language of that group (Ernst-Slavit, 1997, p. 43). While the school may be promoting French, the student population belongs to the dominant class who speak English. This heightens the position English receives in this field.

Secondly, participants also defined bilingualism by describing what it was not. For them, just taking a French class was not enough to consider oneself bilingual. This type of definition focuses on proficiency but also serves to differentiate these French immersion students from individuals in the regular English program who are required to take a French class or who take it as an optional course. Viewing bilingualism in this way makes it more of an exclusive club and heightens the linguistic capital associated with the French immersion program. Due to the amount of time spent learning in French, these participants believe their proficiency level in French is greater than those who take a French class. While this may be true, it is also a reflection of the Canadian ideology that the French immersion program is successful in producing fluent speakers of French. This belief stems simply from the notion that French immersion students spend more time speaking and being exposed to the language (Cruden, 2017). While the participants' definitions certainly reflected national language ideologies, they also held personal attitudes towards bilingualism.

Language attitudes.

Participants in this study felt there were many advantages associated with bilingualism and held positive attitudes towards bilingualism. This supports Lindholm-Leary's (2016) findings that indicated that students in bilingual Mandarin and Spanish programs were not only proud of their bilingualism but also demonstrated positive attitudes toward bilingualism. The linguistic habitus of these French immersion participants has been formed through schooling and as a consequence of their exposure to different varieties of French. The result is that they have adopted positive and negative language attitudes toward French accents.

The French immersion accent is essentially a part of their collective linguistic habitus since habitus is “regarded as the internalization or embodiment in an individual of the environment within which they are located” (Connolly, Kelly, & Smith, 2009, p. 220). The accent French immersion students have is a direct result of having one linguistic repertoire that includes features from both French and English and being exposed to an environment in which both languages are used. Clearly, the languages are throwing “light on each other” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 12). In the end, “the fact that different groups and classes have different accents, intonations and ways of speaking is a manifestation, at the level of language, of the socially constructed character of the habitus” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17). This study shows that French immersion students within the scholastic field attribute more worth to a Francophone accent than a French immersion one. In their comments about accents, French immersion students showed that more linguistic capital is associated with a Francophone accent. Ultimately, they believe that “good” French immersion teachers speak French as a first language. The French immersion students freely made these judgements of their teachers and also of themselves, seemingly basing those appraisals exclusively on an accent. This supports other research findings that indicate that students tend to prefer teachers with native-speaker accents (Buckingham, 2015; Byrd Clark, 2012; Moran, 2014).

If they feel this way about their teachers’ French, French immersion students may also feel the pressure to achieve first-language competency in French, especially orally (Baker & MacIntyre, 2003; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008b). It may be that the French accent of French immersion students is questioned by others which may lead them to believe that

their French is not legitimate, resulting in a negative attitude toward their variety of French (Byrd Clark, 2012; Roy, 2012).

The belief that one accent is better than another also perpetuates the double monolingualism ideology by giving preference to standard language norms (Mariou, 2015). In this case, standard French spoken by a native-speaker is considered the language form with the most linguistic capital. Unfortunately, French immersion students do not feel as though their French measures up to this standard. In line with Tenet 3, students should not be made to feel ashamed of their accent or believe that their translanguaging practices are ineffective. Speaking French means being able to communicate with others who also speak French. While accents are noticed, they rarely impede communication altogether (Bolton & Bautista, 2008). Just like the DSFM students, French immersion students should be taught to value their translanguaging abilities. Ultimately, effective communication in French, no matter the accent, should be the main goal.

Linguistic identity.

Across all contexts, the bilingual identity was the preferred linguistic identity choice. However, the DSFM participants tended to justify their choice by saying that the bilingual identity described who they were. In contrast, many French immersion participants explained their identity choice by stating that speaking French was something they could do. As a result, for some participants, speaking French was a skill they had that differentiated them from the monolingual English majority.

In reference to Tenet 1, some of the specific translanguaging practices exhibited by French immersion students include the activation of their entire linguistic repertoire

and an accent specific to the French immersion context. These behaviours and practices are reflective of their collective linguistic habitus. Within their specific schools, French immersion students may be exposed to different varieties of French through the staff members and their teachers. Interestingly, in their linguistic study on French immersion elementary students in Alberta, Netelenbos, Li, & Rosen (2016) noted that almost half of the teachers spoke English as a first language which they felt ultimately had an impact on the students' accent. Because the school is often the only field where the students are exposed to French, their accent is developed in this environment and tends to resemble their peers' accent, i.e. they share this feature of their linguistic habitus. Since "fields are essentially relational – any individual or collective action undertaken in the field will have implications (positive and/or negative) for all others within that field" (May, 2011, p. 236). Repeated actions, through language use in every day conversations at school, have a lasting impact on linguistic features such as accent.

Adolescent French immersion students in particular may be especially prone to adopt an accent that deviates from that of native speakers of French since:

> It is widely known that adolescents conform to the linguistic norm of the group, and that they adapt their speech under pressure from their peers. Given that these peers are Anglophones, it is not surprising that the FI students in this study do not attain native-like VOT[87] values. (Netelenbos et al., 2016, p. 354)

In some cases, a particular accent becomes an "identity marker" and others may adopt it in order to be associated with a particular group of people (Muñoz & Singleton, 2011, p.

[87] Voice onset time

15). While many French immersion teachers speak English as their first language, others surely speak French as a first language as well. In this case, during adolescence it may be more important to speak like your friends than to speak like a teacher. Thus, French immersion students may be consciously or unconsciously adopting an accent through the course of their schooling that positions them as French immersion students. It is then not surprising that other studies have noted that French immersion students feel their accent is what differentiates them from other Francophones (Roy, 2012). As already stated, accent has a direct result on linguistic identity. While the majority of the French immersion participants self-identified as bilinguals, others remarked that they did not have the "correct" accent in French and therefore could not consider themselves bilinguals. Despite many years of schooling in French, some students experience anxiety with regard to speaking French and pronunciation. This ultimately plays a part in determining to what extent a student is likely to use French. Such attitudes with regard to accents and linguistic identity need to be addressed by French immersion programs and educators since some students do not recognize the bilingual nature of their own language repertoire.

Language use.

Tenet 2 postulates that bilingual children are capable of using only certain features of their linguistic repertoire. In the French immersion context, even though it was reported that French immersion teachers often used English to make sure students understood, it was clear that the single-track students were expected to use French in class. Although translation can be used effectively in the second language classroom to encourage language learning (Pavan, 2013), it is generally agreed upon that translation should not be used for comprehension as it limits exposure to the second language (Howatt, 1984). In

these cases, it seems more likely that English is being used by choice since its use in class by students and teachers is a “consensual social practice” (McLaren, 1998, p. 177). Again, this is another example of the agreed upon status afforded to English in the field. Outside of class, students often communicated with one another in English and were not punished for doing so. For this reason, former DSFM students who were attending a French immersion school felt that the linguistic environment at French immersion schools was less strict. In terms of Tenet 2, this seems to indicate that single-track students have the opportunity to communicate in English, French or both in certain spaces within their school.

French immersion students who conducted their interviews in French also displayed other translanguaging practices. In these interview transcripts, there were many instances of complete switches from one language to another. These translanguaging practices seem to be “compensatory strategies”, common in second and foreign language classes (Konidaris, 2004, p. 31). When translanguaging is used as a compensatory strategy, it is used to compensate for a lack of vocabulary. In class, when French immersion students do not know a word in French, they can say it in English. As some students remarked, even the teachers do this. These translanguaging practices exist due to the context. Because the majority of Francophones are bilingual, switching to and from English works since everyone understands. Essentially, this is why Aurore (ST) believes translanguaging is acceptable: “say you speak to me in French, I respond in English like we still understand each other”. This supports Paradis & Nicoladis' (2007) findings indicating that “English-dominant children seem to implicitly understand that they can use English if needed in a French context” (p. 293). It also supports translanguaging

which accepts different forms of "bilingual talk" because they are ultimately used to create meaning (Bailey, 2007, p. 267). Therefore, translanguaging, or expressing one's bilingual identity, seems to be a perfectly acceptable behaviour in the French immersion context. However, since these French immersion students' translanguaging practices were mostly compensatory strategies, in order to leverage their entire language repertoire, teachers need to focus on French vocabulary and communication so that students will not have to constantly rely on the English part of their repertoire to communicate.

