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Chers lecteurs¹!

Tout frais, tout chaud, il est arrivé!!!! Quoi? Et bien le numéro spécial de la *Revue d'éducation*. Pourquoi faire un numéro spécial, et pour quelle occasion, me direz-vous?

L'idée est fort simple... L'actualité de plus en plus prégnante autour des enjeux langagiers qui caractérisent notre société, notamment par les flux migratoires, nous a donné envie de faire un numéro spécial sur le sujet. En effet, la diversité ethnolinguistique qui caractérise les salles de classe amène les chercheurs, tous champs confondus, à explorer différentes d'avenues entre autres pour mieux saisir ou encore rendre compte de quelles façons les langues s'approprient.

Pour ce numéro spécial, nous avons fait le choix de laisser la parole aux étudiants de la Faculté d'éducation, chercheurs en devenir, nous relater leur sujet d'étude. Ainsi trouverez-vous au fil des pages des articles, en français et en anglais, ancrés dans le contexte sociolinguistique qui est le nôtre. Ce numéro spécial est aussi le premier à porter sur l'enseignement des langues secondes. Nous tenons à remercier le travail des éditeurs, du personnel administratif qui a permis cet événement : une première publication à l'interne, bilingue, et évaluée par des pairs. Mais plus encore, cette édition souligne le travail

de nos étudiants des études supérieures, représentés ici comme premiers auteurs. Pour ce faire, ils ont donc porté un regard critique en évaluant, en binôme avec un professeur, un certain nombre d'articles présentés. C'est aussi l'occasion, par l'entremise du travail collaboratif réalisé, de développer un mentorat étudiant-professeur au sein de nos programmes. De cette façon, les étudiants acquièrent un savoir expérientiel qui a débuté par l'écriture, puis qui s'est poursuivi avec un travail de révision et qui a fini par un projet d'édition. Beaucoup d'entre eux publient leur écrit pour la première fois! Cette expérience a donc été un merveilleux tremplin pour la prémisse de leur devenir de chercheur.

Les sujets abordés dans ce numéro spécial constituent un large éventail et s'articulent autour de trois axes : les programmes d'immersion, le milieu pédagogique et l'enseignement, les acteurs scolaires par rapport à l'hétérogénéité de la population scolaire et à leurs besoins, et, enfin, un texte qui prône une vision prospective de la diversité ethnolinguistique.

Les articles empiriques présentés soulignent un travail remarquable où s'entremêlent les approches phénoménologique, post-structuraliste ou encore socio-constructiviste. Ils respectent

tous les règles éthiques et mettent à contribution beaucoup de principes théoriques enseignés à travers la scolarité des étudiants.

Enfin, le travail des étudiants est d'une portée sociale indéniable qui souligne un tournant important dans le champ des langues secondes et de la linguistique appliquée. En effet, l'apprentissage des langues est vu comme un processus social complexe à multiples facettes et non comme une manipulation technique de simples objets langagiers à s'approprier de façon indépendante. Cette tendance rejoint les points de vue et le travail des professeurs de la Faculté.

Nous tenons à adresser nos remerciements les plus sincères aux nombreux professeurs qui ont « joué le jeu » en arbitrant et en jouant le rôle de mentor auprès des différents étudiants qui ont arbitré les textes. Nous remercions aussi les étudiants qui ont contribué à l'arbitrage des textes édités. Aussi remercions-nous chaleureusement le vice-doyen recherche, Raymond Leblanc, qui a rendu possible cette publication.

Nous sommes très fiers des étudiants et de ce numéro spécial!

¹Le masculin est utilisé dans le seul but d'alléger le texte

Dear readers!

Fresh, piping hot, it's arrived !!!! What? Well, this Special Issue on Second Language Education for *Education Review*.

Why a Special Issue and for what occasion, you might ask?

We felt that it was important to highlight the issues connected to second language, including migratory flows, that are important characteristics of today's society. Indeed, the ethno-linguistic diversities that characterizes our classrooms have lead researchers across all fields to explore and understand the different ways in which languages are used and learned.

For this Special Issue, we have chosen to give the floor to students of the Faculty of Education, researchers in the making. So will you find in the pages of articles, in French and in English, rooted in sociological contexts.

This Special Issue of *Education Review* is a bit of a milestone for us at the Faculty of Education. It is the first to focus on Second Language Education. More importantly, thanks to the work of previous editors and the support of our administrative staff, is the fact that this is the first issue of our bilingual in-house journal to be indexed and peer-reviewed.

However, it is perhaps even more significant that this issue highlights the work of our graduate students, featured here as first authors who have been paired with full-time faculty. These students have

also participated fully as peer-reviewer and editors. This issue of the journal thus performs an important mentoring function for our graduate program. Our students are gaining experience in writing for publication, peer reviewing, revising, and editing. Many are publishing their work here for the first time.

Our students are looking at a wide range of topics, from the language use of Allophone students within French Canadian minority contexts to the effects of voluntary and refugee immigration on educational success. One of our articles examines what Deleuzian notions "do" for conceptualizations of language identities. Another looks at trilingual students in a French immersion program. Other articles are focused on interventions within family literacy programs, multi-grade French immersion classes, connecting university resources to local volunteers, how novice English teachers experience volunteering in a foreign context, the motivation of Core French students, the needs of newcomer parents with young children, and language classroom designs that address diversity.

All of this is especially remarkable given the quality and currency of the work presented. Articles herein combine qualitative empirical work with post-structural theory and phenomenological frameworks to those that are based on observation. Some are focused on policy

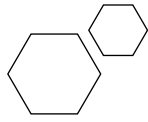
dimensions. Others focus on classroom applications. All are of the highest quality, meet ethical standards and challenge many of the received tenets within the field.

The work of our graduate students reflects the "social turn" at the cutting edge within Second Language Education and Applied Linguistics: the view that language learning is a multifaceted social process. Quite frankly, we are proud of the fact that the work in our faculty is NOT overly focused on the minutiae so common elsewhere. We do not conceptualize language learning as a technically based manipulation of isolated or idealized learners. Rather, the research in our Faculty focuses on the multiplicity and complexity of second language learning, from the viewpoints of teachers, students, programming and policy. Our work is centered on the interrelationship of theory and practice because we believe in the vital usefulness of our work.

Our deepest thanks goes out to the many faculty members who volunteered time and expertise in the mentoring and peer-review processes. We would also like to acknowledge the help of the Vice Dean Research, Dr. Raymond Leblanc, who provided the support needed to have the journal indexed.

Nous vous souhaitons une excellente lecture!

— Carole Fleuret et Douglas Fleming



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Family literacy interventions in Canada: Meeting the needs of newcomer parents with young children

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to organize challenges newcomers may experience. Next, FLIPs are explored, and a program example is put forth. Finally, the potential for newcomer challenges to be met is demonstrated linking issues and the opportunities provided by FLIPs.

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Experiences of Newcomer Families in Canada

A number of researchers in the field of immigration and settlement in Canada have explored the experiences of newcomer families in Canada. In terms of daily life, newcomers have similar experiences in employment, housing, and access to healthcare. Ali's (2008) study included focus groups and individual interviews with immigrant mothers and fathers from a variety of ethno-linguistic communities in three major Canadian cities. Respondents linked unemployment and underemployment to their ability to meet family needs, "the most basic being the provision of appropriate food, clothing, housing and health care" (Ali, 2008, p. 152). For example, parents explained that when they first arrived in Canada they were surprised by how many different kinds of clothes children needed, particularly in the winter. Some parents felt embarrassed that in order to meet this need they had to purchase used clothing. Participants in Ali's study also expressed concerns over their ability to provide safe housing for their families. One father expressed his discomfort with the public housing system explaining that the neighborhood his family was placed in was rife with drug sales and use, violence, and other criminal activity. Research from the Social Planning Council of Ottawa (SPCO, 2010) also notes a lack of adequate housing, and parental concerns about the safety

of social housing. Healthcare is another complicated system for newcomers to use; Lane, Vatanparast and White (2014) note that some of the barriers to access the Canadian national healthcare system are unfamiliarity and cultural competency. Ali's (2008) participants explained that some avoidance of the healthcare system was due to confusion about what parts of medical treatment would be covered, such as prescriptions and some specialized tests that may be recommended but not covered under provincial healthcare plans.

Newcomer families in Canada may also have similar experiences in education and second language development. Ali's (2008) participants expressed concern that teachers did not understand newcomer children's needs. Bernhard (2013) similarly found Canadian teachers "largely ill equipped to interact effectively with immigrants" and "often unaware of the extent to which cultural differences affect students and their families" (p. 108). Parents are often unaware of local cultural practices. Moreover many Canadian family services are not adequately prepared to meet the unique needs of newcomers (SPCO, 2010). Furthering this issue is the addition of language proficiency; many newcomers are unfamiliar with official languages in Canada (Ali, 2008). Access to second language programs, even for children, are not as simple as one would think. Guo and Hébert (2014) explored ESL programming across the provinces noting funding issues and limits on how many years of ESL support a child may have. Programming overall was described as "ad hoc, fragmented" (p. 174), but for children arriving closer to their teen years, the ESL component was identified as "too little, too late, to adequately prepare them for work and life in Canada" (p. 177). In the midst

The OECD (2006) considers literacy and education as root causes of poverty, causes that could be addressed through social policies. In Canada, 13.3% of children live in relative poverty (UNICEF, 2012). Child poverty in Canada, however, is not equally distributed: the most vulnerable group of children is that of recent immigrants (49%) (Albanese, 2010). Since Canada officially encourages bilingualism and multiculturalism, newcomers with young children have challenges specific to this country; immigrant parents must negotiate a second language, culture, educational systems and a host of other structures in their new environment in their quest to meet the needs of their young children (Ali, 2008). This paper explores the unique challenges of newcomer families in Canada and the potential impact of family literacy intervention programs (FLIPs) in meeting these challenges. In other words, how might FLIPs such as Home Instruction for the Parents of Preschool Youngsters (HIPPO) be beneficial to newcomer families, particularly in terms of second language education? This article first presents background information on the experiences of newcomers to Canada. This is followed by a challenge analysis framework (Bastien, 2014) used

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of second language acquisition struggles, families also hope to maintain their mother tongue, however, as Bernhard (2013) notes, this receives little encouragement from dominant institutions. In some cases, Bernhard explains, “feelings of insecurity and sometimes guilt led them to abandon the use of their mother tongue with their children” (2013, p. 118). In sum, the daily life and continuing education and language development of newcomer families, particularly those with young children, is not a simple matter.

Challenges for Newcomer Families with Young Children

As evidenced by the description of newcomer parents’ experiences in daily life, education and language development, life as a newcomer is full of challenges. These challenges often arise out of the interaction of beliefs, experiences and skills. In this paper we deploy a challenge analysis framework of internal, external, and negotiatory challenges (Bastien, 2014) to explore the experiences of newcomer families with young children. This framework arose in response to a desire to explore connections between the kinds of challenges that newcomer families might face and the kinds of services that FLIPs might provide. Challenges are conceptualized in the following ways: internal consists of home and family groups; external relates to the dominant culture of the exterior community; and negotiatory refers to the complex space where internal and external challenges overlap.

Internal challenges often begin with the desire to cultivate shared cultural values within the family and mediate external influences on children (Ali, 2008). For immigrant families, this includes rebuilding social networks similar to those in their home countries (Cole, 2012; Masny et al., 2013). How a family operates is deeply related to personal beliefs about parenting, beliefs that can be difficult to act on when parents’ “normative images and processes...

in raising their child are different from those used by the dominant society around them” (Ali, 2008, p. 149). The SPCO (2010) explains that parents and teachers have different expectations of each others’ roles. For example, when Huntsinger and Jose (2009) studied 40 families, 20 identified as Chinese American (primarily from Taiwan) and 20 identified as European American (all but two parents born in the U.S.), they found major differences between the Chinese American and European American families in their study in relation to parental involvement in and out of school. Chinese American parents were less likely to help out at school, instead focusing on helping their children at home. Chinese American parents also found immediate and continuous error correction important and noted teachers overly praised students in report cards which they felt made it difficult for them as parents to target specific areas for improvement. The European American families were also somewhat dissatisfied with the information provided in report cards, but as one parent explained, through her weekly volunteering in the classroom she was able to gauge how her child was doing. Different conceptualizations of the parenting role in relationship to school involvement meant that the European American parents’ tendency for greater involvement provided them with easier access to desired information. It is important to note that while there are general differences about parenting beliefs from culture to culture, these also differ within cultural and ethnic groups. Keels’ study (2009), exploring ethnic group differences in parenting beliefs and practices and their links to children’s early cognitive development, finds differences between Hispanic-American families linked to English use, noting that English-dominant as opposed to Spanish-dominant families have better developmental outcomes.

Immigrant parents may also find that internal challenges contribute to “a significant loss in their self-referent

assessment of their effectiveness as parents as a result of systematic constraints on their ability to mediate the effects of their new environment on behalf of their children” (Ali, 2008, p. 148). These challenges come in different forms, but can be related to parents’ limited education or language ability in a second language. For instance, Hernandez et al. (2009) found that limited schooling affects parents’ comfort with the education system in general, as well as their ability to help with schoolwork. Parents with limited schooling experiences themselves struggle to play an active role in their child’s life in relation to the academic system of their new community. Bernhard (2013) explains as an example that “communications from school to parents including report cards are often incomprehensible despite any translations that might be provided” (p. 109). Parents new to Canada can also struggle with communication as they strive to reach fluency in English or French, depending on their region (Ali, 2008). With limited communication, parents do not know “what is available to them or expected of them” (Crosnoe, 2010, p. 4).

External challenges may come in the form of financial hardship, unfamiliar bureaucracy and the expectations of school systems (e.g. Ali, 2008; Cole, 2012). While families might make the decision to immigrate based on economic struggles in their home country, economic disadvantage may continue as parents struggle to adapt to their adjusted status in a new society and find work that may be considered a lower employment position (Cole, 2012). Even among Shan’s (2012) engineers, it was found that newcomers “internalized secondary labour status and downplayed their professional aspirations, at least in the initial period after immigration” (p. 103). Bureaucracy is a problem for immigrant families in particular as some have a “limited understanding of institutional rules and resources” (Ali, 2008, p. 157). In some cases technical documents required for items such as healthcare or taxes may

not exist in the parent's home country (Cole, 2012).

Differences in parenting beliefs can also be problematic for marginalized populations as "notions about 'good parenting' are rooted in the discourse among white, European-origin policy makers and institutional leaders academics and students, service providers, media professionals and the dominant population" (Ali, 2008, p. 149). Although parenting concerns are also included under internal challenges, they can become an external challenge as well. For example, families that do not subscribe to the beliefs of the dominant institutions may find their children are labeled as developmentally delayed by teachers who have differing expectations (Keels, 2009). Different perspectives on parental involvement and support in educative activities can create conflict between home and school. Bernhard (2013) explains that "immigrant children growing up with a different set of priorities than that of the educational system are often construed as behind and needing to catch up with their age-mates, Teachers, therefore, miss many of the other ways that these children demonstrate strength and competence" (p. 112). The Chinese American families in Huntsinger and Jose's study (2009) provide an example of these different priorities. The Chinese American parents spent a great deal of time working with their children at home sometimes investing in private tutors and additional educational materials. Other families, such as one from Cole's (2012) study did not feel educational materials for the home was a necessary expense. Ali's (2008) participants also explained that in terms of "time, energy and money" (p. 154), they were unable to afford the kinds of recreation they would like to provide for their children. Instead, one parent found herself relying on TV and video games even though she would have preferred something like organized sports. Families' different value systems may or may not align with the dominant parenting beliefs and practices expected by external bodies (Crosnoe, 2010), but they may also not have

the resources to alter these practices.

Negotiatory challenges focus on parents working to find solutions to problems where family values and practices do not align with those of external forces. Parents negotiate these challenges in an "attempt to support and manage their children's educational experience" (Crosnoe, 2010, p. 2). Keels (2009) notes while there "are no culturally neutral, right or wrong developmental environments," they affect the level of preparation a child has for a particular context (p. 382). Ali's (2008) participants found that teachers were not aware of the unique challenges immigrant children might face discerning and meeting classroom norms and expectations. Parents found it difficult to discuss their children's unique classroom challenges with teachers due to lower levels of schooling and language proficiency (Ali, 2008). Negotiatory space seems to be less problematic, however, as a family's level of acculturation increases (Keels, 2009). The author, writing from an American perspective, uses the concept of acculturation to describe the degree that a family is "American," associating it with persons who were born in the United States, or have lived there for many years. With regards to acculturation as a concept linked to negotiatory challenges, Bastien (2014) conceptualizes it as negotiating inclusion, whereby parents negotiate internal and external challenges to find a solution that can satisfy both. Bernhard (2013) discusses the impact of parenting groups, explaining that participants became more proactive in their relationships with schools. An example provided was of a mother negotiating with the school principal to receive a field trip fee refund. The mother explained that her daughter's initial excitement had turned to discomfort as the trip included staying away from home overnight. Initially the principal stated that her daughter must attend, but the mother remained firm. She told the principal that she would not send her daughter somewhere she would be uncomfortable. After further discussion, she received the requested refund. Parents participating in the group knew better what

was expected of them (Bernhard, 2013), and thus were able to negotiate internal beliefs and practices with the external expectations of the school system.

Family Literacy Intervention Programs (FLIPs)

Addressing the needs of newcomer families with young children is a particular challenge in Canada, as Canadian care and education in early childhood policies and programs are often described as part of a "patchwork" (Albanese, 2010; Ball, 2010) or "jumble" (Pascal, 2009) of community services. To strengthen Canada's available services, FLIPs have been put to use. Family literacy interventions, suggests Letouzé writing for the Coalition francophone pour l'alphabétisation et la formation de base en Ontario, support the adult's growth as their child's first teacher and encourage the development of the adult's "cultural, academic and community literacies" (as cited and translated in Masny, 2008, p. 12). Masny (2008), writing on family literacy in the context of Multiple Literacies Theory (Masny, 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2011), emphasizes the value of a multiplicity of literate practices as well as the space for parents to further develop what might be considered traditionally accepted forms of literacy such as oral and written language, in order to negotiate different literate practices in different contexts. What these conceptualizations of family literacy hold in common is the facilitation of parents' multiple literacies development and expansion.

Just as there are a variety of FLIPs, there are a variety of FLIP models. Nickse (1990) identifies programs according four types of intervention: direct adult and child; indirect adult and child; direct adult and indirect child; and indirect adult and direct child. MacLeod and Nelson's (2000) meta-analysis of 56 family wellness programs (including family literacy interventions) found that multi-component programs and those with a home visiting component were the most successful. Home Instruction for the Parents of Preschool Youngsters (HIPPOY),

described in further detail in the following paragraph, is an example of a multi-component FLIP with a home visiting component. This program aligns with Nickse's (1990) third model; it is intended as an intervention directly with parents to indirectly intervene with the child.

HIPPY began in 1969 through the National Council of Jewish Women's Research Institute in Education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel (Westheimer, 2003). It originated with the dual purpose of empowering parents to become their child's first teacher and preparing children from low income, low literacy families for primary school (Westheimer, 2003). We read HIPPY documents use of empowerment as a description of their intent to provide support to parents who themselves do not believe that they are capable to become their child's first teacher. This perceived need of empowerment and preparation for primary school arose out of the mass immigration to Israel in its early years after its establishment as a state and the differences between the founding population from European countries and new immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa (Lombard, 1981). Immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa were identified as disadvantaged educationally, yet motivated to immigrate by the possibility of upward social mobility that they were unable to attain in their countries of origin (Lombard, 1981). Lombard's (1981) description of this time suggests a strategic development of a national identity through education, which would include the use of Hebrew. Despite the efforts and intentions of the Israeli education system, there were inequalities in schools in different neighborhoods. The Afro-Asian population, for example, facing internal challenges, was identified as lower-literate and often low-income, and did not thrive. Lombard (1981) acknowledges that cultural differences may have made this difficult, noting that it impacted relationships between parents and the school system as well as teacher perceptions of these groups

(i.e. the assumption that parents were not interested in their children's education). This external challenge is not unlike that which newcomers to Canada face today. Bernhard (2013) explains that "immigrant children growing up with a different set of priorities than that of the educational system are often construed as behind and needing to catch up with their age-mates" (p. 112). Recognizing that work at school to influence families and children's success was not producing desired results, researchers turned to the internal home environment to affect change that would in turn better prepare children and families for the expectations of the school system, and thus the HIPPY program was born (Lombard, 1981).

HIPPY came to Canada in 1999, offered in both official languages, English and French, depending on community needs (HIPPY Canada, 2004). Since then, 6000 families have taken part at 15 sites across the country. Although there is some variation in the implementation of HIPPY, the original model still stands. A local HIPPY program will include a local director, home visitors, and families from a predetermined demographic (in Canada this is linked to income and literacy skills, although it is important to note that this can simply refer to literacy skills in a second language). The participating parent, usually the mother commits to spend 15 minutes each day using HIPPY provided literacy development materials with their aged 4-6 child. Once a week the parent meets with a home visitor to receive educational materials for their children and instruction on how to use them with their child. Home visitors use role-play to familiarize the mother with the materials. Materials are also designed so that parents can quickly see their child's progress, encouraging them to continue and providing the feedback that they as parents can indeed be their child's teacher (Lombard, 1981).

Research on preschool experiences and home learning environments demonstrate why family literacy interventions, particularly for parents with young

children, are important: the effects from home learning environments and specific preschool centres persist several years after school entry (BarHava-Monteith, Harré, & Field, 1999; Love et al., 2005; Melhuish et al., 2008). These effects are not uncommon as Padak and Rasinski's (2003) meta-analysis of nearly 100 research articles found that family literacy programs improved: academic achievement, general knowledge, oral language, reading comprehension, writing, math and science, social skills, health, as well as English language skills. Padak and Rasinski's (2003) meta-analysis also found several areas where parents improved children's: attitudes about education, reading, writing, math and science, parenting knowledge, social awareness, self-advocacy and employment status. FLIPs have also been identified as furthering home-based family involvement (MacDonald et al., 2010) and improving parent-child relationships (Mare & Audet, 2003). These outcomes align with one of the key goals of FLIPs such as HIPPY: the empowerment of parents (Westheimer, 2003).

Addressing Challenges with FLIPs

FLIPs such as HIPPY aim to work with families on the internal, external and negotiatory challenges that they may face. FLIPs extend their reach beyond the child and focus on the empowerment of the parent as the child's first teacher as well as the development of confidence in their ability to influence the community around them (Westheimer, 2003). Parents gain knowledge and skills expected by their new community and pass these along to their children through parenting practices that meet the demands of the context in which they are raising their child (Keels, 2009).

FLIPs begin intervention by targeting internal family concerns; internal challenges vary from family to family due to their diverse life experiences, but common themes are related to building experience in a new country. In Canada this may include varying proficiency levels in official languages, which can make everyday

tasks (e.g. access to services, employment) challenging. As highlighted in the program description, a key aspect of HIPPY is the empowerment of the parent as the child's first teacher (Westheimer, 2003). Head Start FLIPs with similar goals have been identified as furthering home-based family involvement as parents use their newfound confidence to transmit family and cultural values (MacDonald et al., 2010). HIPPY program participants have also reported healthier parent-child relationships (Le Mare & Audet, 2003).

An internal challenge that FLIPs can indirectly address is the limited abilities some parents may have in the local, often new, language. HIPPY and similar programs can address parents' language skills indirectly through program components like multilingual home visitors who can support parents through negotiation of English or French materials in a language with which the parents have greater proficiency. While FLIPs do not traditionally provide explicit language instruction for parents, programs like HIPPY provide an ideal environment to develop further education by providing teaching materials for parents at no higher than a third grade reading level (HIPPY Canada, 2004). In turn, HIPPY has the potential to meet the internal challenge of limited educational experience as participating parents have been shown to have increased involvement in their child's education and related activities such as parent-teachers conferences and parent-teacher associations, as well as increased enrollment in adult education classes (BarHava-Monteith et al., 2003). The greater uptake of participating parents in adult education classes further suggests the potential for increased enrollment in adult language classes.

Following intervention targeting internal challenges, internal changes have the potential to ease external challenges. Economic disadvantage and difficulties negotiating bureaucracy may become less problematic to parents who, through regular engagement with materials in the local official language, may have greater language

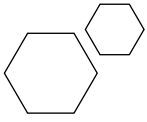
proficiency, increased understanding of expectations, and experience interacting in a variety of situations. A unique feature of the HIPPY program is that parents who complete the HIPPY program with their children may go on to become paid home visitors to guide new parents through the program, increasing parental education and financial independence. For immigrant families, becoming a home visitor for the HIPPY program is often the parent's first work experience in their new country and the first steps out of dependency and economic disadvantage (Westheimer, 2003).

Finally, as external challenges are addressed, parents may more successfully manage negotiatory issues. This is especially true in terms of negotiating internal and external challenges in the relationship between home and school. The use of HIPPY literacy development materials and pre-school curriculum breaks down barriers between home and school environments as parents and children are prepared for the types of learning experiences that meet external expectations. Crosnoe (2010) considers HIPPY's ability to break down home and school barriers as the development of a bridge between home and school that helps parents understand what is expected of them and their children. Parents' increased feelings of empowerment as their child's first teacher, as well further knowledge about child development and parenting creates an environment of care and education that builds family bonds and more closely aligns with both present (in the case of school-aged children) and future school environments and expectations.

Given what we know now about FLIPs and the challenges unique to newcomer families with young children, what could be next steps? The SPCO (2010) notes that work with newcomer families often focuses on short term and immediate needs, such as language development and employment, but suggests that a more long-term approach is necessary, reminding readers that "the immigration process has far-reaching consequences that include second and third

generations that cannot be ignored" (p. 24). The government of Canada has supported programs to reduce child poverty and increase the amount of services offered to families in need, but, as Albanese (2010) suggests, Canada's "tattered patchwork of policies and targeted programs" falls short (p. 99). Focus group participants from SPCO (2010) "recommended developing free-of-cost programs targeted for immigrant and refugee children and youth" with cooperation from local organizations (p. 16). Despite certain shortcomings, the implementation of FLIPs such as HIPPY fulfills this request allowing newcomer parents to gain knowledge and skills expected by their new communities. FLIPs offer opportunities to explore new languages, French and English in keeping with Canada's policy of bilingualism, and to experience various cultures, a perspective supported by Canada's program of multiculturalism. The benefits of these experiences can then be passed to their children through parenting practices that meet the demands of their new context (Keels, 2009). In this way, FLIPs address the internal, external, and negotiatory challenges that marginalized families face.

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Conjuguer diversité et langue de scolarisation : utopie ou monde de possibilités?¹

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Dans un monde où « le plurilinguisme est l'état de fait le plus répandu » (Chardenet, 2010, p. 43), la question de la langue dans laquelle l'école véhicule les savoirs – la langue de scolarisation – nous semble être inévitable. En milieu plurilingue, cette langue, indubitablement, devient aussi un objet d'apprentissage. Pour les uns, elle ressemble plus ou moins à celle du foyer et est utilisée dans la plupart des sphères de leur vie, sinon toutes. Pour les autres, elle est apprise à l'école pour l'école, et est présente à différents degrés dans les contextes en dehors de la classe (Le Ferrec, 2012; Verdelhan-Bourgade, 2002). Selon Le Ferrec, la langue de scolarisation se situe au « carrefour » des disciplines dites non linguistiques et de la didactique du français, donc elle est l'affaire de tous les enseignants. À l'instar de Bertucci (2010), nous soutenons que la réussite scolaire des élèves est en grande partie tributaire, d'une part, du degré de maîtrise de l'élève de cette langue et, d'autre part, du contexte linguistique du pays d'accueil et de son ouverture au plurilinguisme et à l'interculturel. À

ce sujet, il nous semble important de nous interroger sur le statut de la langue de scolarisation dans les écoles franco-ontariennes, lesquelles, pour la plupart, on pourrait qualifier de nouvellement multiethniques et plurilingues. Pour ce faire, nous ferons d'abord le portrait de ce contexte. Par la suite, nous mettrons en lumière la difficulté, pour les enseignants, de gérer l'hétérogénéité linguistique à l'école, cette dernière étant générée par le contexte sociolinguistique actuel et relativement nouveau (Gérin-Lajoie et Jacquet, 2008) et l'écart entre les politiques linguistiques et la réalité de ces écoles. Nous terminerons en nous penchant sur quelques propositions didactiques en lien avec la langue de scolarisation – en particulier celles qui tiennent compte du biplurilinguisme des élèves – et sur l'importance d'accompagner le personnel œuvrant dans les écoles à caractère hétérogène. Toutefois, avant tout, nous souhaitons davantage expliciter l'idée de langue de scolarisation et sa relation avec la réussite scolaire.

Qu'est-ce que la langue de scolarisation?

À notre connaissance, la langue de scolarisation est un concept qui a vu le jour en France et dans les pays francophones de l'Afrique pour nommer cette fonction langagière spécifique accordée à la langue apprise à l'école et pour l'école, souvent autre que celle utilisée au sein de la famille (Verdelhan-Bourgade, 2002). Par ailleurs, le français de scolarisation se distingue du français que l'on utilise pour les communications quotidiennes. Selon notre

compréhension, la distinction entre langue de communication et langue de scolarisation repose sur deux caractéristiques principales, à savoir le caractère largement normé et décontextualisé de la langue de l'école, ainsi que le fait qu'elle s'appuie fortement sur l'écrit (Bertucci, 2010). Ainsi nous semble-t-il à propos de souligner que cette langue de scolarisation peut représenter un défi, quant à son apprentissage, et un obstacle aux apprentissages scolaires véhiculés par l'entremise de la langue, et ce, non seulement pour plusieurs élèves dont la langue d'origine est autre, mais aussi pour les locuteurs natifs, puisque tous « sont amenés à s'approprier un usage scolaire de la langue » (Le Ferrec, 2012, p. 38). En effet, une corrélation entre l'échec scolaire et la faible maîtrise de la *langue de l'école* a été établie, accordant ainsi toute son importance à ce nouveau concept (Verdelhan-Bourgade). Bien qu'il nous semble probable que l'école participe à la reproduction d'une injustice envers une partie de la population en reproduisant une hiérarchie sociale qui rend illégitime les formes de littératie autres que celle du lire et écrire à l'intérieur de la norme fixée par l'élite bienpensante (Bourdieu, 1982), on ne peut ignorer l'importance de donner accès à cette norme aux élèves, puisque sa « méconnaissance [pourrait] entraîner des sanctions sociales, notamment en termes d'accès à l'emploi » (Bertucci, 2010, p. 8) et, nous ajouterons, d'intégration sociale.

¹ Nous utilisons l'orthographe rectifiée dans cet article.

La langue de scolarisation dans les écoles franco-ontariennes

Ce concept de langue de scolarisation nous semble tout à fait transposable au contexte scolaire ontarien, terre d'accueil de plusieurs migrants aux répertoires linguistiques variés. Nous irions même jusqu'à dire qu'il interpelle aussi le vécu des élèves franco-ontariens dits « de souche », dont la langue vernaculaire pourrait, à plusieurs égards, être qualifiée de troisième langue, tant elle se distingue du français normé (Bernier, 2013). Il est à noter que le contexte scolaire franco-ontarien s'est grandement transformé au cours des quarante dernières années, compte tenu de l'augmentation de la proportion des mariages exogames français-anglais qui est passée, entre 1971 et 2006, de 39 % à 56 %, et celle des couples exogames français-autre langue, de 6 % à 9 % (Corbeil et Lafrenière). À cela s'ajoute l'immigration francophone qui s'est accrue de plus de 54 %, entre 1991 et 2001 (Corbeil et Lafrenière, 2010). Il est clair, conséquemment, que la plupart des élèves sont exposés à au moins deux langues au sein de la famille, soit le français et l'anglais, si ce n'est une troisième ou une quatrième, autres que l'une des langues officielles canadiennes, faisant de ceux-ci des élèves bilingues ou plurilingues. Par ailleurs, comme le mentionne Chardenet (2010), ce plurilinguisme transforme le français d'usage, le distanciant encore davantage du français scolaire. De plus, la situation minoritaire dans laquelle évoluent ces élèves restreint leur exposition à la langue française dans plusieurs contextes de leur vie quotidienne, tout comme elle limite la diffusion d'objets culturels; ces derniers contribuant à la construction d'un solide rapport à la langue (ministère de l'Éducation de l'Ontario [MEO], 2004). Par conséquent, puisque ces élèves ont un accès plus ou moins restreint à la langue française en dehors de l'école, le français demeure, pour la grande majorité d'entre eux, l'idiome de l'école.

La gestion de l'hétérogénéité linguistique

La gestion de cette importante hétérogénéité

linguistique – sans parler de la culture et de l'identité que nous n'aborderons pas ici, mais non moins majeures (Gérin-Lajoie, 2002) – est, sans contredit, un défi important à relever, et relativement nouveau, pour un système scolaire largement construit sur le modèle de la majorité anglophone de la province, lequel dicte les orientations à prendre (Gérin-Lajoie et Jacquet, 2008). Ces orientations nous semblent faire fi des défis relatifs au contexte minoritaire quant à l'apprentissage de la langue et de la construction de son rapport à celle-ci (Gérin-Lajoie et Jacquet). Comme le souligne Gérin-Lajoie, « [o]n a tendance à décontextualiser l'école de langue française située en milieu minoritaire [...]. En effet, on tient rarement compte de l'environnement immédiat et de l'influence du milieu anglophone majoritaire, comme s'il n'avait aucun impact sur ce qui se passe à l'intérieur des murs de l'école de langue française » (2002, p. 126). À cet égard, il nous semble que les programmes scolaires, que ce soit ceux des disciplines dites non linguistiques ou ceux de français, copient largement, dans leurs objectifs et dans leurs modalités, les programmes de la majorité linguistique où l'on considère la langue de scolarisation comme étant la même que la langue d'usage. À titre d'exemple, on pense aux programmes d'*Actualisation linguistique en français* (ALF) (MEO, 2010a; 2010b). Ces derniers reconnaissent enfin l'existence, au sein des écoles, d'élèves chez qui les compétences linguistiques sont lacunaires au point où cela peut présenter un obstacle à leur réussite scolaire et sociale. Toutefois, ils nous paraissent encore conçus dans une perspective similaire aux programmes d'*English as a Second Language and Literacy Development* (MEO, 2001; 2007 a; 2007b), en ce sens qu'ils ont aussi pour objectif de fournir un appui *transitoire* visant à amener les élèves, le plus rapidement possible, à intégrer le programme régulier, suivant « des politiques de compensation, à l'égard de situations conçues comme marginales » (Castellotti et Moore, 2010, p. 7). Cette politique de compensation est peut-être valable dans

le système anglophone, compte tenu de l'hégémonie de cette langue en Ontario, mais elle nous semble discutable dans le contexte franco-ontarien, qui a subi des transformations importantes, eu égard au fait que la marginalité se situerait aujourd'hui davantage chez les élèves de familles endogames dites « de souche » et, qu'à ce titre, le biplurilinguisme serait la norme. En somme, nous croyons que, pour répondre à la spécificité du contexte sociolinguistique dans lequel évoluent les élèves franco-ontariens, les objectifs et les modalités de l'éducation dans les écoles franco-ontariennes devraient être repensés en faveur de et par « la diversité pour tous » (Castellotti et Moore). Ainsi serait-il à propos d'adopter un curriculum de français qui, d'une part, intègre les préoccupations du milieu éducatif concernant les apprenants du français – à qui est destiné le programme d'Actualisation linguistique –, d'autre part, qui tiennent compte du biplurilinguisme de tous les élèves et qui permettent une gestion plus efficace de l'hétérogénéité linguistique du contexte².

Politique linguistique et propositions didactiques

Cette absence de reconnaissance de la diversité suivant une idéologie monolingue

² À ce titre, notons que les didacticiens en langues secondes, au Canada et aux États-Unis, se penchent depuis quelques années sur l'adoption de Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues (CECR), lequel s'éloigne d'une vision monolingue de l'apprentissage des langues pour adopter une vision plus intégrative des répertoires langagiers des élèves, voyant ces derniers comme étant des locuteurs plurilingues (Byrnes, 2007; Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation (Canada) [CMEC], 2010; Piccardo, 2013). Cette réflexion nous semble digne d'intérêt puisque plusieurs des principes adoptés dans ce cadre semblent être à la faveur du plurilinguisme de la population scolaire franco-ontarienne. Toutefois, à notre connaissance, la mise en œuvre du cadre n'a pas encore été considérée pour cette dernière. De plus, compte tenu de la densité conceptuelle de cet outil (Piccardo), il nous apparaît prématuré de l'identifier comme étant la direction à suivre pour ce milieu scolaire.

(Gérin-Lajoie, 2002) et la méconnaissance des propositions didactiques en lien avec celle-ci a pour conséquence que le système scolaire ignore trop souvent les répertoires langagiers des élèves, répertoires qui pourraient servir, selon plusieurs chercheurs, de levier à l'apprentissage du français, langue de scolarisation (Auger, 2008; Castellotti et Moore, 2010; Fleuret, Bangou et Awad, 2013). À cela pourrait s'ajouter le refus de légitimer une partie importante du répertoire langagier des élèves, à savoir leur connaissance de l'anglais, par crainte que la langue de la majorité ne s'impose au détriment du français. Une avenue possible serait donc d'entreprendre une réflexion de fond sur la place des répertoires langagiers des élèves au sein de l'école de langue française dans la perspective de reconnaître que, d'une part, « le plurilinguisme est un atout » et que, d'autre part, les langues et les apprentissages faits dans l'une ou l'autre langue sont interreliés et se complètent (Castellotti et Moore, p. 7). Dans cet ordre d'idées, il faudrait aussi permettre aux élèves de transférer les acquis faits dans une langue à celle de la langue de l'école et favoriser « l'activité réflexive, la décentration et la distanciation comme leviers au service des apprentissages » (Castellotti et Moore, p. 7). Par ailleurs, à l'instar de Le Ferrec (2012), il nous semble aussi important de questionner les élèves et les enseignants quant à leurs représentations du *français de l'école* pour rendre explicites les attentes et les défis inhérents à ce français de scolarisation.

Rapidement, nous proposons ici quelques autres avenues. D'abord, devrait aussi être amorcée une réflexion sur la place de l'oral dans l'enseignement de la langue et sur l'utilisation d'une grammaire de la variation (Chiss, 1997, cité par Bertucci, 2010; voir également Peronnet, 1997) qui permettrait aux élèves de s'appuyer sur leurs pratiques orales du français et les variétés de celui-ci pour faire le pont avec la variété normée à utiliser à l'école dans les écrits (voir Boudreau et Dubois, 2008; Dalley et D'Entremont, 2004). À l'instar de Bertucci, nous

croions que cette proposition demande que l'on accorde une plus grande liberté à l'enseignant qui doit davantage tenir compte du contexte dans lequel il enseigne et des élèves qui composent sa classe afin d'adapter ses pratiques, dans la perspective de mener les apprenants à « maîtriser » un français normé, incontestablement la cible à atteindre. Ajoutons à cela une réelle attention portée au développement de la langue de la maison à l'aide de programmes scolaires au sein même du programme régulier, et non comme activité extracurriculaire, afin de clairement légitimer ces langues et de développer les compétences langagières dans la langue d'origine, lesquelles pourront être exploitées pour développer la langue de scolarisation (Mc Andrew et Ciceri, 2003). Par ailleurs, la prise en compte du métalangage, relatif aux concepts grammaticaux des différentes langues – par exemple à l'aide d'une grammaire universelle ou interlinguistique (Beguelin et De Pietro, 1999) — faciliterait les transferts³ des objets langagiers, susciterait la réflexion chez les élèves et, conséquemment, développerait la distanciation nécessaire à l'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation. En somme, ces propositions nous semblent changer radicalement la nature des objectifs et des modalités de l'enseignement du français dans le système scolaire franco-ontarien et nous semblent prometteuses.

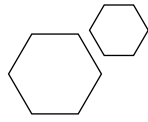
Compte tenu de ce qui précède, il nous apparaît primordial d'investir dans la formation et l'accompagnement des enseignants de toutes les matières afin d'amorcer les réflexions d'ordres identitaire, didactique et pédagogique en lien, d'une part, avec ce contexte sociolinguistique spécifique caractérisé par la situation minoritaire et le biplurilinguisme des élèves, d'autre part, avec la langue de scolarisation. La formation et l'accompagnement doivent aussi servir à développer les compétences linguistiques et interlinguistiques des enseignants ainsi que leurs pratiques pédagogiques en lien avec cette réalité (Bertucci, 2010; Gérin-Lajoie, 2010).

Conclusion

En conclusion, la question relative au français, langue de scolarisation, et à son enseignement, par et pour l'école, dans toutes les disciplines scolaires, est importante pour la réussite de tous les élèves, particulièrement dans un contexte tel l'Ontario français, où les apprenants sont exposés, à des degrés différents, à diverses variations de français. Il nous faut reconnaître ces variations et nous appuyer sur celles-ci pour amener les élèves à « maîtriser » ce français normé exigé dans diverses sphères de la société (Boudreau et Dubois, 2008; Cormier, 2005; Dalley et D'Entremont, 2004). La gestion de l'hétérogénéité linguistique au sein des écoles franco-ontariennes est un défi important pour les enseignants. À ce sujet, plusieurs propositions didactiques ont été faites et il nous semble important d'en prendre connaissance et de les évaluer. De plus, il nous faut réfléchir aux valeurs identitaires, culturelles et linguistiques que les écoles de langue française de l'Ontario souhaitent véhiculer, dans la perspective de favoriser chez les élèves un rapport positif avec la langue et avec la part d'eux-mêmes s'identifiant à celle-ci. Pour ce faire, sans aucun doute, il faudra une réflexion de fond quant à ce que nous appelons *langue, culture et identité* franco-ontarienne et une volonté politique pour adopter un discours fédéré en la matière qui répond mieux aux besoins de tous les membres de cette communauté linguistique. Pour qu'il se concrétise, ce discours devra être doublé d'un processus de formation et d'accompagnement du personnel enseignant adéquat.

Référence bibliographique page 65

³ À Odlin (1989) définit le transfert comme « l'influence résultant de similitudes et de différences entre la langue cible et toute autre langue acquise (parfois de façon imparfaite) précédemment » (p.27). Cet auteur suggère que la présence de similitudes soutient l'apprentissage d'une nouvelle langue. Ringbom (1990), quant à lui, voit plutôt le transfert comme étant la perception, chez l'apprenant, d'une similitude entre les langues, qui le conduira à décider d'utiliser, ou non, ses connaissances antérieures dans sa L1 pour l'apprentissage d'une autre langue.



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Choosing to continue: Examining the motivation and perceived proficiencies of Grade 10 core French students

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Abstract

Throughout Canada, there is a greater push to retain students in all French as a Second Language (FSL) programs offered in public schools. In Ontario, students are not required to take core French courses after Grade 9. Through one-on-one interviews with two current Grade 10 core French students, this study aims to examine the experiences that led them to continue with their French education. The interviews were structured to listen to student voices as they shared their experiences in FSL education to date, their motivations to continue studying French, their perceived confidence in French, and the role they saw French playing in their future. In addition, students were asked to provide future core French teachers with advice that would enhance their practice. In this article, two student perspectives are presented and the implications for FSL teaching and teacher education are also discussed.

Au Canada, il y a une demande pour garder plus d'élèves dans les programmes de français langue seconde (FLS) offerts dans les écoles publiques. En Ontario, les élèves ne sont pas obligés de continuer les cours de français de base après la 9^e année. À travers deux entrevues individuelles avec des élèves inscrits dans le cours de 10^e année français

de base, cette étude a pour bût d'explorer les expériences qui ont mené à leur décision de continuer à étudier le français. Les entrevues étaient structurées pour encourager les élèves de décrire leurs expériences en éducation du FLS, leurs motivations à apprendre le français, leurs habiletés perçues en français et le rôle qui jouera le français à l'avenir. De plus, les élèves ont offert des conseils aux futurs enseignants et enseignantes du FLS. Dans cet article, les perspectives de deux étudiants seront présentées et les implications pour l'enseignement du FLS et la formation des enseignants et enseignantes seront aussi présentées.

Keywords: motivation, French as a second language, core French, second language learners, attrition

Introduction

In Canada, approximately 90% of students study French as a Second Language (FSL) at a basic level, equivalent to Ontario's core French program (Germain & Netten, 2005). In Ontario, the core French program begins in the fourth grade and is mandatory until the ninth grade, after which time it becomes optional. This program requires that French is taught for approximately 40 minutes a day, adding up to a minimum of 600 hours by the eighth grade. A recent survey of Ontario school boards revealed that while 85% of students are enrolled in core French, only 10% of these students continue to study French until the end of high school (Ontario Public School Board's Association, 2007). In addition to other researchers looking at core French in Ontario (see Lapkin, Mady, & Arnett, 2009), the Ontario Ministry of Education (2013a, p.9) expressed the need to retain students in French programs throughout the province and to "increase student

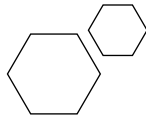
confidence [and] proficiency".

This study was a first step in responding to this need, as it investigated what motivates students to enroll in core French classes when it is no longer obligatory for them to do so. In addition to getting information on students' decision to continue, research has highlighted that students tend to be more motivated to continue their second language (L2) learning when they have a higher level of self-confidence in their language skills (e.g., Dörnyei, 1994). When students are asked to reflect on their experiences, research has shown that those enrolled in core French tend to report feeling dissatisfied with their proficiency levels (APEF, 2004, CPF, 2004). For this reason, this study also endeavored to explore students' levels of perceived linguistic confidence. Finally, like Arnett (2008), in order to have student voices directly impact the pedagogical implications of our study, questions were added prompting students to offer advice to future core French teachers based on the type of core French/FSL teaching that had motivated them to continue. Overall, this study aimed to answer the following questions: 1) What reasons do Grade 10 students cite for taking core French when it is no longer a mandatory subject? 2) How confident do these students feel about their French-language skills?; and 3) What advice do participants provide to future FSL teachers?

Relevant Literature

L2 Student Motivation

Two of the most commonly studied types of motivation in language learning to date have been intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation describes the learning of a language for the simple pleasure and enjoyment of learning the language. By contrast, extrinsic motivation describes



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the learning of a language for the final goal of being able to speak the language, for example to satisfy a program requirement or to gain employment (Noels, 2001). In this case, the pleasure or the enjoyment of the activities necessary to complete the goal is not taken into account (Clément, Noels, & MacIntyre, 2007). In addition to intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, there is also an integrative component (Gardner, 2010). This incorporates the students' drive to become part of the target language community (Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). In language learning, some argue that students who exhibit a more intrinsic desire to learn the language will produce more high quality utterances than a peer who is extrinsically motivated (Chambers, 1999).

Canadian L2 Student Motivation

To date, only a small number of FSL studies have examined the core French student experience. A study conducted by Massey (1994) compared core French students' decisions to continue or discontinue their studies in Ottawa and Kingston, Ontario. He found that students' motivation continue studying FSL was influenced by their desire for a Canadian identity and their admiration for the French culture. Students who decided not to continue cited their dissatisfaction with their proficiency levels, often comparing themselves to French immersion students. During the interviews, Massey also asked students to propose changes to their FSL programs, and they suggested that a variety of resources and more task-based teaching in the core French classroom should be considered.

More recent work examining student voices in FSL by Makropoulous (2010) used student interviews to obtain information on French immersion student attitudes towards the program and curriculum. "Disengaged" students identified student-teacher relationships, organizational demands and academics as major factors determining their decision to continue in the program. In contrast, "engaged"

students reported feeling confident in their ability to study academic subjects in French and "depended on the program to acquire French skills" (p.5).

Looking specifically at newly arrived immigrants in core French, Mady (2010) found that this group of learners tended to demonstrate a greater responsibility to learn French as it enabled them to create a new Canadian identity and integrate into Canadian culture. Allophones, who "had the greatest social distance from French", associated the learning of French more strongly with integrating themselves into Canada (Mady, 2010, p. 579). Mady noted that Canadian-born and immigrant students both shared a dissatisfaction with their ability to communicate with francophones, but that they felt comfortable using the language in the classroom. She also found that both groups felt their marks were closely tied in to their perceived competencies and their motivations to continue studying French.

Considering this relevant literature, it seems appropriate to revisit the issue of student motivation in today's core French classrooms, and look specifically at the motivation of those students who have elected to continue their core French studies when it is no longer a mandatory subject.

Study Details

The research described in this article was collected through the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (UROP) at the University of Ottawa (2014), a program that provides undergraduate students with the opportunity to work alongside a professor and get a sense of what research entails. This study was also part of a larger project that aimed to have Bachelor of Education students listen to high school students about their experiences in school and advise them on what they could do to improve their practice. In this regard, our third research question, created as part of this larger study, was framed to have students give advice to future FSL teachers

in particular. Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the Research and Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa and the Ottawa-Carlton District School Board. All names noted below are pseudonyms.

Recruitment

We presented the project to a grade 10 core French class of approximately 15 students in a small urban school with a diverse population. The school in question did not offer the French immersion program or the extended French program. Parental consent to participate in the study yielded a sample of convenience of four students; however, two of these students did not attend their scheduled interview, and were therefore excluded from the study, leaving us with a final sample of two students.

Participants

Both participating students had immigrated to Canada with some French background. Jean's first language was French and he had completed all of his schooling in French, while Michelle spoke a third language and had taken FSL courses before coming to Canada. While these profiles may not be representative of the non-native French speakers that Canadian FSL programs typically target, diversity is becoming a normal profile in today's FSL classroom (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b), particularly in the region where this study was conducted, where approximately 18% of the city population was born outside of Canada (City of Ottawa, 2006) and over 25% of the school population reporting previous exposure to French either in school or in the home (e.g., see Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, 2012).

Data Collection and Analysis

Each student participated in one semi-structured interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. Each interview was organized around four main themes: Participants' FSL Stories, Choosing FSL, Confidence in Language Abilities, and Advice for

FSL Teachers. Asking general questions around these themes allowed for data to be collected about each student, including their backgrounds, motivations, perceived competencies, and the advice they would give to future FSL teachers. Each interview was audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed. Transcriptions were analyzed for emergent and recurring themes, both within each student interview and across the two participants.

Findings

Findings related to each of the participants are presented first, including background information, reported decision-making processes and perceived confidence in their linguistic proficiency. In the final section, the practical suggestions that emerged across the two interviews on how to improve the teaching of core French are described.

Jean's Perspective¹

Jean was a recent immigrant to Canada from Haiti. While he reported speaking French as his first language, he was quick to identify his dialect as being different from the French he was hearing in Canada. Jean was placed in the core French class as a means to help him become accustomed to the school culture. While he could have been exempted from the class, Jean said he decided to continue studying core French to maintain and improve his French skills and that French class was a way that he could practice his current level of French. He explained "*Si tu ne pratiques pas, tu vas complètement l'oublier*" [If you don't practice, you will completely forget it.]^w When questioned further, Jean felt a strong connection to help integrate other French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society, as was done for him. For example, he said "*Je veux aider les gens... Comme si une personne vient pour la première fois à l'école [et] dans la société.*" [I want to help others... Like if a person comes to school or into the community for the first time.] When asked about his confidence in French, Jean described himself as lacking

confidence in his language abilities when comparing his French to the French spoken in the Canadian context, saying "*Moi je parle le français fausse.*" [I speak fake French.] Jean went on to further describe how his confidence levels were directly tied to his use of French to help others, saying: "*En aidant les gens, je serais plus confiant.*" [I would become confident by helping others.]

Overall, both his linguistic confidence and his motivation to continue his core French studies were strongly linked to his desire to help others. This is an interesting finding that expands the typical instrumental motivation construct commonly associated with Canadian FSL students, where French is perceived as useful, but mostly for getting a job or getting good grades (e.g., Mady, 2010). Equally noteworthy was Jean's characterization of the French he spoke as being "false" when asked to speak to his perceived proficiency and confidence in his language skills. This same learner questioning of the legitimacy of their French relative to the ideological "standard French" has been documented in the French Immersion context (Roy, 2012), but has yet to have been reported in the core French context. Instead of attributing this to a rarity of having an immigrant French speaker in a core French class, we suggest that Jean is not that much different from the participants in Roy's study, in that despite recognizing that his French was different than what might be used in Quebec or France, he was eager to practice his French – mainly by helping people – in order help others integrate into their new francophone context. Still, he did not seem to display typical integrative motivation tendencies (e.g., he did not talk about wanting to become part of the French community in Ottawa or wanting to adopt characteristics of the target language group), but instead described "integration" as being more about wanting to become an intermediary between new arrivals to Canada and his school.