Spatial repertoire.

The spatial repertoire within the single-track school reflected linguistic identity and language use. First, with regard to linguistic identity, the linguistic landscape included a greater number of bilingual signs and a more equal representation of both English and French than the other school contexts. At the single-track school, bilingual signs were thought to be inclusive since they reached out to both linguistic groups. Single-track participants also believed that both French and English should be present in their school in order to represent the school's identity as a bilingual school. For example, the school's outside sign (Figure 21) contained information in both French and English. Some students felt that the message in French was directed to them, whereas the message in English was directed to their parents. Such an interpretation is a relatively true reflection of the students' linguistic identity and their patterns of language use: French at school, English at home.

On the other hand, French-only signs were also accepted by the students because, by virtue of their schooling, they should be able to understand them. Therefore, in the single-track context, English is really only necessary for visitors or parents. As well, when

French was absent from their linguistic landscape, as in Figure 9: Single-track Valentine's Day, the single-track participants found it odd since it was incongruent with their school's identity. While they consider themselves and their school as being bilingual, this French-English bilingualism is not even. Although both English and French were represented in the linguistic landscape, they did not hold the same status. In the end, English was the unquestionable first language in this context. One of the positive aspects about the single-track linguistic landscape is that advertising for student-led groups seems to be done in French. This is one way for French to make its way outside of the classroom and to be used by the students for communicative purposes. Students even remarked that seeing French in their linguistic landscape encouraged them to read the French message, to learn new vocabulary and to use the knowledge learnt in class. However, an extended and continuous effort needs to be made to support French use in general since educators will always have to contend with the power of English.

To conclude, the French immersion single-track linguistic landscape is a reflection of the students' chosen bilingual identity and of the dominance of English in the greater society. Both French and English are represented relatively equally within the linguistic landscape. However, English remains the dominant language of the majority of the students. Despite the fact that English is not the language of instruction in this French immersion single-track school, the linguistic landscape shows that it nevertheless holds a privileged status within the school. This bilingual linguistic landscape offers the students the ability to choose a bilingual identity for themselves. Ultimately, the ability to speak French sets them apart from monolingual Anglophones.

Dual-track: "Selling French"

Figure 23: La Tour Eiffel

School choice.

In the same way that the single-track participants focused on the linguistic capital associated with their bilingualism, so did the dual-track participants. As previously mentioned, this influences students to be extrinsically motivated to learn the language. However, the students in the dual-track setting seemed to be even more focused on learning French due to its linguistic capital. This may be due to the way in which their program is offered. In elementary school, a student mentioned that they were motivated to speak French because they would receive stickers. Instead of accumulating stickers, French immersion dual-track high school students accumulate French immersion credits with the ultimate goal of obtaining the French immersion diploma. In contrast to the single-track group, they do not have to take all their courses in French. Because they only needed a certain number of credits to earn their diploma, many chose to take classes in English. Because they are allowed to choose when and how much French they will take, it results in a diluted immersive experience.

As reported in the findings, the dual-track parents' level of education was the highest out of the three school contexts. If, as a group, the dual-track French immersion parents are more educated, they are more aware of the linguistic capital associated with French. Therefore, their choice to enroll their children in the program to

begin with may be linked to their level of education (Reay, 2004a). In addition, Cadez (2006) found that French immersion high school students were generally academically strong and rarely had learning or behavioral difficulties. They were in fact distinct from the "typical English school population" (Cadez, 2006, p. 119). In other words, "selective attrition" has ultimately rendered this French immersion dual-track group even more homogenous (Turnbull et al., 2003, p. 8). Dual-track students also remarked that some of their friends had left the French immersion program because it was too academically challenging, which supports other research findings (Cadez, 2006; Campbell, 1992; Culligan, 2010; Morton et al., 1999).

Based on the findings, it seems then that there may be truth in the allegations against the French immersion program that consider it elitist, especially at the high school level (Arnett & Mady, 2010; Landry et al., 2007; Olson & Burns, 1983). While more research would need to be conducted to see how diverse French immersion schools really are, the participants' comments seem to indicate that at least at the high school level, the students are a homogenous group (Turnbull et al., 2003). Instead of streaming the students through a more academic route, the process is masked through the French immersion program. While the focus on academic excellence attracts some parents in the first place, it also results in animosity on both sides based on language instead of on academic ability or socio-economic status. Rather than bringing the *Two Solitudes* (MacLennan, 1945) together, the dual-track method seems to be reinforcing the separation between these two linguistic groups.

Language ideologies.

As with the other participants, the dual-track participants made connections between bilingualism and their Canadian identities. For them, Canada has the reputation of being a bilingual nation. Learning both official languages is then congruent with their Canadian identity. In the same way these participants are proud of their own bilingualism they are also proud that Canada can differentiate itself from other countries because it has two official languages instead of just one. However, even though they hold positive attitudes to bilingualism and towards the nation's official languages, they make the point that bilingualism may be advantageous in Canada but it is not necessary. This is then another reference to the minority status of French vis-à-vis English.

At school and in the greater society, English is the dominant language. Since English is needed in their everyday lives and is a global language, they have no fear of losing it. On the other hand, for these participants, French is only needed for school. Once they leave high school, many dual-track participants feel they will lose their French. As Tenet 2 specifies, when there are no longer any opportunities to use features of a language repertoire, those features get shut off. Since regression in language skills has been reported in the short time over the summer holidays (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2010; F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015), without a conscious effort on their part, after high school they are likely to lose French.

Language attitudes.

While the French immersion students considered that bilingualism was advantageous because it led to job opportunities, they also held positive attitudes towards bilingualism for other reasons. If in fact these French immersion participants are learning French solely due to job opportunities it suggests that they are instrumentally motivated

(Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Whereas, learning a language for more personal reasons such as wanting to communicate with more people suggests integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Many participants listed examples that showed both integrative and instrumental motivation. For example, while they admitted they might apply for a job that would require them to use French, many students also spoke of opportunities to travel and to communicate with Francophones. In the same way that it is important for Francophone parents and teachers at the DSFM to focus on developing positive associations with the French language, it is also important for French immersion teachers to do the same. In the end, this may encourage the students to be more intregratively motivated to learn the language and to deepen their performance in that language.

Linguistic identity.

With regard to Tenet 1, French immersion dual-track students have many translanguaging practices in common with the single-track participants. Many also expressed negative attitudes toward their own French accent that they felt was too influenced by English. While some felt they were not proficient enough in French to be able to call themselves bilinguals, the majority of the participants preferred this linguistic identity choice. This supports other research that found that French immersion students tend to undervalue their skills in French and as a result avoid selecting a bilingual linguistic identity for themselves (F. Mougeon & Rehner, 2015; Roy, 2012). However, in my study, that was only the case for two participants who did not choose a bilingual identity for themselves. Nevertheless, many French immersion participants questioned their own level of fluency in French, often citing that English was their first language. Since they did not attend a French-language school and many could not claim

Francophone heritage, they felt they could not define themselves as Francophones. Although many participants are not of English descent, it does not stop them from identifying with this linguistic group. This is probably due to the fact that English is the language of the majority, and it is an official and global language.

In a sense, like monolingual Anglophones, no matter their origins, speaking English is a taken-for-granted fact (May, 2012). For this reason, they can effortlessly claim an Anglophone identity. It is however interesting that this same inclusivity does not apply to the Francophone identity. Perhaps this is because as bilinguals they have more linguistic identity choices and they are selecting the identity that brings them the most economic, social, or personal benefits (Skapoulli, 2004). Similarly, they may simply be avoiding the Francophone identity because they do not see any benefit in claiming it. Another possible explanation for avoiding the Francophone identity may be that, as dominant group speakers of English, they are less likely "to be transformed by their intercultural contacts" with Francophones (Bourhis, 2011, p. 51). No matter the reason, it is clear that, in line with Tenet 1, these participants are selecting a single identity as bilinguals.

Language use.