Michelle's Perspective

In contrast to Jean, Michelle had very clear

goals in mind about where French was going to lead her in life. With some family members who spoke French, and a mother who encouraged her to continue with her French studies, she talked about wanting to seek future employment using French and other academic goals using not only French, but also her third language. For Michelle her desire to continue studying core French seemed to be directly tied to maintaining her French for the future, saying "I see myself speaking [French] to, like, people who I would work with and [...] since I want to be a translator I don't want to forget it." Memory and the idea of forgetting French came up often during her interview, as she described when explaining that she took the Grade 10 core French class "to refresh my memory...to keep on going and not forget that language...I don't want to forget the French."

When it came to confidence and proficiency, similar to the participants in Mady's study (2010), Michelle's grades seemed to be a strong factor influencing her confidence, as she stated simply when she said "seeing my good marks in French class makes me see that I'm doing well." Looking forward, Michelle added that continuing her core French courses would also help to improve her confidence using French.

Advice for FSL teachers

The final objective of this study was to ask students what advice they would give future FSL teachers. As seen below, students' advice is introduced and then contextualized within relevant literature. When answering this question, it is worth noting that students were very eager to share their reflections on specific aspects of core French pedagogy that they believed *had* contributed or *could* contribute to their success and motivation to study French. Eliciting student observations in this way has the potential to provide useful input to teacher candidates, teacher educators and researchers alike in regards

¹ Jean elected to conduct his interview in French. We have provided both the original French quote and an English translation.

to FSL teaching practices that contribute to students' perceived success (Arnett, 2008).

Challenge your students

Students advised new FSL teachers to continue challenging them with new vocabulary or structures, but also to keep checking in with low performing students. Since there may be a wide range of proficiencies in the classroom, implementing this suggestion becomes challenging; however, as the new FSL curriculum recommends (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b), by using differentiated instruction, teachers can ensure that all FSL students learn together in the way that suits them best. While research to date on differentiated instruction in core French classrooms has focused mainly on scaffolding students with learning disabilities (Arnett, 2003, 2008), Arnett makes the point that all students can benefit from exposure to documented differentiation strategies used by core French teachers to include and scaffold students at all levels of proficiency (e.g., giving directions in chunks, providing written back-up to oral directions, highlighting texts, simplifying target language use instead of simultaneous translation into English, etc). Other differentiation strategies can also be used to challenge students to produce the language orally (e.g., providing sentence starters, employing tiered questioning, etc.) – an approach which would be welcomed in core French, as lack of oral proficiency development is often identified by core French drop-outs as one of their main reasons for leaving the program when it is no longer mandatory (APEF, 2004; Massey, 1994). Considered overall, such differentiation strategies in core French respond to Jean and Michelle's advice to challenge students, while remaining "congruent with what has been recommended in the literature about general effective L2/ FL teaching methodology" (Arnett, 2010, p.577).

Sensible error correction

Jean made it clear that error correction

should not be a focal point in an FSL classroom. Both participants also felt that while errors should be corrected, students should not be called out on the error and the correction should not disrupt the flow of the class. This advice coincides with other studies investigating L2 student preferences related to error correction (e.g., Smith, 2010; Yoshida, 2008), findings which add that encouraging self-correction in particular is a corrective feedback technique that can minimize disruption and enhance uptake. Self-correction is also considered to be a quality of advanced proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) - a framework for action and reflection that is currently influencing FSL curriculum development and teaching throughout Canada (e.g., Faez et al., 2011; Piccardo, 2013).

Use varied resources

Both participants recommended that FSL teachers use a variety of French resources in the classroom, including books, movies, and newspapers, as has already been suggested by core French students in previous research (Massey, 1994). This advice coincides with the movement in core French teaching towards using authentic resources as delineated in the action-oriented approach to L2 teaching (Council of Europe, 2001; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b). Given these examples, it is clear that students support this move, as it gives them more of a feeling that the language they are learning is useful to them. In addition to using a variety of resources, it was also suggested to pick themes in consultation with students.

Directions for Future Research

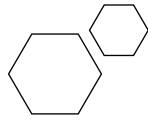
While this study was particularly exploratory in nature, the descriptive data rendered from this sample of convenience serves as a valuable starting point for expanding the field's understanding of core French student motivation. Certainly, the profiles of Jean and Michelle show us that the core French student demographic

has evolved from its predominantly monolingual Anglophone roots, making it even more important to investigate the motivation of today's core French students, including the culturally and linguistically diverse learners who are present in core French programs.

In terms of future research, given the rising attrition rates from core French and the fact that core French is the FSL program that serves most Canadian learners (CPF, 2008), these findings point to the importance and urgency for ongoing examination of why students are deciding to continue or discontinue their core French studies. Two forthcoming studies (Arnett, Romero, & Fairbrother, 2015; McGregor, in progress) will certainly be a fruitful move forward in this regard. Prompting core French students to identify teaching practices that affect their motivation and confidence (in the same way that we did here) would also work to empower teachers to target their pedagogies toward engaging and motivating students to continue their FSL studies (see Hadfield & Dornyei, 2013).

By implementing some of the advice that students provide, and continuing to conduct research that prompts students to share their voices and opinions about why they are or are not motivated to study core French, perhaps we can encourage more students to choose to continue studying French in our core French programs.

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Public School Integration and the Experiences of Immigrant and Refugee Parents

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Introduction

This article reports a qualitative study that was conducted with two English as a Second Language (ESL) parents of secondary school children in partnership with an NGO serving immigrants in Ottawa. Its purpose was to examine the experiences that these parents had in regards to the integration of their children into public schools. One of the parents was a voluntary immigrant who had settled in Canada on the basis of an application for landed status as a skilled worker. The other was an involuntary immigrant (refugee) who had brought his family to Canada after years of hardship in United Nations refugee camps. The methodology consisted of a short demographic survey and an extensive set of semi-structured interviews.

Although there were significant similarities in the experiences of these two parents, we found that the refugee parent faced significantly greater challenges in terms of his children's school integration that were due to the earlier disruptions that they had experienced in their formal education before coming to Canada. Moreover, we found that the refugee parent did not feel that the schools in which his children had been placed had taken

the particular needs of his children into sufficient account.

This article pertains to the Interim Report that was conducted by the lead author as a prerequisite to her entering a doctoral program at the University of Ottawa. Ms. Pierre Rene chose this line of enquiry because of her own background as a child from an immigrant family. She thus brings a passionate interest to this topic. In addition to supervising Ms. Pierre Rene's study, the second author of this article, Dr. Douglas Fleming, assisted in the completion of the final version of the manuscript.

This article is divided into seven sections. In the first, we describe the broad context of the study. In the second, we provide a literature review pertaining to the distinction between voluntary and involuntary immigration. In the third, we provide a second literature review pertaining to the common linguistic and socio-economic challenges associated with the integration of immigrants. This is followed by two sections outlining our conceptual framework and methodology. We then present our findings. The article concludes with a discussion of the implications of our study in terms of future research and pedagogy.

Context

The academic literature makes it clear that many still face challenges associated with language, employment, housing and successful integration into the surrounding community (Baker, Sigmon, & Nugent, 2001; Biles, Burstein, Frideres, Tolley, & Vineberg, 2011).

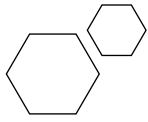
Anisef and Kilbride (2004) state that "integration can be viewed as the extent to which immigrants become full participants in Canadian life, capable of achieving their

aspirations and potential. Thus the goal of settlement policies and the agencies/ organizations that have been developed is to facilitate such integration, and to avoid the development or marginalized, isolated and segregated immigrant groups within Canadian society" (p. 11).

As such, the mission of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2011) is to build a stronger Canada by advancing immigration and humanitarian objectives through policies, programs and services that:

- facilitate the arrival of people and their integration into Canada in a way that maximizes their contribution to the country while protecting the health, safety and security of Canadians;
- maintain Canada's humanitarian tradition by protecting refugees and people in need of protection;
- enhance the values and promote the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship; and
- reach out to all Canadians and foster increased intercultural understanding and an integrated society with equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, ethnicity and religion.

However, as documented by Knowles (1997), Canada has a long and complex history of immigration policy, filled with controversy, achievements and hardships. Even today, debates and controversies continue. Knowles (1997) states that immigrating to Canada is only half the battle, the real struggle beginning once individuals and families have arrived in the country. Each year Canada welcomes roughly 260,000 immigrants (Citizenship and



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Immigration Canada, 2013). The bulk of Canada's permanent residents (72.6 %) are economic immigrants and their accompanying dependents. The remaining immigrants are refugees. According to *Citizenship Immigration Canada Facts and Figures* (2012), most immigrants arrive from countries where the primary language is other than English or French or a variant thereof. Asia, Pacific, Africa, Middle East, South and Central America combine to account for 85.9 % of total immigration in Ontario. These regions, of course, do not feature large populations of English or French speakers. Over half of these newcomers are school-aged children.

Immigration is an extremely important aspect of the demographic trends pertaining to Ottawa. The city is the fourth largest city in Canada with an overall metropolitan population of 1,148,800. Residents born outside of Canada constitute 22.3% percent of the population, with the largest source nations being China, Lebanon, northeast Africa, Somalia, Iran, and the Balkans. Visible minorities account for 20.2% of the total. Self-identified English-only speakers make up 59.9% of the city's residents. Bilingual French/English speakers make up 37.2%. Other monolinguals (including French-only) make up less than 3%. Self-identified speakers of non-English or French mother tongues account for 21.6% of the population (all figures, Statistics Canada, 2010).

It is important to note that Ottawa receives more refugee newcomers than any other urban center in Canada. According to the Social Planning Council of Ottawa (SPCO, 2004), Ottawa receives 29% of all refugees admitted to Canada (as opposed to 9% in Vancouver, 10% in Toronto and 19% in Montreal).

Currently, 70,500 recent immigrants live in the metropolitan region, the fourth highest concentration in the nation (City of Ottawa, 2013). The official city plan predicts an overall population growth rate growth of 37% for the next decade, well above that

for the province of Ontario or for Canada as a whole. The largest factor driving this growth rate is immigration. Ottawa, in fact, has the third highest growth rate for immigrants in Canada, only slightly behind Toronto and Vancouver.

Literature Review: Voluntary and Involuntary Immigrants

Ogbu and Simons (1998) distinguish between two categories of immigrants: voluntary and involuntary immigrants. They identify voluntary immigrants as those who have more or less willingly moved to a host country with hope of a better future and the expectation of better job and educational opportunities. They do not perceive their arrival to the host country as something that is being forced upon them. They tend to be relatively economically stable and willingly to integrate into a host country in the hopes of better living conditions than that found in their country of origin. Although the motivations of this type of immigrant may not be primarily centered on material well-being, they are often interested in building a life in a more stable environment than the one they have left.

As Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue, involuntary immigrants, on the other hand, are people who have been subject to war or other calamities in their country of origin. They are often subject to trauma that might involve torture, discrimination or *de facto* enslavement. Unlike voluntary immigrants, the involuntary immigrants have come to the host country against their will under dire conditions that are usually permanent. Involuntary immigrants are usually less economically successful than those who come to the host country voluntarily. They also usually experience greater and more persistent cultural and language difficulties. As Cassidy (n.d.) argues, classifying people into these two categories is not always clear cut because emigration of any sort usually involves some kind of decision making on the part of the migrant. As Cassidy

(n.d.) notes, while voluntary immigrants "might not be displaced by war or famine, one could argue that they are forced to move because of circumstances that are beyond their control" (p.2). Moreover, even if dire circumstances precipitate the original impetus for fleeing the country of origin, asylum seekers have to make the decision to apply for refugee status in a host country elsewhere. Agency, to a lesser or greater extent, is involved in both cases. However, what differentiates voluntary and involuntary immigrants is the original reason why they chose to leave their country of origin. Often the difference can be more clearly shown by whether or not an immigrant can return to that country of origin.

Jan Stewart (2011) contends that it is important to distinguish between the terms (voluntary) *immigrant* and *refugee*. While voluntary immigrants are often motivated by economic hardship, a refugee "is compelled to leave his or her country of origin for reasons of asylum, safety or fear of persecution" (p.302). As she notes, this definition is consistent with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) *Convention and protocol related to the status of refugees* (1951). While nuances certainly exist in terms of these two groups, Stewart (2011) argues convincingly that ignoring the distinctions between immigrants and refugees places the latter at greater risk of deportation to their countries of origin, forcible relocation to a third country or prosecution in a receiving country.

Literature Review: Integration and the Link between Linguistic and Socio-Economic Challenges

Theoretical frameworks associated with citizenship and Second Language Education have been strongly influenced by the work of R.C. Gardner (1985) and J.H. Schumann (1978). Central to Gardner's work was what he called *integrative motivation*: the desire to learn the target language based on positive

feelings for the community to which that language belongs. Schumann's *acculturation model* (1978) built on Gardner's work by outlining the factors involved in whether or not groups of learners have a propensity to learn the language of the majority population. The key component of what he called *social and psychological distance* consisted of the attitudes minorities had towards assimilation into the dominant culture.

More recent work by Wolfgang and Heckmann (2006) make clear that there are four basic forms of newcomer integration: acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. The notion of integration is what is central to the concerns of the study in question. Acculturation theory explains the cultural change that typically occurs when immigrants come into contact with different cultural groups. Through immigration and integration in the host society immigrant parents, must contend with and define themselves in relation to the majority culture, including the racism and discrimination that are prevalent in it (Ogbu 1997), all while facing external factors. In return, children and youth develop a sense of self in the context of messages they receive from parents and extended families. How children and youth feel, act and think about their educational success is directly related to how they are socialized to do so through the messages they receive from their parents. Parents transmit their concerns to their children.

As Sweetman and Warman (2008) argue, although economic concerns amount to the principal barrier facing both voluntary and involuntary immigrants in terms of integration, acquisition of the host country's dominant language(s) comes a close second. Once immigrants arrive in Canada, it becomes evident that having a good grasp of either English or French, Canada's official languages, is key to obtaining access to better paying jobs or further education and training. Many immigrants feel they have to go back to school to strengthen their language abilities especially when they have difficulty in having previously

obtained credentials recognized by Canada institutions. However, as Stewart (2011) notes, many immigrant parents neglect further education and work multiple lower paying jobs in order to provide the support their children need to access higher levels of education. In a sense, these parents make the decision to invest in their children's future rather than in their own.

As a large scale quantitative survey conducted by the Social Planning Council of Ottawa (SPCO)(2010) showed, working double shifts or multiple jobs increases immigrant children's unsupervised time. Moreover, although their children's educational success was seen as a priority, these parents had very little time to dedicate to the home and even less time to attend school activities such as parent-teacher meetings. The survey also revealed that many immigrant parents felt that their approach to parenting was undermined because of the perception on the part of teachers that they did not have an interest in their children's educational success. Teachers did not realize that immigrant parents often could not demonstrate that interest due to their consistent engagement in shift work, multiple jobs and irregular work hours. These feelings were exacerbated by the inability of these parents to fully express themselves in the dominant language of the school. A lack of fluency in either French or English promulgated feelings of inadequacy that led to barriers between immigrant parents and school staff.

One of the main challenges, as outlined in the 2010 SPCO report, is the integration of immigrant parents into the school community. Immigrant parents regarded schools as the first and foremost public institution with

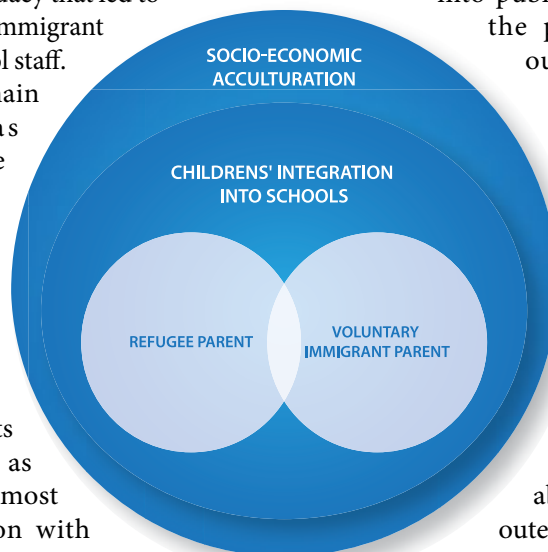
which their families interacted. This perception is a common one and is in large part due, as Rumbaut and Portes (2001) note, because "immigrant adolescents experience much faster linguistic adaptation than their parents" (p.219) and that the majority of this adaptation (both formally and informally) occurs through schooling. As Stewart (2011) argues, this linguistic adaptation (second language acquisition) is a prerequisite for social integration.

Unfortunately, this different rate of second language acquisition often results in the creation of linguistic barriers between children and the older members of their families (Stewart, 2011). The children in immigrant families commonly know much more about the larger community and its institutions than their parents. As a result, parents with little or no knowledge of an official language or an incomplete understanding of Canadian institutions come to rely on their children to translate and interpret institutional norms. To a certain degree, this produces a reversal of power roles within the family.

Conceptual Framework

The framework for this study was built around the basic concepts pertaining to our purpose: to examine the experiences that these parents had in regards to the integration of their children

into public schools. Given the participants, the outermost concept was the distinction between voluntary immigrants and refugees (Stewart 2011; Cassidy, n.d.). These concepts were outlined in our first literature review above. Within that outermost concept, we



placed the notion of integration, as defined by Anisef and Kilbride (2004), within the context of linguistic and socio-economic challenges facing newcomers to Canada. These concepts were outlined in our second literature review above.

What are the similarities and differences between the experiences of the two parents that we interviewed? We used a comparison model for our analytic frame that we have expressed as a Venn diagram.

Methodology

As mentioned, the overall purpose of the study was to examine how the integration of immigrant parents was linked to their perception of their children's educational success and refine our methodology accordingly. A qualitative research case study approach was employed, with an interview guide and closed-ended questionnaire being used to facilitate in categorizing the two participants (Creswell, 2003).

Participants

For this study participants were selected who had been living in Canada for more than 18 months and were currently using programs and services offered by the largest Non-Governmental agency serving immigrants in the Ottawa region: the Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO). These participants were further evenly divided into refugees and skilled workers (voluntary immigrants). A total of two participants were interviewed: one female and one male. The female respondent had recently immigrated to Canada as a skilled worker and she spoke English fluently. The male respondent recently immigrated as a refugee and spoke no English. Initially the interviews were scheduled to take place on the same day within 1 hour of each other. However, one of the participants did not show up at the scheduled time. Consequently, the MLO program coordinator re-scheduled the interview for the following week. The duration of the interviews varied depending on whether interpretation was required; thus the interview with

the female participant (skilled worker) took approximately 15 minutes, while that with the male participant (refugee) took approximately 40 minutes. The two participants had a total of 9 students currently enrolled in school in the region.

The distribution was one in kindergarten, four in elementary / middle school, and four in high school. The following is a short profile of the two participants:

Participant 1.

The first interview was conducted in English. The participant was a single mother who emigrated from Egypt as a skilled worker. She has three children: a 13-year-old girl in grade 8, an 11-year-old boy in grade six, and a nine-year-old girl in grade 4. Though their mother tongue is Arabic, they speak both Arabic and English at home. The mother explained that she wants her children to practice their English at home and school, but does not want them to forget their Arabic. The family lives in a single-room apartment subsidized by the government. As a single parent, her biggest struggle is finding work. In Egypt, she had a very lucrative position as an anesthesiologist. As an immigrant job seeker in Ottawa, she faces the challenge of going to school to re-certify as an anesthesiologist, as foreign professional degrees are not recognized in Canada.

Participant 2.

The second interview required the services of a Somali interpreter. The participant was a father who entered Canada with his children and spouse as a refugee. He has nine children (four boys and five girls); his oldest daughter is married and is currently living in Somalia. Six of his children are enrolled in schools in Ottawa: two are in grade eleven (Male born in 1995, Female born in 1994); one is in grade eight (Male born in 1998); one is in grade six (Female born in 2000), one is in grade three (Female born in 2003); one is in junior kindergarten (Female 2007), and two young males born in 2010 and 2011 are not yet of school age. The parents speak only Somali, but the

children speak a mix of English and Somali amongst themselves. Neither the father nor mother is currently employed; they receive government-subsidized housing and financial aid.

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was also used to keep a record of the characteristics of the participant's including their gender, age, education, profession, occupation, as well as their children's age, sex and grade.

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol designed to shed light on the research question, was divided into two sections. The first section was created to target the perception of immigrant parents on their children's educational success. The aim was to ask questions about their experiences in schools and in their new environments. This section contained seven questions. The second section targeted immigrant parents and their integration experiences within the school and the new community.

Data Analysis

In order to analyze data, a constant comparison method was used. Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007) state that "constant comparison can be undertaken deductively (codes are identified prior to analysis and then sought in the data), inductively (codes emerge from the data), or abductively (codes emerge iteratively)" (p. 565). For the purposes of this study, the latter was chosen. All interviews were transcribed and recorded in NVivo research software, which organizes and analyzes qualitative data. The data was classified and sorted to examine relationships and identify themes. Here, data analysis consisted of six steps: preparing and organizing the data, exploring and coding the database, describing findings and forming themes, representing and reporting findings, interpreting the meaning of the findings, and validating the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2012). After coding and analyzing transcription from the interviews,

three themes emerged from were developed and participants' responses were coded accordingly. The themes are as follow: settlement challenges and cultural clash.

Results and Discussion

Settlement Challenges.

Many challenges arise for parents and students alike when immigrating to a new community. For the purposes of this study, the immigrant parents were asked about their day to day challenges, and their responses were similar. When asked about employment, participant 1 expressed how difficult it has been to acquire skill equivalence in Canada and how being currently unemployed and depending on government funds affects her children:

Taking my exams, taking care of the kids, going shopping, trying to adapt, finding friends [and a] social life for yourself: they need money and they need time and they need effort. Like one of the challenging things is getting kids involved in many types of sports. [It] is expensive. They don't have friends they don't have anyone here, so I thought that being in some kind of sport they would get friends and become well integrated in the community. So, if you wish to get them swimming lessons once a week for half an hour it would cost you at least \$85 per child. The city gives us 160\$ but this is per year, so I think if the government worked on this point especially it would help the kids to integrate. I also have many exams to pass and they are costly. They increase the fees every six months, like I start with \$900 and my second exam was \$1050. The third exam will be \$2150. It's a lot.

Participant 2 is also unemployed. He referred to the fact that he could not speak English as his main barrier to employment:

In terms of employment the big challenge is that language is an issue. Also, we need support from the government in terms of helping us find part-time jobs where we could get the Canadian experience and support the family more in terms of finding part-time jobs that do not depend mainly on the language and what we can do by hand and not by talking. So

finding a job is a big challenge for us.

Despite Participant 1 having had a prominent position in her home country, she was not discouraged about the fact that she was required to take some equivalence examinations in order to work in the country (Brown 2000). She found opportunities to work with professionals in her field in order to gain more knowledge about the 'Canadian way' of doing things. These opportunities were ideal for her to immerse herself in the culture. In contrast, due to his lack of knowledge, Participant 2 found that he could not fully integrate within the community. He would have liked to apply for manual labour jobs, but language inhibited him from applying altogether. This shows that immigrants need to successfully acquire the language of the dominant group in order to integrate into the new community (Dörnyei, 2003; McKay & Hornberger, 2007; Norris-Holt, 2001).

As a refugee with little knowledge of English, Participant 2 relied mostly on outside support, such as homework clubs, to help his children with their schoolwork. He drove s them from place to place in order for them to get additional help. He encountered many problems with the school system. In fact, his children were placed in different high schools when they first arrived to Ottawa. The following is an excerpt of his interview as interpreted by the MLO:

The fact that his children were placed in different high schools was an issue. The schools were located very far from the neighbourhood; communicating with the (different) schools when they had events - in addition to him being new to the country - was challenging.

Participant 1, on the other hand, had a good grasp of the English language. However, she did find it difficult to help her children with their math homework, especially when it came to problem solving. She explained that the sentence structures of math problems were complex and contained questions with examples unique to Canada, which immigrant parents and youth could not identify with.

Besides language and employment, schooling was a major point of contention for both participants. Both wanted their children to succeed in school; however, Participant 2 recognized that his older children would not have enough language skills to pursue higher education. He expressed the following concern:

In terms of education, [some of my children] did not have schooling back in Africa in the refugee camp, so there are lots of gaps in their education. They come here and they are placed in grade 11 or 10 or 8 or 9; it is very hard for the children and for us. Yes there is support in terms of English, but the speed that they are going and the time that they have only two years after they are in high school but we are not confident that they have enough English to continue their education. Placing them in high school right after they come confuses them. We are lost, too. They should get extra hands-on work where they could develop a skills and a trade. Because after high school, if they do not have enough language and they have no skills... they cannot go to college or university.

Participant 1 made sure her children practiced English and their mother tongue at home, ensuring that they become fluent in both languages. She found it less difficult to provide homework help and expressed her needs and concerns during parent-teacher interviews because she had a good grasp of English. However, as mentioned above, she had difficulty identifying with homework examples. Westby (2010) argued that learning activities should reflect lived experiences. When school-based objectives are bridged with cultural background, they allow for *culturally responsive teachings* (Larotta and Gainer, 2008). This allows parents and students to provide common and personal experiences, understand teachings, but most importantly: relate to and see themselves within the texts.

On the other hand, Participant's main concern was the grade level in which his children had been placed. The children were placed at grade levels corresponded to their ages but not their educational capabilities.

Due to the fact that the children had little education while in a refugee camp in their home country, they were not intellectually or linguistically prepared to be placed in such high school levels. He tried voicing his concerns to the school, but at the time of this study, no action had yet been taken. As Tilleczek (2008) argues, one of the major challenges for immigrant parents regarding the education of their children is the non-recognition of past educational credentials.

Participant 2 did not actively participate in his children's homework sessions, as he did not possess the necessary language skills, but he did watch over his children as they completed their homework and drove them to a homework club where they could get the help they needed.

Cultural Clash

Other challenges include incidents encountered within the new community. Participant 1 recalled two such incidents. The first involved her youngest daughter, whom she recalled "started rolling her eyes, [saying] 'we don't have such things (back home/in our culture)'" adopting behaviors typical of some teenagers in the new community. On the other hand, her son, who was somewhat more accustomed to the cultural norms of his home country than his younger sister, encountered the following incident at school:

"My son, he's 11 years so it's a matter of respect if you are speaking with a teacher not to give her eye contact. This is our respect level, so he should look down. The teacher [interprets] that [my son] has some problem with self-confidence. It's not a matter of self-confidence; it's a matter of respect. When you are speaking with the elderly or with a teacher you should speak like that, your eyes down, so you are giving her the respect. You can't go in front of your teacher [and give her direct eye contact]; this is unacceptable behavior. If you want to ask a question you should raise your right hand and after her giving permission, you should stand and ask the question. So I feel like there is a huge difference between my elder son and daughter and the young one

because the young one....I don't want to use the word wild, but she's different! She's more Canadian, she's... I don't know (laughs)!"