In the dual-track setting, French use is relegated to the classroom. Dual-track students then learn to shut off the French part of their repertoire the moment they leave the classroom. French use is not required outside the classroom and is even considered as a "weird" behavior by some (Anora, DT). Ironically, the events that brought the participants a sense of pride with regard to their French use were all events that occurred outside the classroom. Since confidence in French is linked to willingness to communicate (Macintyre et al., 2011), instances outside of class where students are

required to use French bring them confidence. In turn, the more positive encounters they have using French, the more likely they will be to communicate with Francophones outside of school. This is then one of the faults of the dual-track French immersion program; the format of the program renders it virtually impossible for teachers and staff to use French outside of the classroom walls.

On a topic similar to willingness to communicate, French immersion participants often cited examples of a lack of confidence in their French skills. In particular there were comments that mirrored d'Entremont & Garneau's (2006) study on French immersion students with regard to their fear of having trouble in Science and Math, especially if they planned on attending post-secondary education in English. Although research indicates that French immersion students rarely have such difficulties adjusting to learning in English (Culligan, 2010; Turnbull, et al., 2003), some students still believe in this myth.

In the dual-track school, students know without question that the language of communication within their school is English. The physical division between the two languages in the school has also contributed to the creation of social classes within the school. Among the different school contexts studied, the dual-track participants were the only ones who felt they were different than students attending the regular English program.

Spatial repertoire.

The linguistic landscape within the dual-track school reflected language use, language ideologies and a diluted immersive experience. In comparison to the single-track school, there were more English-only signs and significantly fewer French-only

signs. Perhaps the biggest difference was not the number of French or English signs within the school, but instead the way in which French was used in the linguistic landscape. Essentially, French was used as a decoration and to reinforce the economic value of French in the dual-track setting. Cenoz & Gorter (2008a) note that many public signs have an economic purpose. Sometimes a language is present on a sign in order to attract tourists instead of being useful to the individuals who live there. Such a sign has an “indirect use value” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008a, p. 65). This was the way in which French was used in the dual-track linguistic landscape since there did not appear to be any student-created posters in French. French was also used to denote a change in territory, creating a physical separation between the English and French tracks within the school.

In the dual-track setting, French use is relegated to the classroom. While French is allowed a space outside the classroom, it is the teachers who are using the language to fabricate a French space. Teachers in the dual-track setting may feel as though the French wing is their responsibility. Similarly, the German signs in Dressler's (2015) linguistic landscape study of a German dual-track school in Alberta were only located in the German wing and placed there by teachers. Since there are no examples of bottom-up or student-created signs in the French wing of this dual-track school, French becomes a “vogue display language” (Curtin, 2008, p. 221). It signals prestige and economic power in the same way that English does in places like Taipei (Curtin, 2008). The only difference is that the school is “selling” (Gilbert, DT) the French language by marketing its linguistic capital.

Since many of the French-only signs are located in the French block, the change in language also indicates a change in territory. A visitor needs only to follow the Eiffel Tower (see Figure 23: La Tour Eiffel) and they will arrive in the space reserved for the French immersion program. As one participant remarked, when Anglophones think about French they think about France and the Eiffel Tower. Such a symbol becomes a decoration and a reference to a far away land where the mystic Francophone thrives. In this field, French iconic symbols, such as the Eiffel tower, are used to represent the language and to indicate an elevated status toward French within the school. These objects are then examples of symbolic capital, since they symbolize prestige (Bourdieu, 1986). However, using the Eiffel Tower as a symbol of the French language completely ignores Canadian Francophones and places language learning at a distance instead of in the here and now.

Therefore, the dual-track linguistic landscape is a reflection of the way in which the French language is perceived and the status it is given within the school. French-only signs are mainly acceptable within the French block, where it is given a prestigious status. For this reason, students feel as though they can identify themselves as bilinguals since they belong to the French immersion program, a privileged program within their school. Although French is used elsewhere in the school, in those cases, it is commonly accompanied by an English translation and placed in a secondary position vis-à-vis English. Ultimately, French is used in the linguistic landscape to advertise the program, to advertise the language to the students and to represent the students' presence within the school.

Tenet 3 postulates that educators should first recognize and leverage bilingual students' single language repertoire. The dual-track setting has made an effort to recognize the French immersion students by giving them a particular space within the school. However, that space is used mostly by the teachers. While the school also has bilingual signs elsewhere, permanent signs were not uniformly bilingual and mistakes were found on some of the French permanent signs. If it is worth putting French on these signs, it is also worth verifying that the message is grammatically correct.

In conclusion, the portraits of the school contexts were designed to locate the linguistic and spatial repertoires within each school's linguistic landscape. While translanguaging proponents require that these repertoires be viewed positively, it was clear that this was often not the case. In general, translanguaging practices are not neutral. The concepts of linguistic capital, linguistic habitus and field shed light on the power dynamics that illimuniate these translanguaging practices. Essentially, the value afforded to English, French and bilingualism in these schools is field-dependent and specific to the Manitoban context. Ultimately, if we are to leverage students' entire language repertoire, we must first recognize that each language has a particular status in a particular field. Due to the minority status attributed to French in this study, to truly leverage students' entire language repertoire, there needs to be a focus on French and other minority languages in order to counteract the power of English.

Chapter Seven: *Épreuve*[88] (Conclusion)

This study focused on the linguistic landscapes of three schools where French was the language of instruction. Photographs of the linguistic landscape were supplemented by two interviews with each of the 37 participants from a French-language, a single-track and a dual-track high school. Using a qualitative Linguistic Landscape methodology permitted this study to take a deeper look into not just the linguistic landscapes but also into the translanguaging practices that existed in the school contexts. Translanguaging and Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic capital, field, and habitus offered insight into how, why and to what extent English and French interact in these school contexts.

Although French is the language of instruction in all the school contexts under study, it was clear that the contexts differed. The linguistic landscapes of each school represented these differences. The following section will summarize the responses to the three research questions.

1. What are the linguistic landscapes of a French-language, French immersion single-track and French immersion dual-track high school?

First, the French-language school's linguistic landscape contained the highest number of French-only signs. In relation to this observation, expectations with regard to French use also seemed to be the highest at the DSFM. As a result, English use was sometimes punished in the DSFM context in order to maintain French. Nevertheless, English was frequently used in this school context, not only in the linguistic landscape, but also by the students. While the DSFM participants were aware of the potential economic benefits associated with bilingualism, they also tended to value the French

[88] Proof print

language as part of their heritage. In this sense, their collective linguistic habitus differs from the French immersion groups since French does not only offer them a competitive edge on the job market it also, and more importantly for some, is an essential component of their identity.

Second, the single-track linguistic landscape was seen to promote bilingualism since it had the highest number of bilingual signs among the three contexts. Importance was attributed to Canada's two official languages within this school. However, this focus on bilingualism masks Canada's true linguistic and cultural diversity. This lack of diversity in the linguistic landscape seems to support the elitist allegations against the French immersion program. As reported in this study, both French immersion high school cohorts appear to be relatively homogenous groups. This observation may be justified by school choice and school transfer. As a result, not everyone obtains the French immersion diploma, which contributes to its scarcity and increases its value.

Third, the dual-track linguistic landscape represented the economic value of learning French. There were no student-created signs in French, showing to what extent the language is not used by the students but is simply used as a decoration. Parents and students alike are sold the message that learning French leads to better job opportunities. Parents buy into this message when they choose to enroll their children in French immersion. While job opportunities were the main reason why parents and students chose the French immersion program, it is however important to note that there were other reasons as well. Nevertheless, for many parents and students, the French immersion diploma is a desirable credential that can be exchanged on the job market. Over the years, this has led to an increase in popularity of the French immersion program. Ultimately, the

dual-track linguistic landscape, perhaps in an attempt to retain students, focuses on the linguistic capital associated with French.

The descriptions of the linguistic landscapes also pointed to language ideologies and attitudes, linguistic identity and language use.

2. What are the students' language attitudes, ideologies, patterns of language use and linguistic identities as reflected in and as influenced by the linguistic landscapes?

As reflected in their schools' linguistic landscapes, the participants in all the contexts spoke both French and English. Accordingly, they believed in the nation's bilingual ideology. While both French and English have official status in Canada and in these linguistic landscapes, it was shown that English came first or at least was an unquestionable second. As a dominant language, English can contribute to language loss, which seemed to be the case with some of the DSFM participants. However, both English and French are the legitimate languages of instruction in these school contexts. This helps to elevate the status of French but can also contribute to language loss when students speak languages other than French and English.

Nevertheless, bilingualism, especially French-English bilingualism is considered advantageous. Participants toted its neurocognitive, communicative and travel advantages. In particular, job opportunities were seen as the biggest advantage associated with bilingualism. As bilinguals, they are proud. In some cases that pride stems from pride in their own linguistic identity while others are simply proud that they can speak French when not everyone can. Their positive attitudes towards bilingualism seemed to

be shared by their parents whose goals were either language maintenance or accessing linguistic capital to varying degrees.

Even though a bilingual linguistic identity has a high status, not everyone felt they could claim this identity. Nonetheless, it was an identity many chose due to its neutrality and inclusiveness. Participants in the DSFM context showed complexity and hybridity in their linguistic definitions. For some, the Francophone identity was linked to attendance at a French-language school and to French heritage. When participants did not adopt a bilingual identity, it was due to a lack of confidence in their competence level in French. This is because participants shared the attitude that the "best" bilinguals are those who have first-language proficiency in both languages. Such individuals have a Francophone accent but can also pass for Anglophones. The findings showed a clear preference for Francophone accents. Consequently, French immersion students, whose accent is part of their collective linguistic habitus, often denigrated their own accent believing that it was too strongly influenced by English. Such a preference for a standard accent is also reflective of linguistic habitus since it shows which speakers have more linguistic capital. Interestingly, although French-language students have a legitimate French accent in Manitoba, once they leave that context, their accent and ability in French is also questioned.

The complexity and hybridity of these identities also translate into complex linguistic practices which involve different types of translanguaging. Translanguaging is not considered appropriate language use in the school context, yet, it is a part of many participants' linguistic practices. Language use was also shown to be context-dependent and based on comfort level. If the scholastic linguistic landscape uses French and requires

the students to use it in order to convey messages, the linguistic landscape is accordingly a reflection of language use. Moreover, the use of French in the linguistic landscape reinforces the legitimate use of French outside the classroom. Despite or perhaps due to the presence of French in their scholastic linguistic landscapes, participants generally reported using French for scholastic activities while English was thought to be best for personal activities. While some participants used French to a greater extent outside of school while working, traveling or with family, technology use was mainly exploited in English across the school contexts. Using French outside of school led to a sense of pride. However, some French immersion participants revealed anxiety about using French and about attending university in English.

Each of these school's linguistic landscape were not simply a collection of signs and posters written in French or English. These signs pointed to the way in which both languages interact in these school contexts. Finally, the signs were more than just images and words, they were mirrors into the students' language ideologies and attitudes, patterns of language use and linguistic identity choices. However, were students aware that their school's linguistic landscape was not just a collection of signs?

In order to determine this, the participants were given an important role in the analysis of this research project.

3. How do students interpret elements from the linguistic landscape of each school?

For the participants, there was a clear link between a school's linguistic identity and the language(s) it chose to use in its linguistic landscape. In these school contexts, they felt that French or bilingual signs should be used in order to properly represent the school

and to encourage French use and learning. French was also used in the dual-track setting to demarcate a specific space as belonging to the French immersion program. This division of space within the school was shown through a change in the language found on signs. Moreover, this sentiment of division between students in both programs was not only felt but also disliked by many of the dual-track students.

Although they are not linguistic landscape researchers, participants accurately identified the status attributed to each language through font size, colour and language placement. These are intentional choices and students can read between the lines. Therefore, language is used in a school's linguistic landscape for a reason and they understand this. Some felt bilingual signs were meant to represent Canada's bilingual ideology while others felt they were meant to represent the two linguistic groups within the school. In some cases, English signs are invisible, perhaps due to its status as the country's dominant language. At the DSFM, the presence of English was not seen since it was not supposed to be there. Students also noted the lack of other languages in the linguistic landscape which they felt pointed towards the lack of diversity in the student population or to the masking of that diversity in order to promote French.

Finally, students are in fact interacting with their schools' linguistic landscapes. They recognize and identify with these signs. In conclusion, hopefully the portraits of the linguistic landscapes of these schools shed light on one another because ultimately "a photograph shouldn't be just a picture, it should be a philosophy" (Amit Kalantri).

Implications for Research and Teaching

Since the dual-track format seemed to create a division between the two programs within the school, to avoid animosity between the students, it would be preferable to offer

the French immersion program in a single-track setting. Doing so might also help to retain students in the program. As the participants mentioned, it is easy to leave the French immersion program and still remain at the same school in a dual-track setting. If the program were offered in a single-track setting this might render the decision to leave a harder one. As well, since the dual-track students attended an elementary and a middle school, they had more exit points during their schooling where they considered leaving. Many single-track elementary schools are K-8 which might assist in having enough students to warrant a separate school. However, I firmly believe that French immersion should be offered and accessible to all. If that means it has to be offered through the dual-track format, then so be it. Dual-track schools should then focus on ensuring positive relationships between the students enrolled in the two school programs.

Moreover, educators should expose students to various forms and varieties of French. This means that they should not only present cultural references to France but to Canadian Francophones as well. In the dual-track setting, French should be used in the linguistic landscape more for communicative purposes and less for advertising. Students should not only be involved in creating and maintaining the linguistic landscape of the French block but also be allowed to do so in French in the entire school. Perhaps, the French wing should be done away with altogether. Thus, French would become a legitimate language of communication throughout the school, not just within the French block and all the students would benefit from being exposed to another language.

On a very practical level, French needs to be used outside of the classroom. Hiring bilingual staff and encouraging student-led committees in French could help. French

immersion students could also act as representatives on various school-wide committees and be responsible for creating the French version of posters.

In terms of their linguistic landscape, it is important for French to be visible in all schools that use it as a language of instruction, no matter the program. It is then beneficial to have a mixture of French-only and bilingual signs. The schools' identity as a bilingual school will not be tarnished if other minority languages were represented in its linguistic landscape. Since many participants spoke languages other than French or English, it would be valuable for those languages to be given a place within the school's linguistic landscape as well. Additionally, researchers have noted that there is an increased interest for the French immersion program among linguistic minorities in Canada (Dagenais et al., 2006; Mady, 2015). If such an interest results in enrollment, French immersion high schools will soon have to contend with a more diverse student population. In order to truly leverage the students' entire repertoire, these other languages cannot be ignored.

All the school contexts could benefit from allowing other languages a place in the school's linguistic landscape and adopting a philosophy of translanguaging. This could be done by creating a linguistic diversity billboard or simply making an effort to put up posters in different languages. I recently visited a DSFM elementary school that had a display with different flags. Each flag was created by a current student and represented their cultural background. A similar project could be done but with languages. Dagenais (2013), Prasad (2015) and Clemente, Andrade, & Martins (2012) cite examples of grassroots projects in education that seek to promote non-official languages including indigenous languages. These are often multimodal and multi-literacy activities that were tested in French immersion and French-language classrooms.

In both French immersion contexts, students believed that they may have trouble if they attended an English university. Teachers and staff need to reassure them that this is unlikely to be the fault of the French immersion program. A way to assuage their anxiety could be to invite graduates who are currently in university who could talk about their experience. Furthermore, this could also been done with graduates who decide to attend a French university in order to encourage the current high school students to do the same. Considering the minority context of French in Manitoba, in order to leverage French immersion students' entire language repertoire, educators need to seek out and promote opportunities for French immersion graduates to use their French skills after graduation.

With regard to the DSFM, it seems as though they also lost students after elementary school. Since the single-track participants who were former DSFM students felt that their school choice was leading to French-language loss, it might be beneficial to invite them to speak to grade 8 students and parents. As well, if sports or school activities simply cannot be offered due to the small school size, it might be important to explore other options. For example, *Université de Saint-Boniface* has an agreement with the University of Manitoba that allows Saint-Boniface students to play on any of the University of Manitoba's sport teams. Such an agreement with another high school might help to retain students.

Students from all contexts benefited when they had opportunities to use French outside of the school context. In order for them to develop a personal interest in the language, they have to use it for personal reasons. One way to do that would be to encourage the use of technology, social media and even texting in French. Participants

also seemed motivated by traveling and communicative opportunities which the school could advertise. This study offered participants the opportunity to conduct their interview in French. For some, it was a rare opportunity to use French. This should not be the case. Schools could adopt a more dialogic pedagogy that may result in increased French-language use at school (Aggarwal, 2015; Higham, Brindley, & Pol, 2014; Lyle, 2008). Finally, teachers need to speak with students and with each other to decide what best works in their particular context.