These two incidents illustrate the process of finding one's identity. Participant 1 found that her son was struggling with adopting a adopting a new identity. Her daughter, on the other hand, had a positive attitude towards the new community and had developed an integrative approach to the new culture (SPCO, 2010). As he expressed it:

She's more confident. She can express her feeling without any barriers. She rarely calls me mom: she calls me *doody*. She's different. So I feel like she gets more of the Canadian culture. And I can see that in the way she starts to dress, the way she starts to comb her hair, the way she starts to speak - after 18 months only.

Conclusion

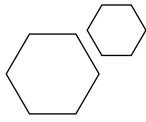
As illustrated in the above section, both parents had similar experiences. They both felt that the school didn't take their needs into account. However, the refugee parent felt that his children faced greater challenges in regards to integration due to the disruptions connected to being in refugee camps and that were due to the earlier disruptions that they had experienced in their formal education before coming to Canada.

Implications

This study has important implications in the field of education because, as mentioned above, Canada is a country based on immigration. Adapting to the needs of immigrants from vastly different cultures is a great challenge for the educational system, but unfortunately practices and policies have been slow to change. As reflected in the comments above by our participants, the curricula used in schools tend to be Eurocentric, resulting in the fact that many immigrants can not identify with it. Furthermore, teachers are not trained to confront the changing nature of their classrooms. We hope the larger research that pilot study informs will contribute to the development of a more integrative

curriculum so immigrants can successfully complete their secondary education.

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Vanessa Reyes est doctorante à la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa. Ses champs d'intérêt sont les programmes d'immersion française, le plurilinguisme chez les étudiantes et les enseignants de langues et l'acquisition des langues tierces. Son projet de doctorat porte sur la conscience métalinguistique des professeurs d'espagnol en comparant deux contextes d'enseignement, soit le Canada et le Mexique.

Les élèves de langue minoritaire trilingues dans un programme canadien d'immersion française

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Les premiers programmes d'immersion française¹ ont vu le jour au Québec² dans les années 1960 et avaient pour but d'améliorer l'apprentissage du français langue seconde (FLS) tout en garantissant l'apprentissage des matières scolaires et de l'anglais, la langue première (L1) des élèves. À leur tout début, les programmes d'immersion française s'adressaient à une population cible majoritairement anglophone (Genesee, 1983) qui avait le français comme langue seconde (L2). Plus récemment, le français représente une troisième langue (L3) pour un nombre croissant d'enfants d'immigrants inscrits dans ces programmes.

Des études effectuées auprès d'élèves de langue minoritaire (LM) de niveau élémentaire inscrits dans les programmes d'immersion française montrent que la L1, définie ici comme étant la ou les langue(s) familiale(s) couramment utilisée(s) avant l'entrée dans le système scolaire, a une influence très importante dans l'acquisition de langues additionnelles chez les apprenants. La compétence langagière en L1 et, en particulier, la présence des habiletés de littératie en lecture et écriture, semblerait garantir et faciliter l'acquisition des L2 et L3 (Swain et Lapkin, 1991; Swain et coll., 1990; Cummins et Danesi, 1990; Bild et Swain, 1989). Par contre, l'absence

ou la perte graduelle de la compétence en L1 semblerait engendrer la perte de connaissances et de stratégies qui sont utiles à l'apprentissage de langues additionnelles et elle pourrait limiter les chances de transfert translinguistique qui pourraient combler les lacunes dans le système linguistique de l'individu (Herdina et Jessner, 2002; Cenoz, Hufeisen et Jessner, 2001).

Malgré le nombre croissant d'élèves de LM inscrits dans les programmes d'immersion française précoce, peu de recherches portent de manière spécifique sur leur compétence langagière dans leur L3 (le français) à la fin de leurs études secondaires lorsqu'ils terminent leur programme d'immersion française. La présente étude adhère à cet intérêt grandissant de mieux comprendre les populations d'élèves trilingues en milieu canadien. Elle porte sur les élèves de langue minoritaire (LM) dont la L1 n'est pas une langue officielle au Canada (les langues officielles étant le français et l'anglais). De façon plus précise, la question de recherche sur laquelle a porté cette étude initialement est la suivante : *Quelle est l'influence de la L1 sur la performance en lecture en français chez des apprenants de LM en immersion française précoce vers la fin de leurs études secondaires?* Comme nous le verrons plus tard, cette question a dû subir une transformation pendant la collecte de données, permettant ainsi de dresser un portrait plus exact et enrichissant de cette population de LM inscrite dans les programmes d'immersion française.

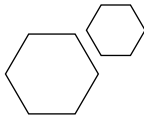
Recension des écrits et cadre conceptuel
Les élèves de langue minoritaire dans les programmes d'immersion française au Canada

La popularité des programmes d'immersion

française au Canada est due en grande partie à ses objectifs d'offrir à tous les étudiants, qu'ils soient anglophones ou de LM, l'occasion d'être, vers la fin des études secondaires, un locuteur bilingue fonctionnel qui peut interagir, étudier ou travailler avec confiance dans un environnement francophone, « à condition d'avoir la volonté de continuer à se perfectionner en français » (Bajard, 2004, p.5). Toutefois, le Conseil canadien sur l'apprentissage (2007) juge que les taux de participation chez les élèves de LM, dans le programme d'immersion française, sont faibles et qu'il « faudrait leur offrir la possibilité de participer à des programmes d'immersion en français et leur procurer un appui suffisant » (p. 11). Le Conseil canadien sur l'apprentissage (2007) ajoute que « pour bon nombre d'élèves immigrants, le multilinguisme va de soi » (p. 11). En effet, ces élèves deviennent des trilingues parce qu'ils grandissent dans une communauté bilingue (français et anglais) et qu'ils ont comme langue familiale une langue qui est différente de celles de la communauté (Esch, 2003; Hoffmann, 1999). Il peut s'agir d'une langue, mais aussi de deux langues selon les antécédents linguistiques des parents et de leur volonté à l'utiliser avec l'enfant (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). Toutefois, l'enseignement de cette langue minoritaire

¹ Dans un programme d'immersion française, une partie des matières scolaires est enseignée en français, la L2 ou la L3 des apprenants. En règle générale, il est possible de faire son entrée au programme à trois différents moments de l'école élémentaire : à la maternelle (immersion précoce), en quatrième année (immersion moyenne) ou en septième année (immersion tardive).

² Le Québec est la province canadienne qui compte la plus grande population francophone native au pays.



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n'est pas la responsabilité du programme d'immersion française ni de l'école et, par conséquent, son apprentissage et son utilisation reviennent à l'élève et sa famille. Cette LM peut être enseignée formellement dans des écoles de langues patrimoniales, aussi appelées les « écoles du samedi », ou offerte comme un cours optionnel par un conseil scolaire (Cummins et Danesi, 1990).

Curdt-Christiansen (2003) explique que pour assurer le maintien de la L1 dans ce contexte, il est nécessaire d'acquérir sa forme écrite, et par extension les habiletés de lecture, par le moyen d'un enseignement explicite. Curdt-Christiansen (2003) insiste sur l'importance de l'appui parental, des ressources pédagogiques disponibles et de la collaboration entre l'école, la communauté et les familles immigrantes dans le but de préserver les LM au Canada. L'utilisation authentique et régulière de la LM est toutefois primordiale pour sa conservation et pour bénéficier de sa littératie (Cummins et Danesi, 1990; Snow, 1994).

D'autre part, la recherche suggère que les élèves trilingues de LM se trouvent dans une situation avantageuse, si on les compare aux élèves qui apprennent le FLS. Premièrement, leur expérience comme apprenants de langue donne à ces élèves trilingues la possibilité d'acquérir certaines stratégies qui peuvent faciliter leur apprentissage, tel que la sensibilité et la conscience grammaticale (Ellis, 1994), une grande flexibilité cognitive et une conscience métalinguistique avancée (Cenoz, 2003). Toutefois, l'utilisation de ces stratégies ne se fait pas automatiquement ou de manière intuitive (Cohen et Horowitz, 2002). Thomas (1988) souligne même que « explicit instruction may be necessary to encourage students to be aware of language as a system before they can develop a facility for learning a third language » (p. 235-236). Cette façon de faire n'a pas toujours été privilégiée puisque sous l'influence de l'approche communicative, l'étude des formes linguistiques n'a pas toujours eu de l'importance dans les programmes

d'immersion française (Germain, 1991).

De plus, les élèves de LM font face à une situation d'apprentissage complexe. Dans certains cas, ils sont intégrés au système scolaire dans une sorte de double immersion lorsqu'ils doivent apprendre les deux langues officielles du Canada presque simultanément (Taylor, 1992). La situation représente un défi majeur pour les élèves de LM dans le programme d'immersion française précoce, qui débute habituellement à la maternelle, puisqu'ils doivent attendre trois ou quatre ans avant de suivre des cours en anglais à l'école. De plus, certains enseignants pourraient percevoir la L1 de ces élèves comme un obstacle à l'apprentissage du français (Castellotti, 2001; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 1981). Par conséquent, contrairement aux suggestions de Dagenais, Day et Toohey (2006) d'encourager les élèves multilingues à s'appuyer sur les ressources linguistiques et culturelles liées à leur L1, les enseignants d'immersion pourraient par leur attitude peu positive envers la L1, contribuer au « trilinguisme soustractif » des apprenants c'est-à-dire une perte progressive de la L1 (Olhstein et Nissim-Amitai, 2004).

L'influence de la littératie dans la langue première sur l'acquisition des deuxième et troisième langues

Des études européennes (Jordà, 2005; Sanz, 2000; Cenoz, Hufeisen et Jessner, 2001; Cenoz, 2003; Cenoz et Genesee, 1998) et canadiennes (Guardado, 2006; Hurd, 1993; Swain et Lapkin, 1991, Swain et coll., 1990; Cummins et Danesi, 1990; Bild et Swain, 1989) confirment que les connaissances linguistiques dans la L1 et le développement de sa littératie, définis ici comme étant la capacité d'utiliser la L1 pour effectuer des tâches d'écriture et de lecture, peuvent prédire le succès dans l'apprentissage des L2 et L3. Hudelson (1987) explique qu'une littératie solide dans la L1 est avantageuse parce que « it develops in children an understanding of what reading and writing are for, using the medium of a language

that the children speak fluently and that they have used to make sense of their life experiences to this point in time » (p. 833). En effet, peu importe dans quelle langue une information est présentée, selon Carey (1991), elle semble être traitée, encodée, gardée et identifiée dans la L1. De la même manière, le modèle de « compétence sous-jacente commune » de Cummins (1994) suggère que les habiletés en littératie acquises dans la L1 servent de base cognitive et linguistique commune pour l'apprentissage des L2 et L3 puisqu'elles sont interdépendantes et transférables.

Toutefois, afin que la littératie en L1 ait un effet réel sur l'acquisition de la L2 et la L3 chez les élèves de LM, cette littératie doit être une ressource active et accessible pendant l'apprentissage de la L3, c'est-à-dire, tout au long du programme d'immersion française. Selon Herdina et Jessner (2002), la compétence dans la L1 peut être conservée si elle est utilisée couramment à des fins de communication authentique et si elle est renouvelée constamment par le recours aux connaissances explicites du système linguistique de la L1. Toutefois, si la L1 n'est pas maintenue, elle pourrait se perdre graduellement et devenir une ressource linguistique ou cognitive incomplète et même peu fiable. La perte de la LM limiterait le transfert à la L2 et la L3 de connaissances et d'habiletés acquises en L1.

La présente étude s'intéresse particulièrement aux élèves inscrits dans le programme d'immersion française précoce parce qu'il semble présenter, d'une certaine façon, le pire scénario possible pour les élèves de LM. Les élèves qui sont inscrits en immersion française précoce dès la maternelle ou la première année sont souvent trop jeunes pour avoir de la littératie dans cette LM. Même s'ils avaient atteint un certain niveau de littératie en LM, ces élèves seraient à haut risque de la perdre dans les premières années d'école selon la recherche (Cummins, 1994). De plus, certains ne parlent pas toujours

l'anglais lorsque leur éducation débute et ils doivent attendre quelques années avant de recevoir un enseignement explicite dans cette langue. Donc, il est fort plausible de dire qu'ils pourraient commencer l'apprentissage du français, leur L3, sans avoir de littératie ni en L1 ni en anglais³. Par conséquent, ces derniers pourraient donc se trouver dans une situation d'acquisition simultanée des deux langues officielles sans avoir un paramètre de référence (la LM) en littératie.

Pour résumer, les élèves de LM font face à une expérience d'apprentissage hors du commun. Ils cherchent à atteindre un niveau convenable en français, leur L3, pour des contextes professionnels et éducatifs à l'intérieur d'un programme bilingue qui ne cherche pas nécessairement à appuyer un trilinguisme additif de manière officielle. D'autre part, malgré le statut minoritaire de leur L1, les recherches mentionnées plus haut ont souligné l'importance de établir une littératie solide dans cette langue, c'est-à-dire des habiletés de lecture et d'écriture, afin de favoriser le transfert de ces mêmes habiletés, connaissances et stratégies lors de l'acquisition du français, leur L3.

Démarche méthodologique

Cette étude suit une méthodologie principalement qualitative dans le but d'évoquer de manière exploratoire les facteurs qui jouent un rôle dans la performance en lecture en français chez des élèves de LM à la fin du programme d'immersion française précoce.

Participants

Dans cette étude, il y a eu 151 participants, qui dans tous les cas avaient été inscrits dans leur enfance dans un programme d'immersion française précoce et se trouvaient sur le point de le terminer étant dans leurs dernières années d'école secondaire (11^e et 12^e années). De ces 151 participants, uniquement 29 élèves ont dit connaître et utiliser une LM à la maison.

Initialement, pour le but de cette recherche, trois groupes de participants étaient prévus : premièrement, des élèves de

LM qui possédaient de la littératie dans la L1, deuxièmement, des élèves de LM qui ne devaient pas avoir de littératie dans la L1 et, troisièmement, des élèves anglophones qui avaient de la littératie dans la L1 (l'anglais). Suivant ce même ordre, 25 participants ont constitué le groupe de LM avec littératie dans la L1 et quatre autres ont fait partie du groupe LM sans littératie dans la L1. Le troisième groupe était composé de 122 participants anglophones qui avaient de la littératie en anglais (L1). Malgré les nombres non comparables des trois groupes, les variables âge et niveau scolaire ont tout de même été contrôlées. Ainsi, les participants provenaient tous de cours de 11^e et 12^e années du secondaire et ils étaient âgés de 16 à 18 ans.

Instruments

Deux instruments ont été utilisés pour cerner l'influence de la L1 sur la performance en lecture en français des participants. Premièrement, un questionnaire (fiche descriptive) a été employé pour former les trois groupes de participants. Les participants devaient indiquer leur(s) L1 ainsi que la présence ou l'absence de littératie (habiletés d'écriture et de lecture) dans cette/ces langue(s), les habiletés langagières et le degré de confiance dans chaque L1, l'emploi familial et la fréquence d'utilisation de la L1, les origines de cette littératie ainsi que le parcours dans cette littératie, si c'était applicable.

Deuxièmement, les composantes de compréhension écrite d'un test de compétence langagière de FLS, développé par un centre reconnu et spécialisé dans la recherche en enseignement et apprentissage des langues secondes au Canada, ont été utilisées pour évaluer et comparer la compétence en lecture en français des participants dans leurs dernières années du programme d'immersion française. Cet instrument a été conçu pour les « étudiants qui se considèrent de niveau intermédiaire ou avancé » (Université d'Ottawa, 2006a,) et qui sont soit anglophones ou allophones (Université d'Ottawa, 2006b).⁴ La compréhension écrite a été évaluée à l'aide

de trois passages écrits, avec 13 questions à choix multiples et la compétence en lecture globale a été évaluée à l'aide de 30 questions dans un test de closure. Cette composante du test a mis à l'épreuve les connaissances en grammaire et en vocabulaire qui sont elles aussi considérées parmi les habiletés de lecture (Brown, 2001). Les résultats au test ont été regroupés dans les catégories qui apparaissent dans le Tableau 1.

Tableau 1.

Interprétation des résultats dans le test de compréhension écrite.

Scores	Niveau de compréhension écrite
> 85%	Avancé-supérieur ⁵
De 75 % à 84 %	Avancé-intermédiaire
De 60 à 74 %	Avancé-débutant

Résultats

Test de compétence en lecture

Les résultats au test de compétence en lecture ont indiqué qu'il n'y avait pas de différence marquée dans la performance entre les groupes de participants aux quatre parties du test ni dans le score global au test de compétence de lecture, comme l'indique le tableau 2.

Tableau 2.

Moyennes groupales en pourcentage et leurs écart-types respectifs au test de compétence de lecture en français des trois groupes de participants.

Anglophones (n = 122)	
Moyenne	Écart-type
71,43 43%	12,03

Tableau 2.1

Langue minoritaire avec littératie (n = 25)	
Moyenne	Écart-type
73,30%	13,33

Tableau 2.2

Langue minoritaire sans littératie (n = 4)	
Moyenne	Écart-type
70,55%	9,26

Tableau 2.3

En raison des nombres inégaux de participants dans les trois groupes, il n'a pas été possible de faire des analyses statistiques pour comparer la performance des trois groupes. Par conséquent, nous nous sommes principalement concentrés sur les données qualitatives dans le but de mieux comprendre le phénomène du trilinguisme chez ces élèves de LM scolarisés dans un programme d'immersion française précoce.

Fiche descriptive

La première question de la Fiche descriptive demandait aux élèves d'identifier leur L1. Le tableau 3 montre la distribution des participants à ce sujet.

Tableau 3.
Distribution des L1 par nombre de participants et par pourcentage.

	L1 = anglais	L1 = langue minoritaire	L1 = langue minoritaire + anglais
Nombre	122	16	13
Pourcentage	80,79%	10,60%	8,61%

Seize LM différentes se retrouvent dans les deux groupes de LM soit l'espagnol, le farsi, le polonais, le punjabi, le gujrati, le grec, le vietnamien, l'indonésien, le thaïlandais, l'arabe, le somalien, le russe, le serbo-croate, le berbère, le chinois et l'arménien.

Mode d'acquisition de la L1 et durée de l'apprentissage langagier

Les élèves de LM avec des habiletés de littératie (n=25) ont indiqué qu'ils ont eu, en moyenne, sept ans d'enseignement formel dans des écoles de LM ou du samedi. De ce groupe, trois élèves ont indiqué que leurs parents s'étaient occupés exclusivement de leur apprentissage de leur LM. Quant aux élèves de LM sans habiletés de littératie en L1 (n=4), un participant dit avoir eu un enseignement formel pendant quatre ans, mais il ne semble pas, d'après l'information recueillie, avoir acquis d'habiletés de littératie dans sa LM pendant ce temps. Les trois autres élèves dans ce groupe affirment qu'ils ont appris leur LM avec leur famille.

D'après les informations recueillies, ces élèves ne semblent pas posséder d'habiletés de littératie acquises en L1 dans un contexte scolaire qu'ils pourraient transférer à la L3. Il est à noter que tous les participants dans le groupe de LM sans habiletés de littératie en L1 ont rempli deux Fiches descriptives, une pour leur LM et une autre pour l'anglais, la langue dans laquelle ils ont une compétence plus solide et mieux développée à des fins de lecture.

Littératie en L1

Le groupe anglophone (n=122) a indiqué dans la *Fiche descriptive* qu'avant de commencer l'école, 46% d'entre eux pouvaient écrire en anglais et 55% pouvait lire dans cette langue. Pour le groupe de LM avec des habiletés de littératie en L1 qui a considéré l'anglais comme faisant partie de

leur L1 (n=10), près de 40% ont dit avoir eu des habiletés d'écriture en anglais avant de commencer l'école, 60% ont dit pouvoir lire en anglais et 90% pouvaient aussi parler et comprendre l'anglais. En d'autres mots, l'anglais a toujours été une ressource linguistique très présente et active tout au long de l'expérience scolaire de ces élèves.

Les participants du groupe de LM, avec des habiletés de littératie en L1 qui a considéré l'anglais comme faisant partie de leur L1 (n=10), ont obtenu des taux semblables à leurs pairs anglophones quant à leurs habiletés en anglais à leur entrée au programme d'immersion précoce. Pour le groupe complet d'élèves de LM avec des habiletés de littératie en L1 (n=25), 20% ont déclaré qu'ils pouvaient écrire et lire dans leur LM au moment de commencer le programme d'immersion. Cette information suggère que pour la majorité de ces élèves de LM, leurs habiletés de littératie étaient absentes au début de leur acquisition initiale du

français dans le programme d'immersion précoce. En d'autres mots, ces habiletés de littératie en LM se sont développées au fur et à mesure que les langues officielles, le français et l'anglais, étaient acquises dans le programme d'immersion française et plus tard. Pour 80% de ces élèves de LM, leur expérience d'apprentissage dans le programme d'immersion française a été celle d'un trilinguisme simultané.

Étant donné le nombre d'années d'enseignement en anglais (10 à 12 ans), pour le groupe anglophone et pour les élèves de LM qui ont inclus l'anglais dans leur L1, les habiletés de littératie présentes au moment de l'étude sont fréquemment utilisées et le degré de confiance en anglais est aussi très élevé. Le groupe de LM avec littératie en LM a indiqué, avec une seule exception pour l'habileté d'écriture, que présentement, leurs quatre habiletés (écrire, lire, parler, écouter) étaient actives dans leur LM. Par conséquent, leur LM peut être considérée une ressource disponible et active pour ces élèves dans les niveaux avancés du programme d'immersion française. Par contre, pour ce qui est de la fréquence d'utilisation de la LM, les habiletés de littératie pouvaient être considérées dormantes ou non actives pour presque la moitié du groupe. En effet, seulement 48% d'entre eux utilisent encore fréquemment leur LM pour écrire et 60% pour lire. Ils utilisent tous, sans exception, la LM couramment pour la production orale et la compréhension écrite. Quant à la facilité

³ Selon le contexte familial, pour certains élèves de LM, l'anglais peut représenter une L1, L2 ou L3.

⁴ Au moment où l'étude a été réalisée, ce test était utilisé comme critère d'admission aux cours de niveaux avancés du programme de FLS et du programme d'immersion française de l'Institut des langues officielles et du bilinguisme de l'Université d'Ottawa. Plus de 500 étudiants subissent le test à chaque année. Ce test de compétence possède un coefficient de fidélité de .95 (Alpha de Cronbach).

⁵ L'attente des concepteurs pour les diplômés des études secondaires qui ont terminé le programme d'immersion française est le niveau avancé-supérieur.

que ces élèves ressentent à utiliser leur LM, 52% ont déclaré se sentir à l'aise pour écrire dans leur LM, 72% pouvaient lire dans la LM avec aisance, 96% pouvaient parler avec confiance en LM et tous sans exception pouvaient comprendre la LM sans difficulté.

La question de l'identité linguistique : une ou deux langues premières

Lorsqu'on compare les étudiants qui ont identifié la LM comme étant leur seule et unique L1 avec ceux qui ont identifié deux L1 (la LM et l'anglais), en nous limitant aux élèves de LM qui possèdent des habiletés de littératie en L1, on note premièrement une différence dans le nombre d'années d'enseignement formel. Les élèves qui ont déclaré avoir seulement une L1 (n = 16), avaient reçu en moyenne 6,6 ans d'enseignement formel dans la LM dans des écoles du samedi, tandis que le groupe avec deux L1 (n = 9), avaient fréquenté en moyenne ces mêmes écoles pendant 8,3 ans. En ce qui concerne le mode d'acquisition de la LM, le facteur qui fait la distinction entre les deux groupes est que pour le groupe avec une L1, 44% des élèves ont déclaré que leurs parents avaient joué un rôle dans leur apprentissage de la LM. Dans le cas du groupe avec deux L1, il est intéressant de noter qu'aucun élève n'a mentionné ce facteur. En d'autres mots, il semble que l'expérience d'apprentissage formel de la LM, chez le groupe avec deux L1, se soit limitée aux écoles de LM.

Discussion des résultats

La question de recherche initiale dans ce projet a été: *quelle est l'influence de la L1 sur la performance en lecture en français chez des apprenants de LM en immersion française précoce vers la fin de leurs études secondaires?* En raison des résultats inattendus pendant la collecte de données, cette question a été partiellement répondue. Cette section a donc pour but d'identifier d'autres facteurs, en plus des habiletés de littératie en L1, qui peuvent jouer un rôle dans l'acquisition du français L3 chez des élèves de LM dans le contexte des programmes d'immersion française.

La population de LM dans le programme d'immersion française précoce

Parmi les 238 élèves qui ont rempli la Fiche descriptive du présent projet, il a été possible de déterminer que 50 élèves connaissaient et utilisaient une LM à la maison. Ce dernier groupe représentait donc, 21% des élèves inscrits dans les cours de français de 11^e et 12^e années du programme d'immersion française offerts dans quatre écoles secondaires publiques d'un conseil scolaire anglophone de l'est ontarien. Cette proportion justifie le besoin de faire de la recherche sur cette population trilingue du Canada. En effet, en raison des récents changements démographiques au Canada et dans la population des programmes de FLS, Swain et Lapkin (2005) encouragent non seulement une prise de conscience quant à cette nouvelle réalité, mais aussi un examen des pratiques dans ces programmes dans le but de mieux les adapter à ce nouveau contexte.

Le fait d'avoir identifié uniquement quatre élèves de LM sans habiletés de littératie dans la L1 parmi un échantillon de 238 participants, pourrait être interprété en même temps comme une tendance à propos de la compétence langagière de cette population étudiante dans le système scolaire public de l'est ontarien. Ce résultat peut toutefois s'avérer rassurant pour les parents immigrants et certaines administrations scolaires qui s'inquiètent de la place des LM pendant les années de scolarisation.