Suggestions for Future Research

Olson & Burns (1983) were the first to conduct a quantitative study that proved French immersion programs to be elitist due to the high level of enrolment from upper and middle class children. Over 30 years later, French immersion continues to prosper yet there has not been another quantitative study like theirs since then. This data would be important to have. Such a study could also show over time what has changed and if there is currently more diversity in the French immersion program and whether or not this is different in elementary and high schools. It would also be possible to look at parental levels of education and engagement to determine to what extent they influence school population, retention and even academic success. In addition to quantitative survey data, achievement scores as well as enrolment data could be collected to offer a realistic portrait of the current situation. Moreover, a better understanding of the reasons why students drop-out of French-language and French immersion schools and also why others stay is also needed. This could be done in addition to or apart from the quantitative study suggested.

If it is in fact the case that a more diverse population of parents are selecting French immersion for their children, more research needs to be done on a pedagogical level to ensure that the French immersion and French-language programs are meeting the needs of Canadian newcomers and children who speak languages other than French and English. Such research would also need to be followed up by pre-service and in-service professional development for French immersion and French-language teachers. This professional development could include workshops on creating and maintaining a school's linguistic landscape in order to promote French and linguistic diversity. Another avenue for professional development could be focused on translanguaging and/or dialogic pedagogy accompanied by practical activities for teachers to implement in their classrooms.

Since this study found differences between the translanguaging habits of French immersion and French-language students, it would be important to investigate these practices in more detail in order to understand when, why and how these students use their languages. Data could be collected through interviews and classroom observations. Work could also be done with teachers and administrators in order to understand their perspectives on translanguaging and their current pedagogical practices.

Outside of Canada, some very recent studies are looking at linguistic landscapes in schools by using a "tourist guide technique" (Szabó, 2015, p. 27). In such studies, teachers or principals are interviewed and invited to offer their own analysis of their school's linguistic landscape while the researcher takes pictures (Amara, 2018; Biró, 2016; Szabó, 2015). Future linguistic landscape studies in schools in Canada could then employ the tourist guide technique as it involves teachers and administrators in the

research and may bring about change. However, I would argue that students should not be excluded from these studies since their perspectives are unique. Finally, linguistic landscape research in schools should involve teachers, administrators and students so that they may then change their space if so desired.

Researcher Positionality

My own linguistic identity likely impacted this study. I consider myself a Franco-Manitoban who is bilingual. Although I also speak Spanish, and I am of Ukrainian descent, I feel as though Franco-Manitoban and bilingual are the descriptors that best define my culture and the languages I speak on a daily basis. I consider myself to be fluently bilingual since I live in both languages, I have studied in both languages and I have taught and worked in both languages. Moreover, I pass for a Francophone and for an Anglophone in Manitoba since I have the accents of both groups.

Despite my knowledge and experience with this context, I was met with several surprises that made me think about my own linguistic identity and my role as a researcher. In particular, my Francophone accent impacted this study since Francophone students identified me as an insider when they heard me speak in French. One of the French immersion participants even complimented me on my French accent (Lucille, ST). Ultimately, I do not feel as though this impacted my research negatively. However, other researchers have noted that French immersion students can feel intimidated when they are interviewed by Francophones (Hallion Bres & Lentz, 2009). I tried to avoid this by offering all students the choice of conducting their interview in either French or English or a mixture of both. Although I feel as though my participants were offered the choice of conducting their interview in French or in English, in some cases I feel as

though their choice was influenced. For some, the school context dictated the use of French while for others, such as Aura (DT), language choice was based on the assumption that my dissertation would be written in French. While I would have liked to rectify that assumption early on, it surprised me that Aura (DT) still chose to conduct her second interview in French. This leads me to believe that her language choice was influenced by me but also by other factors as well.

Aura's (DT) comment is also related to an important contradiction in this dissertation. Throughout I speak about French language maintenance and linguistic identity and I even suggest changes for teachers and administrations. Yet, I have done all of this in English, the language of the majority. Although I could blame the language of this dissertation on the fact that there are no doctoral programs in Manitoba in French, or there are more hoops to jump through if you want to write in French, I have to recognize that I might have chosen to write in English had this not been the case. Perhaps this is because I like the fact that I can pass seamlessly from one language to another and from one linguistic context to another. This dissertation, with its quotations in French and English, with its signs in both French and English, is a reflection of my own linguistic identity. My bilingualism is important to me and I have benefited from the fact that French-English bilingualism holds linguistic capital in Canada. In fact, I have used my linguistic abilities in every job that I have ever had and they likely helped me to acquire those jobs in the first place.

I have always viewed my translanguaging practices, such as my accents and my ability to jump from one language to another, in a positive light. In terms of ethnic origins, the languages I should speak are French, Ukrainian and Polish. While some of

those languages have been lost in my family, I am proud that I am maintaining French. Nevertheless, I cannot say that I dislike speaking English or that I do not see the value in speaking it. Who I am linguistically, my own linguistic identity choice and my relationship with the languages I speak surely influenced this research project. On the one hand, my fluency in both French and English made me especially suited to conduct this research project. On the other hand, someone who speaks another or other languages might attribute more or less importance to my findings. Ultimately, I attempted to let the participants speak for themselves, using the language or languages of their choice. I spoke for myself using both French and English.

Final Comments

My husband has this new criteria for a good book: it has to change his life. I feel as though that is a bit extreme. My own definition of a good book is based on whether or not those characters stay with me. Do I think about them afterwards, do they interrupt my thoughts? The participants of this study have certainly stayed with me. I ran into a participant the other day who had just graduated from high school and I could hear her voice and things that she had said during her interview in my head. For many of these participants, I was a small interruption in their daily lives. For me, they have become a part of my daily life.

There were unforgettable moments with the participants that will stay with me, indelibly written on my mind: Lina (DSFM) talking about her exchange trip in France, Jonathan (DSFM) giving me a lesson in Swahili/French translanguaging, Raul (DSFM) and Eveline (DSFM) thanking me for offering them the opportunity to conduct their

interview in French. All these moments will stay with me. I have tried my best to represent them all authentically. But, now it is time for their voices to speak to others.

I asked my son the other day what he would like to do with me when I finished this project and he said “marcher et parler[89]”. That is what I will do.

[89] Walk and talk.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval Certificates

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Research Ethics and Compliance
Office of the Vice-President (Research and International)

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Fax +204-269-7173

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

December 14, 2015

SSHRC

TO:	**Gail Cormier** Principal Investigator	**(Supervisor: Sandra Kouritzin)**
FROM:	**Zana Lutfiyya, Chair** Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB)	
Re:	**Protocol #E2015:103** **"Portraits of French Secondary Education in Manitoba"**	

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only**.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- **If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (261-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/mrt-faq.html#pr0)**

- **if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.**

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans.*

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**

umanitoba.ca/research

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RENEWAL APPROVAL

November 24, 2016

TO:	**Gail Cormier** Principal Investigator	**(Advisor: Sandra Kouritzin)**
FROM:	**Zana Lutfiyya, Chair** Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB)	
Re:	**Protocol #E2015:103 (HS19131)** **"Portraits of French Secondary Education in Manitoba"**	

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received approval for renewal by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. **This approval is valid for one year and will expire on December 13, 2017.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Coordinator in advance of implementation of such changes.

umanitoba.ca/research

Appendix 2: Divisional Recruitment Letters

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Divisional Recruitment Letter

*Letters have been anonymized.

My name is Gail Cormier and I am a PhD student at the University of Manitoba specializing in second language education. I would like to invite the School Division to participate in my PhD research project. Specifically, I am seeking your permission to conduct this research at School. This research is sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada.

The purpose of my study is to understand the linguistic landscapes of three secondary schools in Manitoba, wherein French is the main language of instruction. **The study will give an in-depth look at students' experience with Canada's two official languages: English and French. Your participation in this study will provide valuable information on French educational programs in Manitoba with a special focus on student perspectives.**

Specifically, I would like to recruit 10 grade 11 students from School to participate in two interviews in February and April 2016. I would like permission to conduct these interviews during class time. The first interview should last no more than an hour and the second will be approximately 30 minutes. Therefore, each student would participate in no more than two hours of interviewing. I would like to conduct the interviews within the school, in a private, quiet location. I would also like permission to take pictures of the art, messages, permanent and non-permanent texts, found inside and outside the school. No pictures will be taken of individuals and any names or identifiable features found on the pictures will be removed. Participants will have the choice of conducting their interviews in either French or English. The first interview will seek to understand students' experiences with French and English. Following the first interviews, I will put together a PowerPoint presentation of a selection of less than 20 images from the schools' linguistic landscapes. The second interview, a photo-elicitation interview, will include questions based on the images in the PowerPoint presentation.

Approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba has been obtained (certificate of approval attached). Written consent from the participants and their parent or legal guardian will also be obtained. In order to recruit the students, I would also like to request your permission to present the project to the students during class time. The voluntary nature of their participation will be explained orally. This should take no longer than 10 minutes. Upon request, the following documents can be readily made available to you: a more detailed summary of the research project, the letters of consent and the interview questions. Please do not hesitate to contact me for further details or questions.

Sincerely,

Gail Cormier, PhD candidate, University of Manitoba

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Lettre de recrutement divisionnaire

Je m'appelle Gail Cormier et je suis étudiante au doctorat à l'Université du Manitoba et je me concentre sur l'éducation de langues secondes. J'aimerais inviter la Division scolaire à participer à ma recherche doctorale. En particulier, j'aimerais que vous m'accordiez la permission de faire cette recherche à l'école. Ma recherche est subventionnée par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada.

Le but de mon projet est de comprendre le paysage linguistique de trois écoles secondaires au Manitoba où le français est la langue d'instruction. Cette étude offrira une exploration approfondie des expériences des élèves avec l'anglais et le français, les deux langues officielles du Canada. Votre participation fournira de l'information détaillée au sujet des programmes d'éducation en français au Manitoba avec une concentration sur les expériences des élèves.

Plus particulièrement, j'aimerais recruter 10 élèves de la 11e année de l'école pour deux séances d'entrevue en février en avril 2016. J'aimerais votre permission de faire ces entrevues pendant le temps de classes. La première entrevue durera environ une heure et la deuxième environ 30 minutes. Ainsi, chaque élève participera à un maximum de deux heures d'entrevue. J'aimerais faire les entrevues à l'école dans un lieu privé et silencieux. J'aimerais également la permission de prendre en photos les images artistiques, les messages et les textes permanents et non-permanents à l'intérieur et l'extérieur de l'école. Aucune personne ne sera prise en photo et toute information identifiable sera enlevée des photos. Les participants auront le choix de faire leur entrevue soit en anglais ou en français. La première entrevue se portera sur les expériences des élèves avec l'anglais et le français. Par la suite, je préparerai un PowerPoint avec une sélection de 20 images des paysages linguistiques des écoles. La deuxième entrevue, une entrevue photo-incitation, comprendra des questions basées sur les images de la présentation PowerPoint.

Cette recherche est approuvée par le comité d'éthique (*Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board*) de l'Université du Manitoba (certificat d'approbation à venir). Le consentement écrit des participants et de leur parent ou tuteur légal sera obtenu. Afin de recruter les élèves, j'aimerais avoir la permission de présenter le projet aux élèves pendant la journée scolaire. Cette présentation ne durera pas plus de 10 minutes. Sous demande, je pourrai vous fournir les documents suivants : un résumé plus détaillé du projet, les lettres de consentement et les questions d'entrevues. Veuillez communiquer avec moi pour de plus amples renseignements ou questions.

En espérant une réponse favorable de votre part, je vous prie d'agréer mes sentiments distingués,

Gail Cormier, candidate au doctorat, Univerity of Manitoba

Appendix 3: School Recruitment Letters

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

School Recruitment Letter

My name is Gail Cormier and I am a PhD student at the University of Manitoba specializing in second language education. I have received approval from your school division to for your school to participate in my PhD research project.

The purpose of my study is to understand the linguistic landscapes of three secondary schools in Manitoba, wherein French is the main language of instruction. **The study will give an in-depth look at students' experience with Canada's two official languages: English and French. Your participation in this study will provide valuable information on French educational programs in Manitoba with a special focus on student perspectives.**

Specifically, I would like to recruit 10 grade 11 students from your school to participate in two interviews in February and April 2016. I would like permission to conduct these interviews during class time. The first interview should last no more than an hour and the second will be approximately 30 minutes. Therefore, each student would participate in no more than two hours of interviewing. I would like to conduct the interviews within the school, in a private, quiet location. I would also like permission to take pictures of the art, messages, permanent and non-permanent texts, found inside and outside the school. No pictures will be taken of individuals and any names or identifiable features found on the pictures will be removed. Participants will have the choice of conducting their interviews in either French or English. The first interview will seek to understand students' experiences with French and English. Following the first interviews, I will put together a PowerPoint presentation of a selection of less than 20 images from the schools' linguistic landscapes. The second interview, a photo-elicitation interview, will include questions based on the images in the PowerPoint presentation.

Approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba has been obtained (please see attached approval form). Written consent from the participants and their parent or legal guardian will also be obtained. In order to recruit the students, I would also like to request your permission to present the project to the students during class time. The voluntary nature of their participation will be explained orally. This should take no longer than 10 minutes. Upon request, the following documents can be readily made available to you: a more detailed summary of the research project, the letters of consent and the interview questions. Please do not hesitate to contact me for further details or questions.

Sincerely,

Gail Cormier, PhD candidate, University of Manitoba

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Lettre de recrutement scolaire

Je m'appelle Gail Cormier et je suis étudiante au doctorat à l'Université du Manitoba et je me concentre sur l'éducation de langues secondes. J'ai reçu l'approbation de votre division scolaire de faire cette recherche à votre école.

Le but de mon projet est de comprendre le paysage linguistique de trois écoles secondaires au Manitoba où le français est la langue d'instruction. Cette étude offrira une exploration approfondie des expériences des élèves avec l'anglais et le français, les deux langues officielles du Canada. Votre participation fournira de l'information détaillée au sujet des programmes d'éducation en français au Manitoba avec une concentration sur les expériences des élèves.

Plus particulièrement, j'aimerais recruter 10 élèves de la 11e année de votre école pour deux séances d'entrevue en février en avril 2016. J'aimerais votre permission de faire ces entrevues pendant le temps de classes. La première entrevue durera environ une heure et la deuxième environ 30 minutes. Ainsi, chaque élève participera à un maximum de deux heures d'entrevue. J'aimerais faire les entrevues à l'école dans un lieu privé et silencieux. J'aimerais également la permission de prendre en photos les images artistiques, les messages et les textes permanents et non-permanents à l'intérieur et l'extérieur de l'école. Aucune personne ne sera prise en photo et toute information identifiable sera enlevée des photos. Les participants auront le choix de faire leur entrevue soit en anglais ou en français. La première entrevue se portera sur les expériences des élèves avec l'anglais et le français. Par la suite, je préparerai un PowerPoint avec une sélection de 20 images des paysages linguistiques des écoles. La deuxième entrevue, une entrevue photo-incitation, comprendra des questions basées sur les images de la présentation PowerPoint.

Cette recherche est approuvée par le comité d'éthique (*Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board*) de l'Université du Manitoba (certificat d'approbation en annexe). Le consentement écrit des participants et de leur parent ou tuteur légal sera obtenu. Afin de recruter les élèves, j'aimerais avoir la permission de présenter le projet aux élèves pendant la journée scolaire. Cette présentation ne durera pas plus de 10 minutes. Sous demande, je pourrai vous fournir les documents suivants : un résumé plus détaillé du projet, les lettres de consentement et les questions d'entrevues. Veuillez communiquer avec moi pour de plus amples renseignements ou questions.
En espérant une réponse favorable de votre part, je vous prie d'agréer mes sentiments distingués,

Gail Cormier, candidate au doctorat, University of Manitoba

Appendix 4: Recruitment Script

Recruitment Script (Presentation to Grade 11 students)

My name is Gail Cormier and I am a PhD student at the University of Manitoba. I would like to thank your teacher and your school for allowing me to present my project to you. My research is about French education in Manitoba. I am doing this research in three high schools in Manitoba: a French immersion single-track school, a French immersion dual-track school and a French-language school. I am looking for students to participate in two interviews with me. These interviews will take place at school and will last no longer than one hour each. You can choose to do your interview in either French or English. The first interview will be about your experiences with French and English. During the second interview, I will show you a PowerPoint that contains pictures from the different schools that I am researching and I will ask you some questions about those pictures. I will be randomly selecting 10 students from your school to participate in the interviews. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Even if you choose to participate, you can decide to withdraw from the research at any point simply by telling me. I would really appreciate your participation since I believe it is very important for research in education to include student perspectives. I have brought permission forms with me for anyone who would like to participate. Thank you very much for your time. Does anyone have any questions?