La performance en lecture en français vers la fin du programme d'immersion française précoce et l'influence trans-linguistique chez les trilingues de LM

Cette étude cherchait à voir si la présence ou l'absence d'habiletés de littératie en L1 contribuait à distinguer les niveaux de performance en lecture des élèves de LM dans les étapes avancées de l'acquisition du français L3. Grâce au test de compétence de lecture en FLS, il a été possible de déterminer que l'ensemble des participants de cette étude, étudiants anglophones ou de LM, possédait un niveau de lecture

avancé-débutant en français. Malgré le petit nombre de participants de LM sans habiletés de littératie en L1 (n = 4) il a été possible de noter que, dans leur cas, cette absence d'habiletés de littératie en L1 n'avait pas causé un état de « semilinguisme » ou le développement incomplet de toutes les langues de l'apprenant (Hurd, 1993). Ces résultats rappellent une autre étude rapportée par Lazaruk (2007) dans laquelle ont participé près de 540 diplômés du programme d'immersion française. Les diplômés anglophones comme les diplômés d'origines immigrantes dont la L1 n'était ni le français ni l'anglais, ont passé des tests de lecture, d'écriture et de communication orale en français. Pour les deux groupes, la performance des diplômés se plaçait majoritairement dans les niveaux intermédiaire et avancé de compétence en français. De plus, l'étude de Lazaruk, tout comme la présente recherche, semble indiquer que les élèves d'immersion française peuvent atteindre des niveaux avancés de compétence en français qui leur permettraient de travailler dans cette langue, qu'elle soit leur L2 ou leur L3.

Le profil linguistique des élèves de LM

Les renseignements fournis par les élèves dans la Fiche descriptive ont aussi permis de dégager un profil type des élèves de LM à la fin du programme d'immersion française précoce. Par exemple, on constate que des 151 élèves qui ont été admis dans l'étude, 25 élèves de LM, soit 16,5% du groupe, avaient développé des habiletés de littératie dans leur L1. Dans le cas des élèves de LM qui avaient fréquenté des écoles du samedi, ils avaient en moyenne reçu sept ans d'enseignement dans cette langue. Malgré cette période d'apprentissage dans un contexte formel, la moitié des élèves dans ce groupe ont déclaré posséder des habiletés de littératie dormantes en L1, c'est-à-dire pas aussi actives ou peu utilisées. Ainsi il est difficile de confirmer si ces habiletés de littératie étaient réellement des ressources linguistiques actives pouvant aider les élèves pendant la tâche de lecture en français, leur L3. Ces résultats rappellent le dynamisme

des langues expliqué par Herdina et Jessner (2002) qui ont signalé l'importance de tenir compte non seulement de la compétence langagière chez les apprenants, mais aussi des ressources langagières disponibles et actives qui facilitent le transfert chez les multilingues.

Le trilinguisme simultané des élèves de LM

En ce qui a trait à l'expérience trilingue d'apprentissage en bas âge, les réponses des élèves de LM à la Fiche descriptive ont pu établir que, dans le cas des participants de cette étude, le trilinguisme simultané en contexte scolaire est vécu par beaucoup d'entre eux. Par exemple, pour le groupe de LM avec habiletés de littératie en L1, 80% des participants ont indiqué n'avoir eu aucune habileté de littératie en L1 au commencement du programme d'immersion française, mais qu'elles ont été acquises en fréquentant les écoles de LM et avec l'aide des parents. Ces résultats appuient le concept de Taylor (1992) d'une expérience immersive double chez les élèves de LM qui font leur entrée au programme d'immersion française précoce sans être nécessairement compétents dans une des langues officielles. Ils apprennent le français et l'anglais à l'école en même temps qu'ils poursuivent leur acquisition de la LM à la maison et dans les écoles de langues patrimoniales.

Le rôle du contexte familial

L'étude souligne aussi l'importance du rôle des parents dans l'acquisition, l'utilisation et la conservation de la LM même vers la fin du programme d'immersion française. En effet, l'appui parental semble être une distinction importante entre le groupe de LM avec habiletés de littératie dans la LM qui ont dit avoir une L1 (la LM) et le groupe de LM avec habiletés de littératie dans la LM qui ont déclaré avoir deux L1 (la LM et l'anglais). Le premier groupe semble avoir bénéficié de l'aide des parents dans l'apprentissage de la LM tandis que l'expérience du deuxième groupe semble s'être limitée aux contextes formels de LM

puisqu'aucune mention du rôle des parents n'a été donnée par les élèves de LM avec habiletés de littératie dans les deux L1. Cette variété dans les pratiques d'utilisation de la L1 avait aussi été documentée par Dagenais et Berron (2001) dans une étude portant sur trois familles d'origine sud-asiatique dont les enfants étaient inscrits dans le programme d'immersion française. Dans chaque cas, les parents voulaient continuer d'utiliser les LM à la maison, mais seulement deux des familles avaient décidé d'envoyer les enfants à des écoles de LM. Selon Dagenais et Berron (2001), cette ouverture aux langues de la part des parents encourageait le multilinguisme de leurs enfants. On peut ajouter à cette affirmation que le maintien des LM contribue aux ressources linguistiques des élèves de LM en immersion française.

L'identité linguistique des élèves de LM

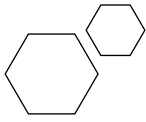
Un autre fait intéressant de la présente étude a été l'identification de la L1 par les élèves de LM. Le fait que le groupe de LM avec habiletés de littératie qui a identifié l'anglais comme une de ses L1, ait eu une performance similaire à celle du groupe anglophone, permet de soupçonner que ces élèves se sont appuyés probablement sur leurs connaissances langagières en anglais pour réaliser des transferts translinguistiques lors de l'évaluation de leur compétence de lecture en L3. Par contre, le fait que ces élèves aient mentionné deux L1 pourrait aussi être interprété comme preuve d'une reconnaissance et d'une acceptation de ses antécédents linguistiques multiples (Olhstein et Nissim-Amitai, 2004). Toutefois, la réaction de plusieurs élèves de LM envers la définition de L1 utilisée dans cette étude, celle d'une ou des langues utilisées principalement à la maison avant l'entrée au système scolaire, et parfois leur refus d'identifier carrément la LM comme une de leur L1, appuie la possibilité que la tendance dans la performance des deux groupes pourrait être reliée au sens d'identité des élèves de LM et à la priorité qu'ils accordent à l'anglais, la langue majoritaire de leur entourage.

Conclusion

Cette étude a mis en évidence que même dans les niveaux avancés de l'acquisition du français dans le programme d'immersion française précoce, les élèves de LM réussissent aussi bien que leurs pairs anglophones à atteindre un niveau avancé de compétence de lecture en français, leur L3. Le fait d'être trilingues ne semble donc pas avoir de répercussions négatives sur leur performance en français. Par contre, cette étude n'a pas réussi à confirmer l'influence positive des habiletés de littératie en L1 sur la L3 à cause des nombres inégaux de participants de LM⁶. D'autre part, les analyses sur les antécédents linguistiques, la fréquence d'utilisation, le degré de confiance et l'emploi de la L1 à la maison ont permis de constater qu'il existe des différences à l'intérieur même du groupe d'élèves de LM avec ou sans littératie en L1. Ces analyses exploratoires doivent par contre, être approfondies afin de dresser un profil linguistique plus exact et complet des élèves de LM à la fin du programme d'immersion française précoce qui puisse expliquer jusqu'à un certain point leurs habiletés en français, leur L3.

Référence bibliographique page 67

⁶ Il est important de noter que malgré les efforts des chercheuses pour trouver d'autres participants avec ces mêmes caractéristiques, après avoir visité quatre écoles secondaires différentes et avoir passé 11 mois à la collecte de données, il nous a paru évident que le nombre de participants n'allait pas augmenter de manière significative, tout au moins dans cette région géographique. Les résultats toutefois se devaient d'être présentés afin de mettre en évidence les possibles tendances dans le domaine. Même si cette limite ne nous a pas permis de répondre de manière définitive à notre question de recherche initiale qui portait sur le rôle des habiletés de littératie dans la LM dans la compétence de lecture en français à la fin du programme d'immersion précoce, elle a redirigé notre attention vers les données plus qualitatives de l'étude. Ces résultats ont fait émerger des pistes de recherches intéressantes qui touchent l'apprentissage de la LM dans des contextes familiaux et d'autres plus formels au Canada.



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Native Speakers of English: Teaching English in Chile on a volunteer basis

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Abstract

Volunteer English teaching has become a global trend. Most native English speakers who embark on this type of work do not have any teaching background or experience. This qualitative study reports the challenges of teaching abroad of a group of volunteer teachers from the USA, Canada, and Australia in Chilean public schools. The data was collected through closed and open-ended questionnaires applied before the teaching experience and through one-on-one interviews eight months after working as teachers. The findings show that volunteers' challenging teaching experiences are the result of the large class sizes, student misbehaviour, language barriers, challenges related to local teacher support, inexperience in lesson planning, and low student motivation.

Keywords: volunteer teaching, teaching abroad, challenges.

Introduction

There are millions of people learning this English in diverse contexts throughout the world. However, there is controversy as to who has access to English language training. Crystal (2005) argues that with



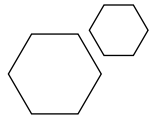
Volunteer teachers at the NVC, Chile

recent developments in technology and the internet, English has become a "democratic language", in the sense that is a language that is accessible to more people than any other in world history. While it is true that through globalization, mass media, and pop culture, foreign language learners have greater access to the language, not everybody has equal access to good quality instruction. This is a significant problem if one wishes to speak about the languages "democrat character". Those who can pay are provided with better teaching material, more qualified English teachers, and more opportunities to practice the language (Matear, 2008). Concerned with this trend, many governments in developing countries seek English language learning opportunities through the public sector. Volunteer teaching has become one of the more important means those governments employ to provide interaction with those considered native speakers from different cultures (Kenning, 2009, Matear, 2008).

Teaching abroad is not an easy task especially if native speakers of English lack teaching experience (Deutchman, 1966; Burnley, 1997; Kenning, 2009; Eastham, 2011).

In this qualitative study we explore the challenges experienced by a group of 28 volunteers when teaching in Chile. Utilizing socio-constructivist and experiential lenses for its conceptual framework, the research is supported by a review of the literature pertaining to volunteerism in general and English as a Second Language teaching in particular. This article reports the findings pertaining to the Masters thesis written by the lead author, Ms. Gloria Romero, an experienced ESL teacher from Chile. The second author of this article, Dr. Douglas Fleming, supervised the study and assisted in the completion of the final version of the manuscript.

The research question sustaining this study was: How do native speakers of English experience the challenges of



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teaching on a volunteer basis?

Volunteer English teaching

Volunteer teaching has been well documented since 1960's. The first reports in the academic literature pertaining to the challenges of teaching in foreign countries are in reference to volunteer teachers in the U.S. Peace Corps Program. Deutchman (1966) asserts that teaching became challenging for these volunteers because they lacked teaching experience and felt they were not professionally qualified. Often, the classroom realities linked to management and student discipline became overwhelming because these volunteers had pre-conceived ideas of teaching that did not match their experiences as students in the USA.

Similarly, Burnley (1997), Myers (2001), and Kenning (2009) describe the hurdles of teaching abroad. For example, local traditional teaching school contexts impede many volunteer teachers from moving away from the grammar based approaches adopted by local EFL teachers (Burnley, 1997). Restrictive educational environments and school cultures, local teaching practices based on authoritarian classroom management practices, lack of resources and antiquated learning materials were the main challenges reported by native speakers volunteering through the Peace Corps program (Myers, 2001). Kenning's (2009) study found that environmental constraints greatly affected the work performed by volunteer teachers in rural schools. These included those pertaining to such physical restraints as poor lighting conditions and those pertaining to programming, such as an overemphasis on writing skills or overly formal teaching methods.

Theoretical framework

In this study we opted for socio-constructivist and experiential lenses. From a socio-constructivist worldview, knowledge construction occurs when individuals make

meaning of their lived experiences through the interaction with others in social spaces (Creswell, 2007; Glassman, 2001). This social interaction and collaboration with others becomes a valuable source for the development of thought, cognition, and behaviour (Tryphon & Voneche, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978). For Vygotsky (1978), learning takes place first at an interpersonal level (participation and interaction in social life) and at an intrapersonal plane (internalization of learning by the individual). Learning is also a social process based on experience (Dewey, 1938). To Dewey, "experience is a moving force" that "influences the formation of attitudes of desire and purpose" (Dewey, 1938, p. 39). Experience does not happen in vacuum inside an isolated person. Individuals take experiences from their physical and social environment to construct new meanings (Garrison, 1998). Dewey (1938) indicates that people live varied situations where individuals and objects interact and where experiences are lived and shared. Two principles frame experiences: continuity and interaction. According to Dewey (1938), "the principle of continuity of experience means that every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (p. 35). The principle of interaction is developed when people, who naturally group, live and develop in communities, share past experiences that interact with ongoing events and situations that give shape to newly formed experiences.

The rationale behind the use of these worldviews is that native speakers of English who embark on volunteer teaching have little or no previous teaching experience. They are usually young people who wish to contribute by teaching their mother tongue for the first time, who have never visited a foreign country, and are experiencing intercultural exchanges for the first time (Beale, 2010; Eastham, 2011; Yip, 2010). The experience of teaching abroad and of

interacting in a social school context with EFL teachers and students shape the way they perceive English language teaching (Myers, 2001). We have provided a graphic representation of our conceptual framework as Appendix 1.

Volunteer teaching in Chile

Given the lack of opportunities for interaction with a native speaker of English among public school teachers and students in Chile and with the aim of bridging the gap on inequality, in 2004 the Ministry of Education and the United Nations created the National Volunteer Centre (NVC). Each year around 200 volunteers from different English speaking countries teach basic communicative skills to public school students (NVC, 2012). In this article we are looking at the data with a focus on the *challenges* experienced by a group of 123 surveyed and 28 interviewed native speakers of English when teaching in Chile.

Methodology

Participants and recruitment

The participants who took part in this study were volunteers from the United States, Canada, and Australia who taught English as a Second Language in Chilean public schools (N=123 surveys; N=28 interviews). Recruitment was through the staff at the National Volunteer Center (NVC) in Santiago who contacted these volunteers during an orientation week organized before their placements in various Chilean public schools. As described below, the volunteers were provided with an outline of the goals of our study and encouraged to participate. As noted in the ethical protocols approved by the Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa, the data was secured by the first author in ways that ensured anonymity of the participants

Data collection and analysis

The data in this qualitative study was collected in two instances. Before teaching, all of the 123 volunteers participating in the

program attended an orientation session where they watched videos that introduced them to English language teaching techniques, participated in workshops organised by guest speakers, and listened to testimonials from former volunteers. On that occasion, the first author was granted permission from the NVC to distribute surveys and to extend invitations for interviews.

These 123 volunteers were given a survey that contained both closed and open-ended questions. Its purpose was to collect information that would allow us to demographically describe our participants, determine their previous teaching experiences, and understand their expectations before working in Chilean public schools. The survey took 30 minutes to complete and featured a 100% response rate.

Twenty-eight of those 123 participants came forward to be interviewed *after* eight months of work in public schools. Through the interviews, we explored how volunteers experienced teaching from the point of view of classroom challenges. These semi-structured interviews lasted about one hour and were conducted in an informal and exploratory manner.

As noted above, the academic literature on volunteering and English teaching informed the socio-constructivist and experience-based theoretical framework for the study. On this basis, the data collection instruments were designed to capture: (a) the variety of volunteer experiences within this foreign-teaching situation (Kenning, 2009); (b) the specific classroom challenges these participants faced (Burnley, 1997; Myers, 2001) and the how: the social interaction with local students and teachers shapes the participants experiences”.

Determining emerging themes

After transcribing the interviews, the first author opted for a thematic approach to her coding. The first set of themes were deductively identified based on the epistemological lenses and the literature on volunteering and ELT. For example, from the data obtained from the open-

ended questions in the survey, she paid close attention to the responses related to previous teaching experiences (e.g. type of former teaching experience, length of the experience) and to the volunteers’ expectations of teaching in Chile for the first time (e.g. possible classroom management or language issues). The second set of themes was determined inductively through a consideration of the patterns that emerged from the data. For example, she noted specific classroom challenges that the participants reported in the interviews. These became themes that were used to revisit survey responses and deepen the analysis of the interview data. NVivo Qualitative research software was used to manipulate and organise the data.

Findings: Surveys

From the demographic data obtained from the survey, it is possible to see that the volunteer teachers who participated in this study were young university students (aged 22-25) pursuing degrees in social sciences (Political sciences, International development, Philosophy, Anthropology, English literature, Spanish, and Journalism). Most of them acknowledged they had no teaching experience. The ones that did have some experience in teaching had worked as summer camp instructors, teaching assistants in high school, sports coach, or substitute teacher).

When asked about their expectations about teaching in Chile, two themes emerged:

- About schools in Chile: find motivated learners; high level of English in students; friendly people; few classroom resources; lack of organization; work in a poor school.
- About what to teach: listening and speaking; everyday English language; grammar and structures; issues related to the learners’ interests; teach their own culture.

When asked about the challenges volunteer teachers anticipated, they

expected to come across the following issues:

- Discipline and misbehaviour problems;
- Students with minimal level of English;
- Language barriers;
- Students who had low levels of motivation;
- Troubles with lesson planning;
- Maintain students’ interest and attention.

Findings: Interviews

We have provided our interview prompt protocol as Appendix 2. After eight months working in public schools in the country, semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted with 28 volunteers who agreed to participate further in the study. The volunteers were eager to share their experiences (especially after the venue was changed to a well-known local café) about the schools, the students, and the local teachers. During the interviews, all the volunteer teachers made special mention that issues often arose out of the social interaction they experienced in the schools in which they had been placed. In what follows, we discuss in turn the following themes that emerged from the data: classroom management, language barriers, local teacher support, lesson planning, and student demotivation

Classroom management

When recalling the challenges experienced in schools, the volunteers indicated that their major problem was the typical large number of students in the classroom. Chilean public school classrooms average between 35 and 40 students in each class. The volunteer teachers described students as being energetic, rowdy, unmotivated, and disrespectful to authority. Volunteer teachers felt also uncomfortable when students talked continuously or used their cell phones in class. Learners rarely

raised their hands to take turns answering questions, often interrupted class procedures, and did not remain in their seats.

During the orientation week, volunteers were warned about these behavioural problems and were given advice from former volunteers and local teachers of English. This advice included:

- Giving kids choices;
- Avoiding the use of negative commands (e.g. “Don’t talk”; “don’t eat”);
- Waiting for them to be quiet without getting impatient.

One participant referred to this as follows: “in the orientation they talked about giving children choices. Instead of calling them out and being mean, like “don’t talk” or something. I found that the students appreciated you more if you did that as well and they didn’t necessarily think you were mean”. Another volunteer noted: “I found that they, well ... kind of warned us about this at the Ministry. It’s gonna be louder, a bit more disorderly, students getting up, shouting at peers, whenever”.

Even though these aspects of Chilean classrooms were negatively challenging to most of the volunteers, some teachers took these behaviours as being something positive and appropriate. As one volunteer reported:

“I thought classroom management was fine. It was actually sort of fun when the students were a bit more engaged if they were livelier. I enjoyed that more. You had to keep them in check out ... classroom management was fine”

Language barriers

The non-familiarity with Spanish or not being very proficient with the community’s mother tongue had some impact on the volunteers’ ability to communicate or teach. This affected (a) student (mis)behaviour in the classroom and (b) how students learned the language. One volunteer reflected on this issue by saying that:

“I don’t think it’s feasible to only speak

English in the classroom, unless like, the level is really high. In some of my classrooms actually I was able to, just dropping a word or two of Spanish, here and there, so like, to translate vocabulary or something. Whereas in others, especially in the younger classes, they need to give directions in English always, but then explain them in Spanish again, and then in high school, the 2 high school classes I was working with where the level was probably the lowest (laughs). Although there were some brilliant kids, but overall the behaviour was pretty bad too so, there was less English spoken there, because there were more kids that, either feel genuinely they didn’t know or just they were lazy to try to understand, they wouldn’t understand a sentence in English, maybe individual words, but so you need to say things in Spanish, so it depended”

However, having a volunteer teacher in the classroom who did not speak the learners’ mother tongue was often considered to be an advantage by many of the volunteers. This lack of access to a teacher with proficiency in Spanish made students try to use English to communicate. As one of the volunteers said:

“I felt like, maybe my presence influenced them a little bit, you know. Because they are like, my presence is kinda like “Ok, we have a volunteer”. We really need to work hard to speak as much English as possible” (laughs), because that was the premise of me being there, is that I pretended not to understand any Spanish, so that they would be forced to, of course they are interested in trying to talk to me because I’m something interesting to them, something new, and so they have to try to do it in English, so they have no choice but to practice (laughs), you know?”

Local teacher support

For most of the volunteers, host teachers in the schools in which they had been placed were not very helpful in terms of second language teaching strategies. Most of the participants reported that although the host teachers were nice to them, they did not provide much help with lesson planning.

The host teachers rarely provided feedback or advice. One of the volunteer teachers, for example, confided to the first author that his host teacher was pregnant and didn’t feel very well during his stay. As a result, the volunteer was left on his own. Another volunteer had a host teacher who was about to retire and was not focused on her class. A third volunteer had a novice teacher who was tentative in her techniques and possessed very negative attitudes toward teaching in general and working in a public school in particular.

Even with these challenges, the volunteers universally noted that they understood the difficult situation that the Chilean teachers found themselves in. The volunteers argued that their host teachers were overloaded with work, did not have enough time to plan, or prepare lessons, and were underpaid. Other than the three volunteers noted above, the volunteers reported that they felt lucky to have committed local English as foreign language (EFL) teachers and reported learning about lesson planning and about conducting language learning activities and enjoying progressively greater levels of classroom responsibilities.

Lesson planning

Volunteers’ lack of experience in lesson planning was a considerable challenge. Most of them used the format provided by the NVC manual and had a training session on planning during the orientation week but two volunteers commented that this was not enough or that it was even a “joke”. Another teacher used his past personal experiences in learning a second language in her home country and imitated the planning strategy her former teacher used: planning content mixed with games and songs. Volunteer teachers who had not done any planning at all found it especially hard and stressful mainly because “you don’t know what the students like and you like”. One claimed: “I didn’t know how to do a lesson ... that was extremely challenging and that was something I wasn’t prepared for. I had no idea how hard that was going to be”.

Student demotivation

Student demotivation was seen in two ways by the volunteers. First, they saw it as the result of formal language instruction. As one teacher reports:

“I understand students when they don’t want to learn English. I think teaching a language is boring. That’s my first like ... but it can be interesting because I think learning English can be interesting because it is about communication. Like for me, learning Spanish is really exciting because I can do things with it and ask for a cake and people can give me a cake. I think it’s very exciting when I can do that. But the average, like learning a language in the classroom with a textbook ... it’s difficult because it’s about memorization and learning rules, and it’s kind of boring because there’s not much to do”

Second, demotivation was also a consequence of lack of proficiency in the target language. Native speakers never imagined that their students’ proficiency level of English and motivation would be so poor. After teaching, they realized interaction in the target language was “low”, they needed to use Spanish to understand what was being taught, or students were “very skittish or timid to speak in front of others”.

Discussion

In this study, volunteer English teaching was seen from the point of view of the challenges experienced by our participants. Our research question focused on how native speakers of English experience the challenges of teaching as volunteers. It is clear that volunteer teaching is challenging in terms of classroom management, language barriers, local teacher support, lesson planning, and student demotivation. This echoes much of what has been reported in the literature on volunteerism in general and in ELT in particular by Deutchman (1966), Burnley (1997), Myers (2001), and Kennings (2009).

We believe these challenges are the result of the following:

First, EFL volunteers commonly visit

foreign countries with preconceived ideas about language teaching based on their previous language learning experiences in their home countries. When unchecked, these preconceptions can leave volunteers unprepared and subject to frustration. As one of our participants said: “I was shocked at first, I felt very uncomfortable when students continuously talked, used their cell phones and texted in class or they hardly ever raised their hands to take turns. That did not happen in my school. I never did that!”

Second, coming to a foreign teaching situation with limited expectations can be a wise attitude to take. When surveyed before they went into the classroom, some volunteers said they came to Chile without any expectations at all and treated their experiences as adventures. In the subsequent interviews, these same volunteers said that they took incidents as they came, in a relaxed way that “went with the flow”. They were able to recall the positive aspects behind the teaching experience, such as discovering that Chilean teachers and students are more affectionate than those in North America or realising that they enjoyed teaching young children more because of their real interest in learning the language. These participants typically emphasised how they had been received warmly by the school community and the surrounding community.

Third, there are thousands of volunteer opportunities out there. Native speakers can go abroad and build houses, provide medical care, do community work, and work in education. To our minds teaching is not for everyone. Even though teaching is a complex activity, a successful pursuit of the profession entails commitment and a willingness to overcome challenges for the benefit of student learning. Embarking on a volunteer teaching position in a public school is not the same as enjoying one’s stay in a foreign country as a tourist or as an instructor in an informal educational setting. As one of our participants puts it “I thought I knew how to teach! Then I realised that being a summer camp instructor has nothing to do with working

with real students in a real school”.

As this study makes it clear, volunteer teaching in a foreign country becomes a reflective act. After teaching abroad volunteers change the way they perceive teaching in general and teaching English in particular (Myers, 2001). The participants in this study found that interacting and taking an active role in a school’s social environment helped them to place their previous learning and new teaching experiences in context.

Conclusion

Teaching English abroad is not an easy task if the native speakers in question do not have a substantive amount of teaching training or prior experience. After eight months, the participants in this study realised that teaching was not as easy as they had expected. Specific training is also required in order to help volunteers navigate local contexts and understand the particularities of the students they encounter.

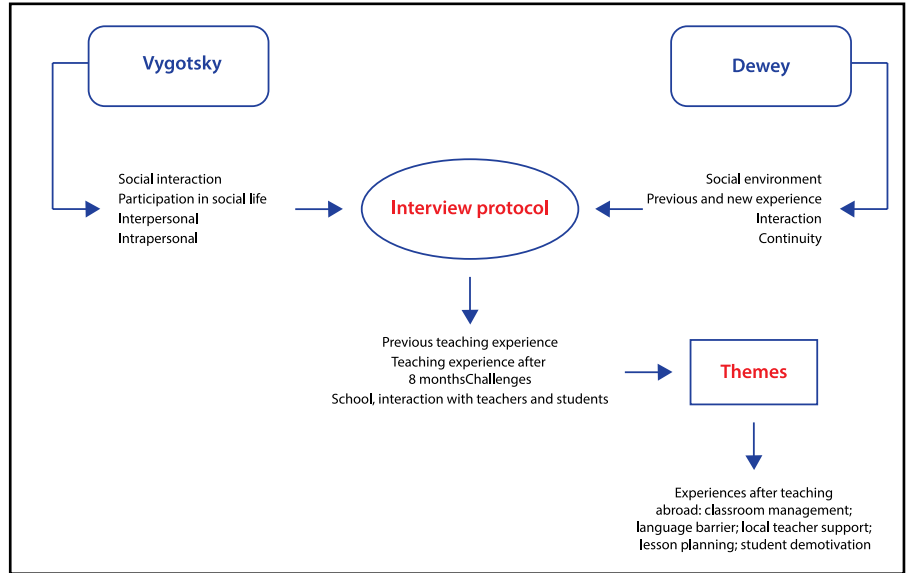
This study provides potential new volunteers with a realistic picture of what they will experience in educational systems like the one in Chile. It points to how important it is for local EFL teachers to provide volunteers with feedback and support and how much this feedback is appreciated by volunteers.

Despite the hurdles described here, most volunteers reported having enjoyed the experience, recommended it, and they even said they would repeat it again. We would like to finish this article with one last quote from a participant:

“The best way to learn a language is to teach it but also no matter how stressful the situation, it’s best to just remain calm”.

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Appendix 1:
Theoretical- empirical mind map



Appendix 2:
Interview Prompt Protocol

VOLUNTEER TEACHERS' EXPERIENCE IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY

Date: _____ Place: _____ Time: _____

Interviewer: _____ Interviewee ID: _____

Instructions for interviewer:

- Ask the participant about the city where he/she volunteered as an English teacher in Chile as an ice-breaker
- Tell him/her you will be asking some questions about this event
- Tell him/her the answers will be recorded unless he/she does not want to

Demographic information:

Age: _____ Home country: _____

Gender: _____

City where volunteer taught: _____

Grades taught: _____

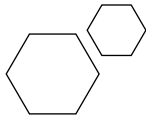
Questions:

1. Why did you enter this volunteer teaching program?
2. What teaching background do you have? How did it influence your volunteer teaching experience?
3. What were your expectations before going? Did your expectations change or remain the same once you were there? How?
4. How different was the teaching experience overseas from what you have lived as a student or as a language teacher in your country?
5. Describe your work at school with teachers and students.
6. What was significant in this teaching experience?
7. What was English teaching like?

8. What teaching strategies did you use? How effective were they?
9. What kinds of challenges did you encounter and how did you work them out?
10. What did you learn from this experience?
11. Would you participate in another volunteer activity of this type?
12. What would you recommend future volunteer teachers who want to experience teaching abroad?

Thank you very much!

COMMENTS:



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Les classes à niveaux multiples en immersion française

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Depuis sa mise sur pied au Canada en 1965, l'immersion française¹ a fait l'objet de plusieurs recherches. En effet, les questions fondamentales concernant l'acquisition de la langue première (L1) et de la langue seconde (L2) de même que la réussite dans les matières scolaires, les élèves avec des difficultés d'apprentissage et les répercussions sociales et psychologiques ont été des domaines très étudiés pour des raisons de curiosité intellectuelle de la part des chercheurs et pour rassurer les parents des élèves qui participaient à ces programmes dits « expérimentaux ». Des chercheurs se sont également penchés sur les différents types de programmes d'immersion totale ou partielle, soit l'immersion précoce qui peut commencer dès la maternelle, l'immersion moyenne qui commence habituellement en 4^e année et l'immersion tardive en 6^e ou 7^e année. Après environ 50 ans de recherche, l'attention des chercheurs se dirige maintenant vers d'autres enjeux en lien avec l'immersion française et qui, dans plusieurs cas, n'étaient pas présents à ses débuts. L'un de ceux-ci est la question des classes à niveaux multiples (CNM) à l'élémentaire² en immersion française

Des CNM sont des classes composées d'élèves provenant de deux années scolaires ou plus. Ce type de classes qui se retrouvaient autrefois à la campagne est

maintenant une réalité rurale et urbaine (Farmer et Bélanger, 2007) à la fois présente dans les pays industrialisés et les pays en voie de développement (Kucita, Kivonja, Maxwell et Kuyini, 2013; Luschei et Zubaidah, 2012; Vasquez, 2012). À ce sujet, Mulryan-Kyne (2007) qui a étudié ce phénomène prédit que le nombre de CNM va augmenter dans les années à venir.

Il semble que de nos jours les CNM sont plus souvent créées pour des raisons « économiques, administratives ou démographiques » (Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003, p.592) que pédagogiques. Selon Lataille-Démoré et Fradette (2000), des facteurs négatifs mènent souvent à la création des CNM à cause, entre autres de, « baisses et fluctuations démographiques, restrictions budgétaires, manque de ressources humaines, restrictions des conventions collectives » (p.17). Pour sa part, Dolik (2002) remarque l'augmentation des CNM à l'élémentaire en Ontario³ et l'explique par l'imposition d'un ratio de 24,5 élèves par classe à l'élémentaire dans cette province. À ce sujet, l'*Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association* (OECTA) a noté qu'un grand pourcentage des élèves fréquentait des CNM. À titre d'exemple, selon OECTA (2000), 51 % des élèves de 3^e année et 46 % des élèves de 6^e année étaient dans une CNM. Il s'agit d'une part importante de la population élémentaire et d'une statistique révélatrice quand on considère que le curriculum de l'Ontario a été « conçu, planifié et énoncé en fonction des classes [simples] » (Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003, p. 597) et non pour les CNM, ces classes dites « invisibles » selon l'appellation de Mulcahy (1993, p. 25) ou ces « exceptions mal aimées » selon Martin (2006, 16). De plus, la répartition des élèves dans les CNM se fait souvent en réaction à une situation de surpopulation et, selon St-Germain (2007), il y a très peu

de consultation faite auprès des parents qui sont souvent mis devant un fait accompli.

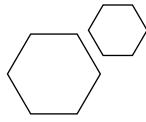
Comme les enseignants perçoivent que ces classes nécessitent plus de temps de préparation et de planification, ils ne se portent pas toujours volontaires pour y enseigner. L'étude de Mulcahy (1993) a démontré que 84 % des enseignants de CNM ne voulaient pas enseigner dans une CNM l'année suivante, même s'ils avaient déjà ce type d'expérience. Par conséquent, les enseignants en début de carrière sont souvent obligés d'accepter des CNM parce qu'ils ont moins d'ancienneté et de choix que leurs collègues (Mulcahy, 1993). À ce sujet, selon l'Ordre des enseignantes et des enseignants de l'Ontario, 21 % des enseignants nouvellement diplômés des facultés d'éducation de l'Ontario ont été embauchés en 2001 pour enseigner dans une CNM (Ordre des enseignantes et des enseignants de l'Ontario, 2003).

Étant donné que le phénomène des CNM se retrouve aussi dans les classes d'immersion française, nous avons décidé d'approfondir la question pour tenter de cerner les perceptions de parents, d'enseignants et de directeurs d'école à l'égard des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire.

¹ Il s'agit ici de programmes de français langue seconde dans lesquels le français sert à enseigner des matières scolaires.

² Pour les besoins de cet article, le terme « élémentaire » servira à décrire les écoles fréquentées par des élèves de la maternelle à la 6^e année.

³ Au Canada, l'éducation est de juridiction provinciale. Étant donné qu'il serait trop long de décrire le contexte de chaque province et territoire canadiens, nous allons principalement présenter le contexte ontarien en gardant en tête que des situations semblables se retrouvent dans les autres provinces et territoires canadiens.



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Les classes à niveaux multiples en langue première

Jusqu'à maintenant, la plupart des études portant sur des CNM ont été menées dans des classes de L1. Nous présenterons brièvement les résultats de ces recherches en ce qui a trait à la réussite scolaire, aux aspects psychosociaux et aux défis professionnels.

Plusieurs études portant sur la réussite scolaire des élèves dénotent certaines différences entre les élèves issus de CNM et ceux qui fréquentent des classes simples sur les plans cognitifs et psycho-sociaux (Allison et Ong, 1996; Brunswic et Valérien, 2003; Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003; Gajadharsingh cité dans Gayfer, 1991; Katz, Evangelou et Hartman, 1990; Ong, Allison et Haladyna, 2000; Pavan, 1992; Veenman, 1995, 1996, 1997; Walsh, 1989). À titre d'exemple, Gajadharsingh rapporte que le développement cognitif des élèves de CNM est comparable ou supérieur à celui des élèves des classes simples dans 85 % des cas. Ces résultats seraient beaucoup plus élevés aux évaluations portant sur le vocabulaire, la lecture et les mathématiques. De plus, il observe que les élèves des CNM démontrent de meilleures habiletés d'étude et sont plus responsables au regard de leurs apprentissages.

Des avantages relatifs aux aspects psychosociaux des CNM sont proposés par la recherche. Politano et Davies (1999) constatent que les CNM permettent aux élèves de « vivre davantage de relations interpersonnelles et d'expériences sociales qu'ils ne le peuvent dans une classe ordinaire »

(p. 3). Dans le cadre de son étude pancanadienne, Gajadharsingh (cité dans Gayfer, 1991) a également remarqué que les enseignants, les directeurs et les surintendants percevaient le développement psychosocial des élèves de CNM comme étant comparable ou supérieur à celui des élèves issus de classes simples dans 80 % des cas. Dans les CNM, les habiletés psychosociales bien développées sont :

l'interaction sociale, la motivation, la coopération, l'attitude envers l'école, la responsabilisation, la confiance en soi, l'autonomie, le sentiment de sécurité et les aptitudes de meneur (Gajadharsingh cité dans Gayfer, 1991; Hart-Hewins et Villiers, 1997; Mulcahy, 1993; le Ministère de l'Éducation, de la Citoyenneté et de la Jeunesse du Manitoba, 2004).

En ce qui a trait aux défis professionnels liés au CNM, l'étude de Gajadharsingh (cité dans Gayfer, 1991) conclut que le développement et le succès de ce type de classe dépendent de plusieurs facteurs comme les ressources, l'attitude et la formation des enseignants ainsi que l'appui de l'administration. Dans le cas des ressources, les enseignants déplorent souvent le fait qu'aucun curriculum n'est spécifiquement conçu pour les CNM. Par conséquent, la planification pour les CNM nécessite plus de temps de préparation que celle des classes simples (Aina, 2001; Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003; Mulcahy, 1993; OECTA, 2000). Mulcahy (1993) a noté que peu de manuels scolaires destinés spécifiquement aux CNM sont publiés et que les enseignants doivent donc constamment adapter le matériel à leurs propres classes. Quant à la formation des enseignants, Gajadharsingh (cité dans Gayfer, 1991) a découvert que 84,1 % des enseignants de CNM n'avaient pas reçu de formation universitaire pour enseigner dans les CNM.

Les classes à niveaux multiples en langue seconde

À notre connaissance, aucune recherche portant sur les CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire n'a été publiée. Cependant, dans les années 1980 et 1990, des chercheurs se sont penchés sur la question des CNM dans les programmes de français de base⁴ (Campbell, 1991 ; Daniel, 1988 ; Melnyk et Daniel, 1990 ; Moscovich, 1991 et Reed, 1991). Dans le contexte de l'enseignement du français de base, une étude menée par Evans-Harvey (1995) a démontré que les élèves des CNM du cycle intermédiaire (en

7^e et 8^e années) n'accomplissent pas autant de progrès sur le plan de la production orale et écrite en français langue seconde (FLS) que leurs pairs des classes simples, mais font autant de progrès en compréhension orale et écrite. Dans un article portant sur les CNM en français de base, Daniel (1988) constate qu'un écart de compétence de FLS lié à chaque niveau de la classe peut entraîner une certaine frustration et diminuer l'intérêt des élèves avec des résultats faibles pour la matière.

Perceptions des classes à niveaux multiples

Matlin (1983) a constaté que la perception est influencée par nos besoins et nos désirs et qu'elle a un lien avec la motivation. Si les CNM sont souvent « une situation temporaire, hors de l'ordinaire » (Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003, p.598), créées pour répondre aux besoins d'une école, elles pourraient être perçues comme une solution au lieu d'une occasion par les parents, les enseignants et la direction des écoles. Une perception négative des CNM pourrait inciter les intervenants à ne pas vouloir les créer même si elles peuvent s'avérer des environnements propices à l'apprentissage. Un facteur qui nuit le plus au succès d'une CNM de L1 serait la perception négative qu'en ont les parents et les enseignants (Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, 2000). Des études (Aina, 2001; Fradette et Lataille-Démoré, 2003; Gayfer, 1991 ; Mulcahy, 1993; OECTA, 2000) montrent que les CNM sont mal perçues par les parents, les enseignants et les directeurs dans les classes de L1. Cependant, qu'en est-il de la perception des CNM dans un contexte de L2?

Question de recherche

Afin d'approfondir la question de la

⁴ Le programme de français de base est un programme dans lequel le français est enseigné comme sujet jusqu'à un maximum d'une heure par jour (Dicks et Kristmanson, 2008).

perception des CNM, de mieux comprendre la réalité des CNM et de trouver des solutions aux défis liés à la création des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire, la question de recherche suivante a été formulée : *Quelles sont les perceptions de parents, d'enseignants et de directeurs d'école à l'égard des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire?*

Méthodologie

Dans le but de répondre à cette question de recherche, des données quantitatives et qualitatives ont été recueillies afin d'obtenir de l'information démographique des participants et des renseignements sur les facteurs qui influençaient les perceptions des participants à l'égard des trois aspects principaux de l'étude, soit la réussite scolaire, le développement des habiletés psychosociales et l'apprentissage du FLS. Les données quantitatives ont permis de dénombrer les participants de chaque groupe (parents, enseignants, directeurs d'école) qui partageaient des perceptions positives ou négatives. Les données qualitatives ont servi à énumérer les stratégies d'enseignement utilisées par les enseignants, les facteurs qui influencent le choix des enseignants et la sélection des élèves qui font partie des CNM. De plus, ces données ont permis d'énumérer les forces, les faiblesses et les défis liés aux CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire.

Participants

Des parents, des enseignants et des directeurs d'école ayant connu la réalité des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire ont été recrutés à l'aide d'annonces affichées sur des sites web canadiens ayant un lien avec l'enseignement du FLS. Au départ, nous visions ne recruter qu'en Ontario, mais il a fallu se rendre à l'évidence de la nécessité d'élargir le recrutement à l'échelle canadienne pour deux groupes de participants (les enseignants et les parents) en raison du fait que la participation se faisait sur une base volontaire. Par conséquent, les annonces ont permis de recruter des parents et des enseignants

de différentes régions du Canada. Les directeurs d'école ont été recrutés par l'entremise d'une annonce affichée sur un site destiné aux directeurs d'école de l'Ontario ce qui explique pourquoi les directeurs participant à l'étude provenaient tous de cette province. Trente-six personnes ont répondu aux questionnaires, soit 19 parents, dix enseignants et sept directeurs d'école. Parmi les 19 parents, il y avait trois hommes et 16 femmes. Parmi les 10 enseignants qui ont répondu au questionnaire, il y avait neuf femmes et un homme. Les sept directeurs d'école qui ont répondu au questionnaire étaient des femmes⁵.

Instruments

Inspirées par les questionnaires de Walsh (1989) et d'Evans-Harvey (1995) qui portaient respectivement sur les CNM en contextes d'anglais L1 et de français de base, les chercheuses ont développé un questionnaire adapté à l'expérience des CNM qu'avait chaque groupe de participants⁶. Chaque questionnaire avait le même format et les questions ont été formulées de façon à ne pas refléter les opinions ni les valeurs des chercheuses (Poisson, 1990). Les premières questions visaient à recueillir de l'information des participants afin de pouvoir, d'une part, les regrouper, et d'autre part, comparer leurs réponses (une à quatre questions selon les participants). Les questions à réponses courtes qui suivaient les questions d'information ont permis de recueillir des données qualitatives au sujet des facteurs qui influençaient la perception des participants (trois à six questions selon les participants). Dans les réponses courtes, les participants ont pu s'exprimer sur les effets positifs et négatifs des CNM. Par la suite, quatre questions quantitatives, basées sur une échelle Likert, portaient sur la réussite scolaire des élèves, le développement des habiletés psychosociales, l'apprentissage du FLS et le désir d'avoir des CNM. Les deux dernières questions de chaque questionnaire portaient sur les forces et les faiblesses des CNM en immersion française. À la fin de chaque questionnaire,

les participants avaient la possibilité d'écrire d'autres commentaires portant sur les effets positifs et négatifs des CNM.

Procédure

La recherche a été effectuée pendant le troisième semestre de l'année scolaire afin que les participants puissent mieux évaluer leur expérience avec les CNM. Quatre sites web d'éducation canadiens qui s'intéressaient à l'immersion française ont accepté d'afficher une annonce de recrutement. Les participants souhaitant participer à l'étude ont manifesté leur intérêt par courrier électronique. Une lettre d'information portant sur le sujet de la recherche ainsi qu'un formulaire de consentement pour la recherche et un questionnaire ont été envoyés aux participants. Afin de protéger l'identité du participant dans l'analyse des données, chaque participant portait un code qui l'identifiait à un groupe, soit parents (P1, P2, etc.), enseignants (E1, E2, etc.) ou directrices (D1, D2, etc.).

Résultats

La présente section présentera les perceptions qu'entretiennent les parents, les enseignants et les directrices d'école à l'égard des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. Les résultats quantitatifs seront présentés en premier et seront suivis des résultats qualitatifs.

Résultats quantitatifs

Perceptions des parents

Les perceptions des parents envers les CNM

⁵ Comme aucun directeur d'école (homme) n'a répondu aux questionnaires des directeurs de cette étude, le mot « directrice » désignera dorénavant les directions d'écoles élémentaires qui ont participé à cette étude.

⁶ Les questionnaires des parents et des directrices d'école ont été écrits en anglais puisqu'il s'agit, pour le programme d'immersion française, de la langue de communication entre les écoles et les parents. Le questionnaire des enseignants a été rédigé en français parce que tous les enseignants d'immersion française peuvent communiquer en français.

variaient de « terrible » (P13) à « idéal situation » (P6) et ont été influencées par les facteurs suivants : l'organisation de l'enseignant, le nombre d'élèves dans chacun des niveaux de la classe, le nombre d'années passées par l'enfant dans une classe à niveaux multiples et le niveau de l'enfant dans la classe - inférieur ou supérieur.

Les réponses obtenues par l'intermédiaire des questions de l'échelle Likert (Tableau 1), montrent les perceptions des parents quant aux quatre questions portant sur la réussite scolaire, les habiletés psychosociales, l'apprentissage du FLS et le choix des CNM. Le tableau 1 montre les réponses des parents aux questions 7 à 10 du questionnaire. Il est possible de constater qu'il n'y a pas de tendance, mais plus tôt une variété de perceptions des parents quant aux quatre questions.

Perceptions des enseignants

Parmi les 10 enseignants qui ont participé à l'étude, 50 % étaient de nouveaux enseignants (une à cinq années d'expérience) et 50 % étaient des enseignants très expérimentés (plus de 10 ans d'expérience). Seulement 30 % ont répondu avoir reçu une formation universitaire les préparant à enseigner dans les CNM tandis que 70 % des enseignants ont répondu n'en avoir jamais reçu. Le tableau 2 présente les réponses des enseignants aux questions 8 à 11 qui portent sur leurs perceptions quant à la réussite scolaire, les habiletés psychosociales, l'apprentissage du FLS et le choix des CNM. Il est possible de constater que la majorité des enseignants considèrent que les CNM ont un effet positif sur la réussite scolaire (60 %), le développement des habiletés psychosociales (70 %) et l'apprentissage du FLS (60 %) chez les élèves. Ils sont, par contre, divisés quant à leur désir d'enseigner dans une CNM.

Perceptions des directrices d'école

Chez les directrices d'école, 71 % ont dit ne pas avoir reçu de formation portant sur les CNM pendant leurs études universitaires ou pendant l'exercice de leur profession. Une seule directrice avait enseigné dans une

CNM en immersion française tandis que trois des sept directrices (43 %) n'avaient jamais enseigné dans une CNM. Le Tableau 3 présente les perceptions des directrices en regard des questions 7 à 10 portant sur la réussite scolaire, les habiletés psychosociales, l'apprentissage du FLS et l'environnement d'apprentissage des CNM. Il est possible de constater que les directrices sont divisées quant à leur perception de la réussite scolaire des élèves. Elles considèrent que les CNM ont un effet positif sur le développement des habiletés psychosociales (85,8 %) et l'apprentissage du français (57,2 %). La majorité d'entre elles (71,4 %) ont perçu les CNM comme étant un environnement favorable à l'apprentissage.

Résultats qualitatifs

Dans la section suivante, nous présenterons les données qualitatives en lien avec les réponses des participants aux questions portant sur les stratégies des enseignants, le choix de l'enseignant, la sélection des élèves, les forces, les faiblesses et les défis des CNM.

Stratégies des enseignants

L'enseignant E5 a expliqué qu'« être organisé est le secret de toutes classes, mais surtout dans les CNMs » et que « les routines doivent être très bien établies ». Les stratégies quant à l'organisation de la classe allaient de « ma classe est divisée en deux groupes distincts » (E2) à « les deux niveaux sont mélangés » (E1) et « j'ai organisé mes élèves en groupe d'habiletés » (E3). De plus, 50 % des enseignants ont répondu qu'ils changent de stratégies selon le sujet (E2, E3, E5, E8, E12). Comme l'a expliqué l'enseignant E2, certains sujets s'avèrent plus difficiles à enseigner à une CNM que d'autres, notamment « les sciences et les études sociales à cause des différences du curriculum ». Plusieurs enseignants soulignent que le manque de ressources pédagogiques est l'un des facteurs qui complexifient le plus l'enseignement dans une CNM en immersion française.

Choix de l'enseignant

Précisons que 70 % des enseignants ont

répondu qu'enseigner une CNM n'est pas toujours un choix. Un seul enseignant a répondu qu'il a enseigné dans une CNM « par choix » (E5). Deux autres (20 %) ont indiqué qu'ils l'ont fait à tour de rôle parce que « chaque prof prend son tour » (E8) et « nous devons tous passer par là au moins une fois » (E11). Les autres ont répondu que : « others didn't want the job » (E1), c'était la « seule option » (E2), il était « le seul candidat » (E3, E6) ou comme nouvel enseignant, une CNM « était ce qui m'a été offert » (E12).

Toutes les directrices ont rapporté qu'elles tentaient d'assigner le meilleur enseignant (D10) à une CNM. Cependant, 86 % d'entre elles ont mentionné qu'elles n'ont pas toujours le choix et 29 % ont expliqué que les enseignants plus expérimentés, avantagés par leur ancienneté en ce qui trait à la priorité du choix de classe, choisissent moins souvent une CNM. Par conséquent, les enseignants moins expérimentés se voient souvent offrir les CNM (D5, D9). Une directrice a même avoué que parfois « I must force a teacher to take the split » (D7) et la directrice D3 a indiqué qu'elle essaie de « rotate the split grades among teachers to try to make it fair ». La directrice D3 a ajouté que dans le contexte de l'immersion française, le groupe d'enseignants parmi lequel il faut choisir est moins nombreux que celui du programme régulier dans les écoles de langue anglaise, ce qui représente une contrainte.

Sélection des élèves

Les enseignants E2 et E6 notent que, pour certaines écoles, les CNM en immersion française peuvent être créées parce qu'il n'y a pas assez d'élèves pour justifier la formation de classes à niveaux simples. Dans ce contexte, il n'y a donc pas de critères de sélection des élèves. Dans les écoles où les CNM sont créées en raison de la surpopulation, les enseignants et les directrices ont énuméré certains des critères qui les aident à sélectionner les élèves susceptibles d'en faire partie. Ces critères sont : l'autonomie, la réussite scolaire, le comportement, les amitiés et la date de

Les résultats

Tableau 1 : réponses des parents (n= 19) aux questions de l'échelle Likert

Questions du questionnaire	Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Neutral	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree	No answer
7. Multigrade classes positively affect students' academic performance.	2 (10,5 %)	4 (21,0 %)	6 (31,6 %)	4 (21,1 %)	3 (15,8 %)	0 (0,0 %)
8. Multigrade classes positively affect the development of students' social skills.	5 (26,3 %)	6 (31,6 %)	5 (26,3 %)	3 (15,8 %)	0 (0,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)
9. Multigrade classes positively affect the learning of French as a second language.	2 (10,5 %)	5 (26,3 %)	5 (26,3 %)	4 (21,1 %)	3 (15,8 %)	0 (0,0 %)
10. I would like my child placed in a French immersion multigrade class.	0 (0,0 %)	1 (5,3 %)	8 (42,1 %)	3 (15,8 %)	6 (31,6 %)	1 (5,3 %)

Tableau 2 : réponses des enseignants (n= 10) aux questions de l'échelle Likert

Questions du questionnaire	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Neutre	En désaccord	Tout à fait en désaccord	Non-réponse
8. Les CNM à l'élémentaire ont un effet positif sur la réussite scolaire des élèves.	0 (0,0 %)	6 (60,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)
9. Les CNM à l'élémentaire ont un effet positif sur le développement des habiletés psychosociales des élèves.	0 (0,0 %)	7 (70,0 %)	2 (20,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)
10. Les CNM à l'élémentaire ont un effet positif sur l'apprentissage du français langue seconde.	2 (20,0 %)	4 (40,0 %)	2 (20,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)
11. Je veux enseigner dans une CNM.	2 (20,0 %)	2 (20,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)	3 (30,0 %)	1 (10,0 %)

Tableau 3 : réponses des directrices (n=7) aux questions de l'échelle Likert

Questions du questionnaire	Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Neutral	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree	No answer
7. Multigrade classes positively affect students' academic performance.	0 (0,0 %)	2 (28,6 %)	2 (28,6 %)	2 (28,6 %)	1 (14,3 %)	0 (0,0 %)
8. Multigrade classes positively affect the development of students' social skills.	0 (0,0 %)	3 (42,9 %)	3 (42,9 %)	1 (14,3 %)	0 (0,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)
9. Multigrade classes positively affect the learning of French as a second language.	1 (14,3 %)	3 (42,9 %)	1 (14,3 %)	1 (14,3 %)	0 (0,0 %)	1 (14,3 %)
10. Multigrade classes are positive learning environments.	1 (14,3 %)	4 (57,1 %)	2 (28,6 %)	0 (0,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)	0 (0,0 %)

naissance. Une directrice utilise aussi le critère du niveau de lecture (D9).