Discours de recrutement (Présentation aux élèves de la 11e année)

Je m'appelle Gail Cormier et je suis étudiante au doctorat à l'Unviersité du Manitoba. J'aimerais remercier votre enseignant et votre école qui m'ont accordé la permission de vous présenter ma recherche. Ma recherche est au sujet de l'éducation en français au Manitoba. Je ferai cette recherche dans trois écoles secondaire au Manitoba : une école d'immersion à simple voie, une école d'immersion à double voie et une école française. Je cherche des élèves qui voudraient participer à deux séances d'entrevue avec moi. Les entrevues seront à l'école et ne devraient pas durer plus d'une heure chaque. Vous pouvez choisir de faire votre entrevue soit en anglais ou en français. La première entrevue sera au sujet de vos expériences avec l'anglais et le français. Lors de la deuxième entrevue, je vais vous montrer un PowerPoint qui aura des photos des différentes écoles qui font parties de ma recherche. Je vous poserai des questions au sujet de ces photos. Je vais choisir, de manière aléatoire, 10 élèves de votre école pour participer aux entrevues. La participation à ce projet est entièrement volontaire. Si vous choisissez de participer, vous pouvez vous retirer du projet à n'importe quel moment tout simplement en me le disant. J'espère que vous allez vouloir y participer parce que je crois qu'il est très important que la recherche en éducation comprenne les perspectives des élèves. J'ai apporté des formulaires de permission avec moi pour ceux et celles qui aimeraient participer au projet. Merci beaucoup de votre temps. Est-ce qu'il y a des questions?

Appendix 5: Free and Informed Consent Forms

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Free and Informed Consent Form

Research title: Portraits of French secondary education in Manitoba
Researcher: Gail Cormier, University of Manitoba
Research Supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, University of Manitoba
This research is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

My name is Gail Cormier and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada. The purpose of this research is to study the experience of French immersion and French-language (DSFM) secondary school students. The study will give an in-depth look at students' experience with Canada's two official languages: English and French. This research will be conducted in three schools in Manitoba. I will be conducting two interviews in order to collect the data. I will also be taking pictures of signs in each school. No pictures of people will be taken and all identifying information will be removed from the pictures.

There are no foreseeable harms associated with your participation in this research. By participating in this study, you will be helping to ensure a better understanding of French educational programs in Manitoba. You are asked to consent to two interviews. In the first interview, you will be asked to orally answer questions given by me. A second interview will occur so that you can check the accuracy of your responses to the first interview. I will also show you a PowerPoint containing a selection of the photographs I took in each school. You will be asked questions about these photographs. You may ask for a copy of the interview questions before the interview. All questions are available in French and English. The length of the interview depends on the length of your responses. However, I anticipate that the first interview will take no more than an hour of your time. The second interview will take approximately 30 minutes. You may answer in either French, English or both. The data will be audio-recorded and transcribed by me. Once transcribed, the audio-recordings will then be destroyed.

Your interviews will be confidential and completely anonymous. At no time will your name or any closely identifying information be included in any documents generated from this study. You may choose a pseudonym for yourself. The data will be accessed by me and might be accessed by my dissertation evaluation committee. However, if the data is shown to the evaluation committee it will rendered anonymous beforehand. The data will be stored digitally by pseudonym on a computer to which only I will have access. The informed consent sheet containing your name will be kept separate from the interview data, and will be stored

in a locked drawer in my home where only I have access to it. This will ensure that there will be no possibility of connecting your name to any of the information that you have given. The data will be kept until February 2023. The data will be used in my PhD dissertation and possibly for conference presentations and articles on the same subject in English and French. When direct quotations from the data are used they may be accompanied by a translation. If quotations are translated, the original quotation will always appear above the translation.

Participation is completely voluntary and there will be no remuneration associated with your participation. **You also have the right to end your participation in this study at any time, without penalty or prejudice, simply by notifying me**. If you wish to withdraw from the study, please contact Gail Cormier by email. At that point, all data that you have provided will be destroyed. Audio-recordings will be deleted and any transcriptions will be shredded and deleted.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. This research has been approved by the
Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature ______________________________________ Date: ____________

Parent or Legal Guardian's Signature __________________________ Date: ____________

Researcher's Signature: _____________________________________ Date: ____________

I would like to receive a summary of the findings:

____ Yes   ____ No

Please e-mail a copy of the findings to: ____

OR

Please mail a copy of the findings to:

____

____

____

Formulaire de consentement

Titre de la recherche: *Portraits of French secondary education in Manitoba*
Chercheuse: Gail Cormier, University of Manitoba
Directrice de la recherche : Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, University of Manitoba
Cette recherche est subventionnée par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines, Canada.

Ce formulaire de consentement est une étape dans le processus de consentement. Ce document vous explique le but de ce projet de recherche, ses procédures, avantages, risques et inconvénients. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la chercheuse. D'ailleurs, si vous désirez de plus amples renseignements au sujet du projet, veuillez communiquer avec la chercheuse. Avant d'accepter de participer à ce projet, veuillez prendre le temps de lire et de comprendre les renseignements qui suivent.

Je m'appelle Gail Cormier et je suis une candidate au doctorat à l'University of Manitoba à Winnipeg au Canada. La recherche a pour but d'étudier les expériences des élèves des écoles secondaires d'immersion et françaises (DSFM). Cette étude fournira un portrait approfondi de l'expérience des élèves avec les deux langues officielles du Canada: l'anglais et le français. La recherche se déroulera à trois écoles secondaires au Manitoba. Afin de faire la collecte des données, je ferai deux entrevues. Je vais également prendre des photographes des affiches dans chaque école. Aucune personne ne sera prise en photo et toute information identifiable sera enlevée des photos.

Votre participation à ce projet ne comporte qu'un risque minimal. Votre participation contribuera à l'avancement des connaissances par une meilleure compréhension des programmes scolaires en français au Manitoba. Je vous demanderai de participer à deux séances d'entrevue. **Lors de la première entrevue, je vous poserai des questions oralement.** Une deuxième entrevue aura lieu afin de vous permettre de vérifier l'exactitude de vos réponses à la première entrevue. Je vais également vous montrer une présentation PowerPoint qui sera composée d'une sélection des photographes prises dans chaque école. Je vous poserai des questions au sujet de ces photographes. Vous pouvez demander une copie des questions avant l'entrevue. Toute question sera disponible en français et anglais. **La durée de l'entrevue dépend de vos réponses. Pourtant, la première entrevue ne devrait pas durer plus d'une heure.** La deuxième entrevue durera environ 30 minutes. **Les données seront enregistrées audio numériquement et transcrites. Vous pouvez répondre en français, anglais ou les deux.** Toute question sera disponible en français et anglais. Une fois transcrits, les enregistrements audio numériques seront détruits.

Vos entrevues seront confidentielles et entièrement anonymes. Ni votre nom ni autre information identifiable ne paraitra dans les documents générés par cette étude. Vous pouvez choisir votre pseudonyme. J'aurai accès aux données et il est possible que le comité d'évaluation de ma thèse y accédera. Le cas échéant, les données seront rendues anonymes avant que le comité d'évaluation les consulte. Les données seront entreposées de manière numérique par pseudonyme dans un ordinateur à lequel seulement j'y aurai accès. Le formulaire de consentement sera conservé séparément des données des entrevues et sera entreposé dans un tiroir verrouillé dans ma maison à lequel seulement j'y aurai accès. Ce processus assurera que votre nom ne pourrait être rattaché à l'information que vous avez fournie. Les données seront conservées jusqu'en février 2023. Les données seront utilisées pour ma thèse doctorale et potentiellement pour des présentations lors de conférences ou des articles en français et anglais. Quand des citations directes sont utilisées, elles seront

potentiellement accompagnées d'une traduction. Si les citations sont traduites, la citation originale paraitra toujours avant la traduction.