Forces des classes à niveaux multiples

Certains participants ont fait référence aux forces scolaires et psychosociales des CNM ainsi qu'à quelques forces d'aspect économique et linguistique. Les réponses au sujet des forces au niveau scolaire variaient de "bright kids in the lower grade [are] exposed to some of the higher level discussion and more advanced French language" (P18) à "older children can learn more if they are given a chance to help the younger grade" (P15). De plus, les CNM permettent de regrouper les élèves par habileté, peu importe leur niveau scolaire (P16). La directrice D10 a ajouté que dans une CNM, les élèves peuvent travailler à leur rythme. D'autres enseignants ont considéré le « travail de groupe » (E2) comme une force, de même que « la coopération entre les élèves » (E2) et « le développement rapide des habitudes de travail indépendant » (E5). D'un point de vue économique, un enseignant considère que « l'épargne d'argent pour les conseils scolaires » (E8) constitue une force liée aux CNM. D'un point de vue pédagogique, les enseignants ont ajouté que "integration is easier between subject levels and grade levels" (E1) et que « comme enseignante, on développe nos habiletés d'organisation et de gestion de la classe » (E12).

Faiblesses des classes à niveaux multiples

Parmi les réponses des trois groupes de participants, les perceptions les plus négatives des CNM provenaient des parents. Selon les réponses, le curriculum serait la faiblesse majeure des CNM en immersion française. Les inquiétudes des parents touchaient autant les aspects scolaires que psychosociaux. Les parents croient que les CNM peuvent entraîner des difficultés psychosociales entre les élèves du niveau inférieur qui manquent de maturité et les élèves plus mûrs du niveau supérieur (P13). Les parents s'inquiètent aussi de la somme de travail que les CNM requièrent de la part

des enseignants. Ils croient que l'enseignant est soumis à trop de pression (P18), qu'il a plus de travail que dans une classe à niveau simple (P14) et que les enseignants d'une CNM doivent travailler davantage que les enseignants des classes à niveaux simples pour produire les mêmes résultats (P4).

Défis des classes à niveaux multiples

La directrice D9 a mentionné que "parental understanding and acceptance of split grades" pose toujours des difficultés et qu'il est toujours difficile de faire comprendre aux parents que "every class is a split grade (...) as you have students working at different levels at all times within any class". Chez les enseignants qui ont participé à l'étude, 60 % ont parlé des plaintes et des inquiétudes des parents au regard des CNM. Les parents dont les enfants faisaient partie du niveau supérieur d'une classe à niveaux multiples déploraient que leurs enfants soient avec « les jeunes » (E12) de niveau inférieur et pouvaient percevoir ce classement comme un redoublement. À l'opposé, les parents dont les enfants faisaient partie du niveau inférieur d'une CNM percevaient ce classement comme « un honneur » (E6), mais craignaient, par contre, que les élèves du niveau supérieur puissent exercer une influence négative sur leurs enfants plus jeunes (E8).

Discussion

Le but premier de cette étude était d'approfondir la question de la perception de parents, d'enseignants et de directeurs d'école à l'égard des CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. En ce qui a trait à la réussite scolaire, les résultats de la présente étude montrent que le groupe des enseignants avait la perception la plus positive de la réussite scolaire des élèves. Les directrices ont répondu de façon positive au fait que les CNM en immersion française offrent un environnement favorable à l'apprentissage. Malgré cette perception, peu d'entre elles pensaient que les CNM en immersion française ont un effet positif sur la réussite scolaire des élèves. Cette contradiction n'a pas clairement

été expliquée par les directrices d'école. On peut supposer que le curriculum exigeant, mentionné par la majorité des directrices d'école (D1, D3, D5, D7, D10) à la question portant sur les faiblesses des CNM en immersion française, affecte leurs perceptions de la réussite scolaire des élèves dans ces classes.

Les résultats à l'égard du développement des habiletés psychosociales de la présente étude montrent que les trois groupes de participants en avaient une perception positive. Les participants ont noté plusieurs avantages pour les élèves du niveau inférieur dans une CNM en immersion française en ce qui a trait à l'occasion de travailler à un niveau plus avancé et au développement des habitudes de travail indépendant. Les seuls avantages pour les élèves du niveau supérieur qui ont été notés par les trois groupes, en ce qui a trait au développement des habiletés psychosociales, étaient le sens de « leadership » et de « coopération » (E11).

À la question portant sur l'effet des CNM en immersion française sur l'apprentissage du FLS, les réponses des parents étaient divisées tandis que les enseignants et les directrices d'école ont répondu de façon positive. Cependant, des participants de chaque groupe croyaient qu'il y avait plus d'avantages linguistiques pour les élèves du niveau inférieur qui bénéficient du modèle linguistique de FLS plus avancé de leurs pairs dans le niveau supérieur (P18, E11, D9).

Dans le cadre de la présente étude, seulement un des 19 parents a rapporté qu'il aimerait que son enfant soit de nouveau placé dans une CNM en immersion française alors que 47 % ne souhaitaient pas que leurs enfants le soient. À ce sujet, 42 % des parents ont répondu que cela dépendrait de trois facteurs (le niveau de l'enfant dans la classe, le nombre d'élèves et l'organisation de l'enseignant). Tout comme la plupart des parents ne voulaient pas que leurs enfants soient placés à nouveau dans une CNM en immersion française, 40 % des enseignants ne souhaitaient pas enseigner à nouveau dans une telle classe malgré le fait que les perceptions des enseignants à l'égard des trois aspects principaux de

la présente étude (la réussite scolaire, le développement des habiletés psychosociales et l'apprentissage du FLS) aient toutes été positives. Les enseignants ont expliqué cette divergence d'opinions par le manque de formation, la pénurie de ressources et le choix des enseignants.

Des données qualitatives nous ont permis d'obtenir de l'information sur les facteurs qui ont influencé les réponses aux questions quantitatives des trois groupes de participants. Au sujet du nombre d'élèves dans les CNM, le parent P12 croit que les CNM en immersion française devraient compter moins d'élèves que les classes à niveau simple. Il croit qu'une plus petite classe permettrait à l'enseignant de se concentrer sur chacun des niveaux. Dans le cadre de cette étude, 68 % des parents ont mentionné que les CNM que fréquentaient leurs enfants comptaient 20 élèves ou plus. Cependant, chez les parents, 26 % d'entre eux estiment que le type d'enseignant est un facteur qui contribue davantage au succès d'une CNM en immersion française que le nombre d'élèves.

Pour ce qui est des enseignants, 70 % de ceux qui ont participé à cette étude ont répondu que leur formation initiale ne les a pas préparés à enseigner dans une CNM en immersion française.

Il semble donc que la formation pour l'enseignement dans une CNM est essentielle. Tel que l'ont illustré les réponses courtes des enseignants, les CNM en immersion française requièrent plus de ressources pédagogiques. En effet, 50 % des enseignants ayant participé à la présente étude sont de cet avis. Le manque de formation et le manque de partage des ressources contribuent à la frustration des enseignants et expliquent que les enseignants ne souhaitent pas enseigner de nouveau dans ce type de classe. En ce qui a trait à la formation pour enseigner dans les CNM, il est opportun de mentionner le travail de Martin (2006, 14) qui dit que ce contexte d'enseignement « requiert la maîtrise de certains actes professionnels spécifiques. ». Il mentionne, entre autres, la formation de groupes qui favorisent un

apprentissage coopératif, le travail à partir de concepts noyaux subdivisés en tâches selon les groupes, une pratique évaluative adaptée, etc. Il va sans dire que l'on peut supposer que ce type d'enseignement adapté aux CNM pourrait avoir une influence sur les perceptions des enseignants, des parents et des directions d'école.

Parmi les enseignants de cette étude, un seul a fait le choix d'enseigner dans une CNM. Rappelons que Matlin (1983) constate que la perception influe sur la motivation donc nous pouvons supposer que si les enseignants n'enseignent pas par choix dans les CNM en immersion française il y a de fortes chances que cela nuise à leur motivation. Deux enseignants ont dit que cette perception négative des CNM les affecte et est en lien direct avec le fait que les enseignants ne veulent pas enseigner dans les CNM en immersion française. L'enseignant E5 a répondu que « le grand problème est que la plupart des professeurs avec ces classes sont NÉGATIFS. On leur impose cette option et on le prend comme une punition. On se dit que c'est pour un an et on ne met pas autant d'effort qu'il en serait nécessaire ». L'enseignant E8 a fait référence aux perceptions des parents en disant qu'« une partie de cet effet négatif est l'opinion des parents qui sont normalement contre la CNM. Les élèves adoptent cette opinion négative et leur attitude est influencée ». Selon l'enseignant E5, les CNM en immersion française offrent un meilleur environnement d'apprentissage quand « les groupes sont bien faits, [...] les professeurs sont positifs et [...] les groupes sont assez petits ».

Rappelons que seulement 29 % des directrices avaient reçu une formation portant sur les CNM, mais non dans le contexte de l'immersion française. De plus, seule une directrice avait enseigné dans une CNM en immersion française. Il est donc possible qu'une directrice unilingue anglophone puisse avoir à embaucher un enseignant pour enseigner dans une CNM en immersion française et devoir juger seule des compétences des candidats pendant les entrevues à son école dans le

but d'embaucher un enseignant qui est à la fois compétent pour enseigner en français et pour enseigner dans une CNM. Toutes les directrices qui ont participé à cette étude ont répondu qu'elles tentent, dans la mesure du possible, de donner une CNM à un enseignant expérimenté, mais 86 % d'entre elles ont ajouté qu'un enseignant moins expérimenté y est plus souvent affecté. De plus, la directrice D3 a expliqué qu'il est souvent difficile de trouver des enseignants pour le programme d'immersion française parce qu'ils sont peu nombreux. Par conséquent, il serait encore plus difficile de trouver un enseignant qualifié pour enseigner en immersion française et doté d'une expérience des CNM.

Conclusion

La présente étude est, à notre connaissance, une des premières portant sur les CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. Nous avons présenté les perceptions de parents, d'enseignants et de directrices d'école sur ce sujet et avons pu constater que la question des CNM est un enjeu qui fait réfléchir et que les opinions des participants semblaient, à l'occasion, être contradictoires.

Chez les parents qui ont participé à l'étude, la moitié d'entre eux croit que les CNM ont un effet positif sur le développement des habiletés psychosociales de leur enfant. Une proportion semblable de parents ne voulait cependant pas que leurs enfants soient placés à nouveau dans une CNM. Les parents étaient divisés sur l'effet positif des CNM en immersion française quant à la réussite scolaire et l'apprentissage du FLS. Plusieurs facteurs semblent avoir influencé les perceptions des parents, notamment le niveau de l'enfant dans la classe, le nombre d'élèves dans la classe et l'organisation de l'enseignant. Les enseignants, pour leur part, avaient des perceptions plutôt positives sur les plans de la réussite scolaire, des habiletés psychosociales et de l'apprentissage du FLS. Bien que les enseignants aient des perceptions plutôt positives, près de la moitié d'entre eux ne voulaient pas enseigner à nouveau dans une CNM en

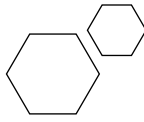
raison du manque de formation, de la quantité de préparation demandée et du manque de ressources disponibles. Les directrices étaient divisées au sujet de l'effet des CNM sur la réussite scolaire des élèves, mais croient qu'elles ont un effet plutôt positif sur les habiletés psychosociales. À la question portant sur l'apprentissage du FLS, plus de la moitié des directrices croyaient que les CNM en immersion française ont un effet positif et une grande proportion d'entre elles estimait que ces classes étaient un environnement favorable à l'apprentissage.

Plusieurs participants ont donné des conseils afin d'améliorer les CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. Les parents, pour leur part, en ont donné trois. Ils ont suggéré de réduire le nombre d'élèves dans les CNM, de choisir des enseignants organisés et expérimentés et d'améliorer la communication entre les écoles et les familles (p. ex. : distribuer de la documentation sur les avantages et les désavantages des CNM, le soutien à l'élève, etc.). Les enseignants, quant à eux, ont fait deux suggestions. Ils aimeraient recevoir plus de formation, soit en formation initiale ou en développement professionnel, et avoir accès à des ressources spécifiquement conçues pour les CNM. Les directrices d'école élémentaire n'ont pas donné de conseils, mais, à la lumière des résultats de cette étude, il est possible d'avancer que les directions d'écoles pourraient profiter d'une formation axée sur les CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. Cette formation pourrait porter sur le choix des enseignants, la sélection des élèves pour les CNM, les stratégies de communication entre les écoles et les familles ainsi qu'une analyse des ressources disponibles pour les CNM.

Il est à souhaiter que les recherches dans le domaine des CNM en immersion française continuent. Des pistes de recherches possibles à explorer seraient d'évaluer, entre autres, l'intégration d'une « approche à niveaux multiples », la socialisation scolaire des élèves, les stratégies pédagogiques efficaces, les ressources spécifiquement conçues pour

les CNM et la mise sur pied de programmes de formation initiale et de développement professionnel destinés aux enseignants qui œuvrent dans les CNM en immersion française à l'élémentaire. Ce type de recherche sera bénéfique, non seulement pour les CNM en immersion française, mais aussi pour les classes d'immersion française dites « simples » et qui sont néanmoins hétérogènes étant donné qu'elles sont composées d'élèves avec différents besoins et pour qui un enseignement et une évaluation différenciés sont nécessaires.

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Navigating through multiple languages: A case study of multilingual Allophone students' use of their language repertoire within a French Canadian minority education context

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Abstract

The presence of Allophone students in French-language secondary schools in Ottawa is gradually increasing. While the *politique d'aménagement linguistique* (PAL) promotes the use of French within schools, one wonders about the ways Allophone students use both official languages and their native language(s). This qualitative case study of four Allophone students explores their language repertoire use in relation to their linguistic proficiency in French, English, and their native language(s), their desired linguistic representations, and their perceptions of language prestige. The findings indicate that students spoke a significant amount of English, some French (particularly with their teacher or Francophone classmates), and minimal amounts of their native language. Recommendations are suggested to promote the development of Allophone students' language repertoire and ensure that the objectives of PAL are attained.

Keywords: linguistic repertoire, language use, minority context, language policy, plurilingualism

Le nombre d'élèves allophones qui

fréquentent les écoles secondaires de langue française à Ottawa augmente graduellement. Bien que la politique d'aménagement linguistique (PAL) insiste sur l'usage du français à l'école, on pourrait s'interroger sur la façon dont les langues faisant partie du répertoire langagier des élèves allophones sont utilisées. Cette étude de cas qualitative de quatre élèves allophones a pour objectif d'examiner comment ces quatre participants utilisent les langues faisant partie de leurs répertoires langagiers en fonction de leurs représentations linguistiques désirées, leurs compétences linguistiques en français, en anglais, et en langue(s) primaire(s) ainsi que leurs perceptions du prestige langagier associé à ces langues. Les résultats indiquent que les élèves communiquaient souvent en anglais, parfois en français (surtout avec leurs enseignants et camarades francophones), et rarement dans leur(s) langue(s) d'origine(s). Des recommandations sont formulées afin de promouvoir le développement du répertoire langagier des élèves allophones et de s'assurer que les objectifs de la PAL sont atteints.

Mots-clés : Répertoire linguistique, Usage langagier, Contexte minoritaire, Politique linguistique, Plurilinguisme

Introduction

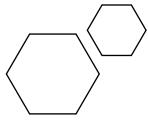
Trends in Canadian history are often represented by the interactions of the speakers of the country's two official languages: English and French. However, Ontario's current demographics signal a rise in the numbers of people speaking additional languages, the so-called Allophone population. In Ottawa, 20% of the total population claim one non-

official language as their first language. Approximately 11% claim a high degree of proficiency in that language, which is most often spoken in the home (Statistics Canada, 2011a)¹. Many Allophone parents have opted for French-language education for their children. The subsequent increased enrolment of Allophones in public schools has produced a visible trend: increased numbers of students who code switch between French and English and an additional language. This study, which takes place in a French minority school is based on the following question: How are these Allophone students integrating into Franco-Ontarian culture? This study explores language choice by investigating the interrelationships among students' (1) proficiency in French, English, and first language(s), (2) their desired linguistic representation, and (3) the perceived prestige of the different languages in their repertoire within the school domain. This study offers a greater understanding of the ways in which language choice is represented among Allophones in a French minority school and the role each factor plays in their adaptation to the school community. Its findings have implications for education policies regarding use of both official languages and students' first language(s) in the school.

Politique d'aménagement linguistique

Between 1912 and 1944, French language use was prohibited in Ontario schools. It was not until 1968 that the province recognized the veracity of French language schooling.

¹The most common non-official languages spoken in Ottawa are Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish.



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Acknowledging that Francophones represent a linguistic minority in Ontario (0.3% of Ontarians speak exclusively French, and 11% speak both French and English), the Ministry of Education established the *politique d'aménagement linguistique* (PAL) in 2004 in order for French-language schools to achieve their linguistic goals of contributing to the preservation of French (Statistics Canada, 2011b). The primary goals of the PAL were to preserve the French culture in Ontario, reinforce pride in the French language and increase Francophone student academic success. In 2011, PAL released guidelines for school personnel, who were required to understand and share the school's mandate to protect, value, and transmit the French language and culture. Additionally, personnel had to be fluent in French and that they demonstrate and promote the value of the language (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 18).

According to official Ministry of Education documents, linguistic diversity should not be perceived as a threat, but as a tool to promote the French language. As is stated explicitly, "en classe, le personnel enseignant doit reconnaître et mettre en valeur la diversité linguistique et même s'en servir pour l'apprentissage et la valorisation du français" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 31). However, the 2004 PAL guidelines describe English as an omnipresent language in Ontario that is a threat to the resurgence of the French speaking population. It is for this reason that the guidelines recommend that English only be spoken during *Anglais* or *Anglais pour débutants* courses (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004). The PAL document makes little reference to non-official languages.

Literature review

Language acquisition in multilingual environments has more recently become a prevalent field of academic study (Mueller Gathercole & Thomas, 2009; Thomas & Roberts, 2011). In Wales, Mueller Gathercole and Thomas (2009) noted that

"there is growing evidence that in bilingual communities in which one language is very dominant over the other, acquisition of the dominant language may be quite unproblematic across sub-groups, while acquisition of the minority language can be hampered" (p. 213). In an empirical case study in the U.S., Glaessner (1995, cited in Reyes, 2004) noted that while American bilingual children communicate in both languages during class time, there is a tendency to use one's native language during cognitively challenging activities. Glaessner argued that older students manipulate their language use with greater facility in order to accommodate the linguistic abilities of their peers. This accommodation allowed both interlocutors to feel comfortable in selecting a language in which they both felt competent. As exposure to the second language increased, the students' ability to navigate their language use improved.

Building on Fishman's 1972 domain theory, Blom and Gumperz (1986) argued that the different languages within one's repertoire "symbolize the differing social identities which members may assume" (p. 421). However, there is no single corresponding relationship between a specific language and a specific way of representing oneself. For the purposes of this study, linguistic representations will be defined as individual versions of the self that are developed during experiences with language in different social contexts. Essentially, these representations are the links between language and identity. One's linguistic representation categorizes one as a member of a certain groups because, in general, language serves to symbolize membership in particular communities. As Petitjean (2009) argues, "la langue devient le symbole de ce qu'est un individu en tant que membre d'une collectivité. (Language becomes the symbol of an individual as a member of a community)." (p. 80) In fact, language can often be a factor that holds a group together (Heller, 2006).

In Ontario, as in many other provinces

where Francophones represent a minority, French-speaking youth are attracted to English-dominant North American culture. Dallaire (2004) studied how the Jeux Franco-Ontariens² helped youths to construct their hybrid identity. Intriguingly, the adolescent-participants chose to express themselves as "not just Francophone" (Dallaire, 2004, p. 163). Many of the participants considered themselves 'Bilingual' in order to express the duality of their linguistic abilities. Unfortunately, the author restricted her research to the two dominant Canadian languages and did not examine Allophones.

Individuals typically have a preferred language, based on the language they perceive to be the most elegant, most useful, or the easiest. For multilinguals, language preference often leads to a personal hierarchy of languages. Rajah-Carrim (2007) offers additional insights into language prestige in the Mauritian education system. In accordance with Heller's (2003) study, English was valued in Mauritius for associated potential social and economical gains, while Kreol, the most common native language, was officially excluded from the education system. Subsequently, French, the language of everyday interaction and English were the languages of instruction.

Language prestige clearly plays an influential role in the language use of students. While the PAL (2004) aims to restore the prestige of French in French-language schools, research is required to examine the efficiency of the policy.

The above literature review has revealed that there have been a significant number of studies in the fields of language prestige, language proficiency, and learner's desired linguistic identity. However, as of yet, no language repertoire use study has been

²The Jeux Franco-Ontariens were established in 1994 by the Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne. Students from across Ontario attend in order to compete in various disciplines.

conducted on the interrelationship among language prestige, language proficiency, and the learner's desired linguistic identity within the school domain. Furthermore, the research pertaining to Ottawa is outdated (Mourgeon & Heller, 1986) in the sense that it has yet to take Allophone language choices into consideration. In the following study, the participants each have their own native language(s), varying in proficiency levels, and each language will have a different prestige status in the community.

Theoretical framework

Code switching, the shift from one language to another within an utterance or a conversation, was studied extensively throughout the mid to late 1900s, during which time many different theories were proposed. Fishman, a pioneer in language choice theories, advanced the *domain theory*, which maintains that individuals make the conscious choice to switch languages based on linguistic and social restraints. Fishman argued that language choice occur when the interlocutor shifts between different sociolinguistic domains and/or role relationships. When the domain is constant, code switching can symbolize the interlocutor's transformation in social roles. Boztepe, however, has argued that domain theory did not convey, "what the speaker *accomplishes* as a result of alternating between available codes in his linguistic repertoire" (2001, p. 13). Heller (2003) explained this point further by noting that the interlocutor experienced a gain in symbolic resources. Heller, a prominent researcher in Franco-Ontarian education and multilingualism, claimed that the desire for certain symbolic resources (social, economical, or material resources), such as membership to particular social groups in the school, rationalized language choice. Heller's contention that code switching was often based on the need for personal gain was in line with Fishman's (1972) claim that languages were associated with roles and that code switching represented a transformation of roles. One may wish to appear a particular way and speak language

A in a certain context for social gain yet may wish to appear a different way and speak language B in another context for material gain. As secondary schools in minority language contexts are the embodiment of linguistic and social restraints, Fishman and Heller's perspectives are well suited to an environment in which youth struggle to represent themselves.

The Allophone and his or her language repertoire use are therefore at the centre of this study. Language use has been analysed through the student's desired linguistic representation, linguistic proficiency, and the prestige of the languages in his or her linguistic repertoire.

Fishman's work (1972) would suggest that the linguistic constraints of the school domain under study will oblige students to speak primarily in French, while the social restraints may compel students to speak English or another language. While Fishman recognized that the school domain was critical to language choice, Heller (2003) further elaborated that symbolic resources may also influence the learner's language choice by encouraging a personal gain. For example, when the learner wishes to be perceived as a good student, he or she may speak French in front of the teacher. However, when the learner wishes to demonstrate camaraderie and rapport with other students, he or she may choose to speak English or a native language spoken by all members of the group.

Heller examined historical events when determining the prestige of a language in Canada. As a British colony, Anglophones possessed more political power and influence while Francophones were put at a disadvantage. As she puts it, "Francophone Canada lived on the margins of power, articulated with but depended on the wealth base of Canadian society" (Heller, 2011, p.14). Heller (2003) stated that the economic and political power of Anglophones had contributed to the prestige of the English language and that the long history of British dominance in Canada had ensured that the elevated status of English was deeply rooted. It is clear to Heller that English, followed by

French, are the most prestigious languages in Canada; however, other languages can be highly valued if they allow speakers to gain resources. When Allophones can use their native languages to access social, educational, and material resources, these languages acquire power and prestige. Subsequently, in this study prestige will be attributed to a language if the speaker recognizes that the language provides social, educational, and material resources. As the participants attend a French-language school, they recognize the educational resources of French. However, they perceive the prestigious value of English and their native languages differently.

Research question

The research question that guided this study is: Within a French-language minority school, how does the interrelationship between Allophone students' proficiencies in English, French and their native language(s), their desired linguistic representation, and the prestige of their languages affect their language repertoire use?

Methodology

The data was originally collected for a SSHRC-funded 2009-2012 study (Masny et al. 2011) at a public French-language secondary school in a greater Ottawa region urban setting. Ethical approval was obtained for secondary use of their data. The initial study by the University of Ottawa's Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT) research unit intended to study the relationships between immigration, literacies, technology, and popular culture in becoming-citizen. The school chosen offers students from grades 7 through 12 a high quality French language education which prepares students for postsecondary studies.

Four Allophone students, three female and one male, were selected on the basis of having different native languages and various levels of proficiency in the languages in their repertoire. All four students spoke French, English and a third or fourth language, and were of different nationalities. The first participant, Nimo,

was a Chilean-Canadian grade 8 student who was observed in a citizenship course. She spoke Spanish, French, and English fluently. The second participant, Maria, was a Guinean-Canadian grade 9 student who was observed in a drama course. Maria spoke French and English fluently and understood some Fula, her native West African language. The third participant, Sara, was a Congolese-Canadian grade 11 student who was observed in an *Anglais pour débutants* course. Sara spoke Swahili, Lingala (a Central African Bantu language), and French with high proficiency, and English with low proficiency. Finally, the fourth participant was Mohamed, a Lebanese-Canadian grade 10 student and was observed in English as a second language course. Mohamed spoke Arabic, French, and English fluently.

Among the collected data are two 75 minute classroom observation videos for each course which focused on the students' interactions with his or her classmates and teacher. Individual interviews were conducted based on the observations in order to clarify classroom events. Additionally, the participants were given Flip Cams (personal video cameras) to document their daily life. The students were subsequently interviewed individually in order to discuss the footage. Interviews were also conducted with the students' teachers to further study language use within the school domain.

Following the interviews, verbatim transcriptions were completed in order to obtain exact quotations. The interview notes were consulted to ensure a truthful record of the interview and the final transcription were reviewed and time coded. Additionally, the Flip Cam videos were briefly described with the use of key terminology and time coded to facilitate information retrieval. The classroom artifacts, such as the student's work and teacher handouts, were photocopied and organized per participant.

After reviewing the transcripts of the four chosen participants, key quotations with regards to the students' desired linguistic representation, their proficiencies in

English, French and their native language(s), and the prestige of their languages were highlighted. Similarly, key terminology from the videos was noted and the scenes were categorized within these three factors of language use. The artifacts from the four participants were reviewed solely for the purposes of the students' proficiencies in the target language of the course.

Results

The data for the four participants was organized in terms of the three components of the conceptual framework: linguistic proficiency, desired linguistic representation, and language prestige. Evidence of data for each component was supported by quotes or examples of behaviour from the students' interviews, personal Flip Cam videos, or classroom observations.