Il est entendu que votre participation à ce projet de recherche est tout à fait volontaire et que vous restez libre, à tout moment, de mettre fin à votre participation sans avoir à motiver votre décision ni à subir de préjudice de quelque nature que ce soit. Vous n'avez qu'à communiquer avec Gail Cormier par courriel afin de vous retirer de ce projet de recherche. Advenant que vous vous retiriez de l'étude, toutes les données que vous avez fournies seront détruites. Les enregistrements audio numériques seront supprimés et les transcriptions seront déchiquetés et supprimés.

En signant ce formulaire, vous indiquez que vous avez compris l'information par rapport à la participation à ce projet de recherche et vous acceptez d'y participer. En acceptant de participer à ce projet, vous ne renoncez à aucun de vos droits ni ne libérez les chercheurs, le commanditaire ou les institutions impliquées de leurs obligations légales et professionnelles. Vous pouvez vous retirer du projet à n'importe quel moment et vous avez le droit de refuser de répondre aux questions sans préjudice ou conséquence. Votre participation continue devrait être informée et vous devriez vous sentir libre de poser des questions de clarification ou d'autres renseignements tout au long de votre participation.

L'University of Manitoba pourra vérifier les archives de recherche afin de s'assurer que la recherche se fait de manière sécuritaire et équitable. Le comité d'éthique (*Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board*) a approuvé le projet de recherche auquel vous allez participer. Pour des informations concernant l'éthique de la recherche ou pour formuler une plainte, vous pouvez contacter la coordonnatrice de l'ethnique, au 204-474-7122. Un exemplaire de ce formulaire vous sera remis.

Signature du participant ________________________________ Date: ___________

Signature du parent ou tuteur légal ________________________ Date: ___________

Signature de la chercheuse _______________________________ Date: ____________

J'aimerais recevoir un résumé des résultats:

____ Oui ____ Non

Veuillez envoyer le résumé à l'adresse courriel suivant: _________________________

OU

Veuillez envoyer le résumé par courrier à :

____

____

____

Appendix 6: First Interview Questions

Demographic questions

1. How old are you? Where were you born? Have you always lived in Manitoba? What languages do you speak? What languages do each of your parents speak? What are each of your parents' highest level of education? What type of school did you attend for elementary school? (French immersion, French-language, English…?) *Quel âge as-tu? Où es-tu né(e)? As-tu toujours vécu au Manitoba? Quelles langues parles-tu? Quelles langues parlent chacun de tes parents? Quel est le niveau le plus élevé d'éducation de chacun de tes parents? Quelle sorte d'école élémentaire as-tu fréquenté? (immersion, DSFM, anglaise…?)*

Language use

1. What is your level of ease in communicating in French and English? How comfortable do you feel reading, writing, speaking and learning in those languages? *Pourrais-tu décrire ton niveau d'aisance en français et en anglais? Comment à l'aise es-tu à lire, écrire, parler et apprendre ces langues?*
2. How do you think you might use your languages in the future? *Comment penses-tu te servir de tes langues à l'avenir?*
3. In what language do you think you will work or study in the future? Why? *Dans quelles langues penses-tu travailler ou étudier à l'avenir? Pourquoi?*
4. What language do you use at home? *Quelle langue emploies-tu à la maison?*
5. What language do you use with your friends? *Quelle langue emploies-tu avec tes amis?*
6. In what situations do you use French outside of school? *Dans quelles situations emploies-tu le français à l'extérieur de l'école?*
7. How often do you use technology in French? (google, chatting, texting, video games) *À quelle fréquence emploies-tu la technologie en français? (google, chat, text, jeux vidéos)*
8. When teachers from your school are together in the staff room, for example, in what language do you think they talk? *Quand les enseignants de ton école sont ensemble au salon du personnel, par exemple, dans quelle langue penses-tu qu'ils se parlent?*
9. Do you ever combine your languages when you talk or write? *As-tu déjà combiné tes langues en parlant ou en écrivant?*
10. Can you describe a positive experience you had using French? A negative one? *Peux-tu décrire une expérience positive que tu as vécue en français? Une expérience négative?*

Language ideologies

1. How would you define bilingualism? *Quelle serait ta définition du bilinguisme?*
2. In Canada, is it important to be bilingual? Why or why not? *Au Canada, est-il important d'être bilingue? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?*
3. Are there any advantages or disadvantages associated with bilingualism? *Est-ce qu'il y a des avantages ou désavantages associés au bilinguisme?*

Linguistic landscapes

1. If you think of the signs in your school, in what language are they written? *Si tu penses aux affiches dans ton école, dans quelle langue sont-elles écrites?*

2. Do you think there should be signs in French, English or both in your school? Why? *Penses-tu que les affiches devraient être en français, en anglais ou les deux langues dans ton école?*
3. As a student, are you allowed to post things on the school walls or elsewhere? If so, how would you go about posting something? If not, do you think it's important for students to be able to post things at school? Why or Why not?
Comme élève, as-tu le droit d'afficher quelque chose sur les murs de l'école ou autre part? Si oui, comment le ferais-tu? Sinon, penses-tu que c'est important pour les élèves de pouvoir afficher des choses à l'école? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
4. How are the signs in your school different from the ones you would see in public, like on a street or in a shopping mall? *Les affiches de ton école se diffèrent de quelles façons des affiches sur la rue ou dans un centre d'achats?*
5. How are the signs in your school different from ones you would see in another school? (French immersion/DSFM/English) *Les affiches de ton école se diffèrent de quelles façons des affiches que tu verrais dans une autre école? (immersion/DSFM/anglophone)*

Language attitudes

1. Why did you or your parents choose this school? Would you make the same decision for yourself? If you were to have children in the future, what type of school would you choose for them? *Pourquoi est-ce que toi ou tes parents avez choisi de t'envoyer à cette école? Prendrais-tu la même décision? Si à l'avenir tu as des enfants, quelle sorte d'école choisiras-tu pour eux?*
2. Is French important for your parents? For you? *Est-ce que le français est important pour tes parents? Pour toi?*
3. Do you think it's possible that you may ever lose one of your languages? If so, which language and why? *Penses-tu que c'est possible pour toi de perdre une de tes langues à l'avenir? Si oui, quelle langue et pourquoi?*
4. Which language do you prefer to use? Are there any situations that are especially suited to either French or English? *Quelle langue préfères-tu employer? Existe-t-il des situations qui sont plus propices à l'emploi de soit le français ou l'anglais?*
5. Why did you choose to conduct your interview in French/English? *Pourquoi as-tu choisi de faire ton entrevue en français/anglais?*

Linguistic identity

1. When you think about the languages you speak, how would you define yourself and why? (Francophone, Anglophone, bilingual…?) *Quand tu penses aux langues que tu parles, de quelle façon t'identifies-tu et pourquoi? (francophone, anglophone, bilingue…?)*
2. How are students from French immersion/DSFM schools different from you and your school friends? *De quelles façons est-ce que les élèves des écoles d'immersion/de la DSFM sont différents de toi et tes amis scolaires?*
3. Thinking about people outside of school, in what ways do you resemble Francophones? And Anglophones? *En pensant aux gens à l'extérieur de l'école, de quelles façons ressembles-tu aux francophones? Et aux anglophones?*
4. Do you think you have an accent in any one of your languages? *Penses-tu avoir un accent dans une des langues que tu parles?* Is there anything you would like to add? *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose que tu voudrais ajouter?*

Appendix 7: Second interview (Photo-elicitation questions)

These questions have been adapted from (Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi, & Pula, 2009)

Part 1:

1. How would you describe this picture? *Pourrais-tu décrire cette photo?*
2. What do you think of this picture? *Que penses-tu de cette photo?*
3. What does this picture tell us about the school? *Qu'est-ce que cette photo nous raconte au sujet de l'école?*
4. What type of school (DSFM, single or dual-track) do you think would have this? *Quelle sorte d'école (DSFM, simple ou double voies) penses-tu aurait quelque chose comme ça?*

Part 2: Now select one, some or all of the pictures on the table and tell me what you see or what you think. *Maintenant, choisis une, quelques ou toutes les photos sur la table et parle-moi de ce que tu vois et ce que tu penses.*

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