Linguistic proficiency

The proficiency of the student in each of the languages in his or her linguistic repertoire was examined in accordance to his or her speaking and writing abilities. During initial interviews (which took place uniquely in French), the students explained which languages they spoke most often in different domains. Interestingly, no participant claimed to speak exclusively French in the school domain. The ensuing analysis represents each of the four participants' linguistic proficiencies with respect to their strengths and weaknesses with the languages in their linguistic repertoires.

Nimo

Trilingual Nimo spoke Spanish, French, and English fluently, yet claimed to be the most competent in French as it was the language in which she read and wrote most frequently. Nimo preferred to write in French due to her stronger vocabulary. Moreover, she considered Spanish to be more of an oral language. Regardless, Nimo appeared very proud of her Spanish language ability. When she visited her parents' native country of Chile, Nimo confessed that she was very confused between the different languages that she spoke. "J'étais très confuse avec les

deux langues, donc je prononçais tous les 'r' comme (...) les 'r' anglais, donc rarr" (I was very confused with the two languages, so I pronounced all the 'r' like (...) the English 'r's, so rarr). During that trip, Nimo felt like a foreigner; however, she had since improved the pronunciation of the phoneme /r/.

Nimo remembered that when she began elementary school, she did not speak any English. She felt intimidated and agitated because her school friends and her neighbourhood friends all spoke English. Nimo explained that she did not speak much when she was younger because she did not have a strong mastery of the English language. "Je me sentais comme un peu intimidée parce que je parlais pas l'anglais tellement bien, donc je parlais pas beaucoup, mais maintenant ça s'est amélioré" (I felt a little intimidated because I did not speak English very well, so I did not speak, but now it has improved).

Maria

Although Maria claimed to only speak two languages, French (her "first language") and English, her native tongue was Fula. Maria had limited production ability in Fula as she was unable to speak the language but was able to understand when spoken to by her mother and sister. "Je comprends quand elle parle mais je suis pas capable de parler" (I understand when she speaks but I am not able to speak). In the home domain, Maria spoke French even when Fula was spoken to her. Consequently, Maria spoke French most often and claimed that she was best able to relate with Francophones, whom she explained, had a greater understanding of her stories and jokes than Anglophones. Nonetheless, Maria seemed to be competent in English and often used English and French in the same sentence. Instances of her simultaneous use of French and English are rampant in the transcripts of her interviews and classroom observations. Of the four participants, Maria's transcripts had the most evidence of code switching.

Sara

Sara had the most variation of language

abilities of all four participants as she had different levels of abilities in the four languages in her linguistic repertoire. Upon arriving in Canada, Sara enrolled in a French-language school due to her strong mastery of the French language from her Congolese schooling

Sara considered herself to be very weak in English and rarely communicated in the language. “Je parle même pas, je sais même pas comment dire bonjour je pense” (I do not speak at all, I do not even know how to say hello I think). However, Flip Cam footage showed Sara conversing briefly with her sister in English. Regardless, Sara seemed disinterested in learning English. “C’est juste parce que j’aime pas l’anglais” (It is just because I do not like English). Her negative attitude toward the language was also apparent during classroom observations. For example, while responding to the English questions in the activity, Sara would often write abbreviations, yet the other students wrote complete words and sentences. Sara also left many of the questions unanswered.

Sara was most comfortable with Swahili and French as she was only capable of some writing in Lingala. “Je peux écrire les lettres et tout ça (...) mais je peux écrire des choses” (I can write letters and all that (...) but I can write some things). Sara often watched French-Lingala Congolese movies and has some Congolese friends who also spoke Swahili and Lingala, “des fois swahilie, des fois lingala” (Sometimes in Swahili, sometimes in Lingala).

Mohamed

Mohamed differed from the other students in that he was the least comfortable in French. He would use his native language in the most domains since he accorded great importance to Arabic and did not want to lose his fluency. “L’arabe c’est ma langue primaire, pis j’aimerais la garder” (Arabic is my native language, and I would like to keep it).

Upon arriving in Canada, Mohamed spoke minimal French but was placed in a French-language school. To learn English,

Mohamed later attended an English-language school, yet he credited playing video games and watching television for the majority of his language acquisition. During the interviews, Mohamed often used English vocabulary when he forgot the French equivalent. In only one instance, Mohamed did not know a word in either French or English and was required to say the word in Arabic.

In referring to Allophone students who learn French and English outside of the home, Mohamed’s teacher claimed that many develop fluency, but possess a limited vocabulary.

Je veux qu’ils comprennent l’anglais et le français parce que souvent ils maîtrisent ni une ni l’autre. Ils vont le parler souvent de façon très courant, t’sais c’est blah blah blah mais le vocabulaire est quand même limité. Le vocabulaire est pas spécialisé, on sacre, on se sert des mots vulgaires pour salir la conversation. (I want them to understand English and French because often they master neither one nor the other. They will often speak it very fluidly, you know it is blah blah blah but the vocabulary is still very limited. The vocabulary is not specialised, one swears, one uses vulgar words to dirty the conversation).

As the teacher indicated, Mohamed spoke English and French proficiently but certain language abilities, most often writing, suffered from a lack of development. Copies of Mohamed’s English work during the observations revealed that he wrote using alternative spellings, such as those commonly found in Internet chat, or incorrect spellings, which was most likely due to a lack of formal English education.

Desired linguistic representation

The interactions between the four participants and their teacher and classmates were examined and the following cases highlight instances of the participants assuming either the social identity of a student (when the participants spoke the language of instruction of the course) or a friend (when the participants spoke another language for non-academic purposes) in

order to demonstrate their different linguistic representations.

Nimo

Since Nimo had few Hispanophone classmates, she was limited to speaking French and English within the school domain. In class, Nimo was observed speaking French when addressing the teacher, in accordance with the PAL. In this instance, Nimo used French to represent her student identity. However, Nimo frequently disregarded the policy when speaking with her classmates in order to assume the social role of a friend. Nimo explained that some of her friends do not speak French at home and that she therefore speaks in English with them. “Elle ne parle pas français, comme pas un mot à la maison, donc elle est surtout habituée à parler avec anglais avec tout le monde, donc moi je m’entraîne dans ça, je parle pas vraiment français avec elle.” (She does not speak French, like not one word at home, therefore she is mostly used to speaking in English with everyone, therefore I became involved in that, I do not really speak French with her.) It was clear that Nimo made a conscious effort to speak English with her friends, but French during class. When confronted by situations during which she would speak with her friends in class while the teacher was circulating, it appeared that Nimo wrestled with language selection and predominately switches from one to the other.

Nimo’s Spanish linguistic representation primarily resided within her family and her extra-curricular activities. She practiced her Spanish culture extensively through attending Spanish dance performances, listening to Spanish music, and participating in the young Latin-American leaders club. This linguistic representation did not appear to conflict with her school identities as a French student and English friend; however Nimo stated that she desired more opportunities to speak in Spanish.

Maria

Unlike Nimo’s clear use of French to assume a student identity, Maria did not always

speak French during French-language-of-instruction classes. During one instance, Maria began speaking in English with her friends, and then switched to French as she walked past the teacher. Yet, in the teacher's presence, Maria addressed another student in English. The teacher became frustrated with Maria and disciplined her in French; however, an equally upset Maria began to speak to the teacher in English.

Moreover, Maria consciously chose to speak French with Francophones, and English with Anglophones. With Allophones, Maria was observed speaking in a combination of French and English, often switching in midsentence. Additionally, Maria would speak with one friend in English, and turn to address another student in French. The language switch appeared to be based on the language preferences of the other students. These language choices could reflect Maria's desire to appear as a friend to Anglophones, Francophones, and Allophones by speaking the language in which they are most comfortable, as suggested by Reyes (2004).

With regards to Fula, Maria chose to appear disassociated from her native language. She claimed that it did not symbolise anything for her and that it was purely "la langue de ma mère" (The language of my mother) which she did not have time to learn "j'ai pas vraiment le temps d'apprendre".

Sara

In contrast to the other participants, Sara spoke minimal English and primarily communicated in French and Swahili. During Sara's *Anglais pour débutants* course (Ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation, 1999), discussion occurred in French with her classmates and friends. Thus, Sara was using French to represent both social identities of a student and a friend. However, she often spoke in Swahili with her Congolese classmate with whom she developed a close relation. In this instance, Swahili was chosen to symbolize the social identity of a friend. When addressing questions to the teacher,

Sara spoke in French and appeared very reluctant to speak in English.

Sara: Madame, quoi? Quoi?

Teacher: Live

Sara: Live

Teacher: Live, I live in Ottawa

Sara: Okay, je vis Ottawa

Sara's rejection of English, a language she claimed not to speak, along with her dismissal of English television and music, as stated in interviews, symbolized her strong connection with her Congolese heritage and dismissal of the Canadian culture "je suis congolaise... je suis pas canadienne" (I am Congolese... I am not Canadian). Her rejection of English and clear preference for French and Swahili, confirmed that she preferred her French and Swahili linguistic representations.

Sara infrequently spoke Lingala except with her friends from the same region in the Congo. "Mes amis parlent lingala aussi" (My friends speak Lingala also). In these situations, Sara elected to speak Lingala to represent her social identity of a friend.

Mohamed

Arabic played an important role in Mohamed's home domain as well as with his school friends. He planned to return to Lebanon as an adult to live permanently. "Quand je grandis je veux vivre là-bas" (When I grow up I want to live there). In the Flip Cam footage, Mohamed was observed speaking casually with his friends in Arabic.

Mohamed claimed to primarily speak French in French-language classes since "français, c'est une langue d'école" (French, it's a school language), and with his Francophone friends. Therefore, Mohamed was adopting the roles of a student and friend while speaking French. However, Mohamed revealed that relatively few students speak French outside of class. "Il y a pas souvent qu'il y a des gens qui parlent en français." (It is rare that there are people speaking in French.) Therefore, French remained predominately a classroom language for Mohamed which he used to further his education.

As Mohamed was observed in an

English class, he spoke English in his role of a student. In one instance, Mohamed was defiant with his English teacher, who began to address him in French, but Mohamed chose to reply only in English.

Teacher: Qu'est-ce que t'es censé faire? (Okay, and what are you supposed to be doing?)

Mohamed : This

Teacher : Oui, pis qu'est-ce que tu ne fais pas? (Yes, and what are you not doing?)

Mohamed : This

This example illustrated Mohamed's unwillingness to speak French when it is not required.

Mohamed's linguistic representations of an English and an Arabic speaking friend overlapped during his Flip Cam footage in which he played video games and wrestled with two of his school friends. The three boys were observed code switching between Arabic and English, a common phenomenon when the social representation symbolized by a language becomes entangled with the same social representation symbolized by another language (Fishman, 1972).

Language prestige

Following Heller's definition of language prestige as a political strategy (2003, 2011), the languages in the four participants' linguistic repertoires were examined in function of the resources the participant gained from the use of a particular language. Heller recognized the historical events that led to the prestige of French and English in Canada, while also acknowledging that other languages can acquire power if the speaker can gain social, educational, and material resources.

Nimo

When asked which language Nimo spoke primarily with her friends, she replied "c'est surtout l'anglais" (it is mostly English). Nimo perceived English as a highly prestigious language since it is the language she spoke predominately with her friends. However, since Nimo had some school friends who do not speak English, she used

both languages for social gain. Moreover, English and French allowed Nimo to access educational gain as they were the languages she used during class for group projects. In one instance, Nimo addressed the teacher in French, and then continued to discuss a project with her group members in both French and English.

In accordance with Heller's definition of language prestige, Spanish would be perceived as less prestigious since Nimo claimed that she could only speak the language with select people. However, when reflecting on Spanish, Nimo considered it a more beautiful language than French and "c'est facile aussi parce que (...) ça ressemble un peu au français" (It is also easy because (...) it resembles French a little).

Maria

For Maria, who stated that she was unable to speak Fula, her native language possessed a low level of prestige. Maria also demonstrated limited interest in learning the language since she did not perceive any gains from speaking the language.

In contrast, English and French had high levels of prestige for Maria as she used both interchangeably at school. Maria perceived English and French as possessing the same values and used both equally as often. "Des fois je dis les deux dans la même phrase... elles sont pareilles, elles sont aussi importantes l'une que l'autre" (Sometimes I say both of them in the same sentence... they are the same, they are equally important). Maria used both languages for social and educational gain at school as she addressed her friends in either English or French, depending on their preferred language, regardless of the topic (social or educational). Maria addressed the teacher primarily in French; however instances were noted when she spoke English to the teacher.

Sara

Sara was the only participant who asserted that French was the language that she predominately spoke at school (educational gain). While other participants code switched to speak with different students, Sara claimed that French allowed her to

be understood by everyone (social gain). Moreover, when asked about her future, Sara explained that she wanted to attend a French-language postsecondary school (educational gain).

Although Sara watched Congolese movies, and conversed with some of her family and Congolese friends in Lingala, there appeared to be fewer resources gained from speaking the language. Additionally, Sara was not overly interested in learning English and did not appear to perceive many resources from speaking the language. Even though Sara recognized the importance of English through her hours spent on the internet on websites such as Facebook and Youtube, she failed to demonstrate any interest in learning English formally.

Mohamed

For Mohamed, Arabic was the most prestigious language. Mohamed wanted to maintain his Arabic language abilities as he aspired to return to Lebanon to live permanently. Consequently, he expected to receive material gain in the future for speaking Arabic and therefore placed significant prestige on the language.

With regards to French, Mohamed noted that he considered it "une langue d'école" (a school language) and that he preferred to speak English predominately at school, except when speaking French with his Francophone friends. With his close friends, Mohamed often spoke a combination of Arabic and English, as evidenced in his Flip Cam videos during which he was playing video games with some classmates. Ironically, Mohamed told one of his friends "remember, the teacher knows what we're saying, so no swearing" to ensure that the student was careful not to use vulgar language, yet since Mohamed understood that the research project was in French, he should have been encouraging his friends to speak in French. At no point during any of the Flip Cam videos or classroom observation footage did Mohamed speak in French. This resistance to use French could be an illustration of Mohamed's perception of low social, educational, or material gain

from French language use.

Interestingly, since English was viewed as the language of opposition to French, Mohamed explained that nearly all the students spoke English outside of class and that French was infrequently heard. Additionally, Mohamed alluded to English's 'cool factor' as it was a *lingua franca* among most students (social gain).

Discussion

In response to our research question we can say that all participants had the ability to code switch with ease between languages. During interviews, classroom observations, and Flip Cam footage, each participant was observed code switching for various purposes. Frequently, the participants would code switch due to a lack of linguistic knowledge, as exhibited in Mohamed's interview when he was asked about his Arabic music preferences but was not able to explain the genre in neither French nor English. On other occasions, the participants code switched to change their linguistic representation, as demonstrated by Nimo's code switching between English and French to discuss a task with her teacher and her group members. Finally, language prestige caused participants to code switch, as exemplified of Sara who spoke Swahili with her friend but French with her classmates because Swahili offered her specific social resources while French offered her educational resources.

In light of the students' minority context, it was not surprising that most (with the exception of Sara) had a strong mastery of both French and English. For social motives, Nimo, Maria, and Mohamed agreed that English was a necessary part of the school domain. Mohamed in particular alluded to English's "cool" factor when he explained that most students did not speak French outside of the classroom. Additionally, all participants agreed that membership to a predominately Anglophone community obliged them to speak English outside of school. As noted by McAndrew and Rossell (2005), friends can have a greater influence (as opposed to school and family)

with regard to language choice. Nimo, Maria, and Mohamed were all observed speaking English with their school peers. This phenomenon was also explained by Glaessner (1995, in Reyes, 2004), who noted that older students accommodate the linguistic abilities of their peers so that both speakers feel comfortable with the language. The three participants all indicated that they chose to speak English with their Anglophone or English-dominant peers and French with their Francophone and French-dominant peers.

In contrast with McAndrew and Rossell's (2005) study of Montreal French schools, the participants in this Ottawa school did not appear to retain a predominant language choice. Interestingly, the secondary school students in McAndrew and Rossell's research commented that there was an "absence d'impact du caractère plus ou moins coercitif de la politique linguistique appliquée par les écoles" (2005, p. 110). Similarly, the students in the study spoke any language within their linguistic repertoire during and between classes. Regardless, French continued to be transmitted to the students by the teachers and the students continued to demonstrate a mastery of the language.

Presently, an anticipated outcome of the implementation of the PAL is an improvement in students' French language acquisition and the development of the French identity through an increase in their oral communication skills (2004). This policy has been transformed in the sense that students were not primarily speaking French and their French identities were not privileged above their other linguistic representations. With the exception of Maria (who briefly discussed her belief that Francophones were best able to understand her jokes and stories), no participant demonstrated any particular favour for the Francophone community above either the English community or their native language community. In fact, each language was used according to pragmatic needs of communication and resource gained. Moreover, the Allophone participants

indicated that they improved their French linguistic knowledge in the school domain and through the development of friendships with Francophone students.

The PAL was initially conceived to meet the needs described by Mougeon and Heller (1986) with regards to French language support from the community. Although the PAL (2004) supports linguistic diversity, particularly with regard to its value in language learning, teachers were given limited guidance concerning the recognition of Allophone student's native languages within the school. Gérin-Lajoie and Jacquet (2008) also noted that teachers felt ill-prepared to respond to the needs of their linguistically diverse students. Two of the participants in this study, Sara and Mohamed, spoke their native languages at school, and a third, Nimo, would have spoken more Spanish at school if she had been acquainted with more Hispanophones. Subsequently, this research recommends the following to teachers in minority French language schools.

1. Recognize and value Allophone students' native languages within the school. This recommendation is of primary importance as students may encounter subtractive bilingualism (the loss of their L1 due to the dominance of the L2) when their native languages are undervalued (Hamers, 1992). These youth may subsequently feel uncomfortable using their L1 when communicating with their family members (Moore, 1992).
2. Adopt a pluralistic approach to recognize that students have a plurilingual competence that encompasses all the languages in their linguistic repertoire (European Centre for Modern Languages, 2007). When languages are perceived as resources, the use of multiple languages is a complex communication strategy which teachers should develop in students. Therefore, French could also serve as a stepping stone to other languages.

3. Attend workshops focusing on accommodating the needs of a linguistically diverse class and developing students' plurilingual competence. With the increase in multilingual students, teachers need to develop the required skills to utilize the advantages of a linguistically diverse class while assisting each student in developing his or her linguistic repertoire. In accordance with Haché's (2003) suggestion, schools should organise training sessions for staff in order to increase their understanding of the minority context.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to examine Allophone students' language repertoire use through the interrelationships among their proficiencies in English, French, and native language(s), desired linguistic representation, and the prestige of their languages. Additionally, the intent was to determine the degree to which the PAL (2004) was taken into consideration within the school and to make recommendations regarding its implementation. We were able to show that students did speak in French within the classroom during French-language-of-instruction classes as they desired to present certain linguistic representations, possessed a high proficiency in French, and perceived French as a prestigious language. Nonetheless, the three students who were proficient in English spoke significant amounts of English during class. The fourth student, Sara, was the only one observed speaking her native language within the school domain.

The PAL's mandate for predominately French use is clearly being complexified. Indeed, the students in the study were able to develop and maintain a high proficiency in French (as evidenced by their oral production abilities during the data collection process which took place uniquely in French), while strategically using the other languages of their repertoires.

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Catherine Vanner is a Ph.D. candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. Her research focuses on children's rights, gender equality and social justice in education in low-income countries and in Canada. Prior to her Ph.D. she worked as an Education Specialist at the Canadian International Development Agency. She regularly volunteers with several local non-profit education organizations. Catherine Vanner est candidate au doctorat à la Faculté d'éducation de l'université d'Ottawa. Ses intérêts de recherche gravitent autour des droits de l'enfant, de l'égalité des sexes et de la justice sociale en éducation, et ce, au Canada et dans les pays à faibles revenus. Avant d'entamer ses études doctorales, elle a travaillé pour l'Agence canadienne de développement international à titre de spécialiste en éducation. De plus, elle fait régulièrement du bénévolat au sein de plusieurs organismes sans but lucratif en éducation.

Bridging the gap: Connecting university resources to local volunteers through second language teaching and learning workshops

La didactique des langues secondes pour édifier des ponts entre ressources universitaires et partenaires extrascolaires : l'offre d'ateliers de formation à des tuteurs oeuvrant en milieu communautaire

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participants a basic understanding of the principles of second language learning. The participants indicated that they left the workshop more knowledgeable, prepared and confident in their ability to assist second language learners. The authors reflect here on the potential of academics to use small initiatives such as this one to build the effectiveness of local community organizations providing essential educational services including second language learning.

Key words: second language learning, community organizations, tutoring, scholarship of engagement

Résumé

En octobre 2013, les auteurs de cet écrit ont organisé un atelier ayant pour mission de satisfaire les besoins de formation d'organismes communautaires sans but lucratif, l'événement s'adressant à des bénévoles qui offrent du tutorat en langue seconde à des populations immigrantes dans la ville d'Ottawa. La visée première de cet article, dans cette optique, est de proposer une réflexion vis-à-vis de l'atelier et du rôle que peuvent jouer les universités dans le soutien des communautés qui les entourent. L'initiative présentée montre notamment que des tels ateliers, peu coûteux, peuvent être axés sur la pratique, qu'ils peuvent contribuer

à satisfaire des besoins spécifiques et qu'ils peuvent favoriser l'édification d'un pont entre les secteurs universitaire et communautaire. Partout au Canada, de nombreux programmes cherchent à appuyer les nouveaux arrivants, qui doivent rapidement se familiariser avec les rouages des idiomes officiels. Pour répondre à ces besoins grandissants, plusieurs de ces programmes à but non lucratif font appel à des bénévoles, qui offrent alors des services éducationnels en littératie. En raison de contraintes financières, il est toutefois rare que les tuteurs aient accès aux savoirs didactiques dont ils auront besoin dans leur travail. La formation offerte par les auteurs a donc tenté d'arrimer les principales théories concernant l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde à des exercices pratiques aidant les participants à contextualiser ces fondements théoriques au milieu dans lequel ils œuvrent. À la suite de l'événement, les tuteurs ont souligné qu'ils en sont sortis avec des connaissances précieuses et qu'ils se sentaient prêts à épauler leurs apprenants en ce qui a trait à l'appropriation d'une langue seconde. Les auteurs se penchent donc, en considérant les bienfaits d'une telle formation, sur le potentiel que détient le milieu universitaire dans la mise en place d'initiatives qui favorisent le développement des compétences didactiques de ceux dont le rôle est de promouvoir l'apprentissage des langues d'accueil chez les nouveaux

Abstract

In October 2013, the authors initiated a workshop to address the training needs of local non-profit community organizations using adult volunteers to deliver second language instruction in Ottawa. This article reflects upon the workshop and on the role of the university in contributing to its surrounding community. Small, practical, demand-driven training workshops are low-cost endeavors that can bring together academics and service providers. Programs exist across Canada to assist child and adult immigrants and refugees to build English and French language skills. Many are non-profit organizations that use volunteers to provide free second language and literacy instructional services but cannot afford significant pre- and in-service volunteer training. The authors' training workshop combined second language theory with practical application exercises to give

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arrivants à l'extérieur de l'enceinte scolaire.

Mots-clés : apprentissage d'une langue seconde, organismes communautaires, tutorat, *scholarship of engagement*

Universities are centers for knowledge development and knowledge transfer, yet that knowledge transfer frequently exists only between students and professors and does not always benefit nearby communities. This article describes an initiative to bring together the knowledge resources of the university with a known community need. In October 2013, the authors of this article, hereafter referred to as Catherine and Joël, undertook a single workshop to address the training needs of local non-profit community organizations using adult volunteers to deliver second language instructional services. We take this opportunity to reflect upon the workshop and, more broadly, on the role of the university in giving back to its surrounding community.

With the university resources, graduate students and faculty members, particularly those in education, have the potential to enhance the capacity of local community organizations. Small, practical, demand-driven training workshops are low-cost endeavors that can bring together academics specializing in a given area with adult volunteer service providers working in that area. This partnership can effectively build the instructional skills of volunteers and foster a direct university-community connection. Efforts to bridge the university-community gap are particularly important in a context of resource scarcity where non-profit community organizations that rely on volunteers are unable to cover the costs of significant pre- and in-service volunteer training and support.

While a singular workshop offered on an annual basis is unlikely to affect dramatic change, our workshop participants informed us that they left the workshop

more knowledgeable, prepared and confident in their ability to assist second language learners. At the request of our community partners, we will make our training workshop an annual initiative and are sharing our project here with the hope of stimulating feedback and reflection on the potential of faculties of education to use small initiatives such as this one to build the effectiveness of local community organizations providing essential educational services.

Second Language and Literacy Education in Canada

As of 2012, there were 257 887 permanent residents living in Canada, 65.4% of whom were economic immigrants (selected for their skills and ability to contribute to the Canadian economy), 21.8% of whom were family class immigrants (sponsored by close family members residing in Canada) and 9.1% of whom were protected refugees. The number of permanent residents in Canada has increased dramatically over the past two decades, up from 227,456 permanent residents living in Canada in 2000 and 161,588 in 1988. By far the largest portion of permanent residents in Canada (99,154) reside in Ontario, with 77,399 in Toronto and almost all others living in mid-sized urban centers (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). Many immigrants and refugees arrive in Canada without speaking English or French and require second language training to help them integrate successfully into Canadian society. Language skills are a critical element determining immigrants' active and successful participation and integration into their new country (Adamuti-Trache, 2012). Social support in this area is crucial to enhance employability, the development of social networks and access to other essential services for newcomers (Makwarimba et al., 2013). Numerous programs exist across Canada to assist child and adult immigrants and refugees to foster English

and French language skills (Derwing & Thomson, 2005), dating back to the first federal-funded second language training program for adult immigrants that began in 1947 (McDonald, George, Cleghorn, & Karenova, 2008). Today, a multitude of federally and provincially funded organizations exist across Canada with a wide range of approaches and methods for second language instruction.

While many organizations directly target recent newcomers, many also serve the broader public by providing 'literacy and essential skills' services to the general population, including but not limited to immigrants and refugees. Folinsbee (2007) calls the connection between second language and literacy education 'ESL literacy,' referring to the practice of many organizations to target both second language and literacy acquisition simultaneously. While these programs have traditionally targeted adults, the gap between the second language needs of primary and secondary school students in Canada and the availability of second language instruction services in formal education systems for children has widened (Ngo, 2007). This gap has resulted in a higher reliance on community organizations for immigrant children as well as adults.

Most non-formal second language literacy programs in Canada fall into one of two categories: voluntary non-profit organizations and private learning academies (Eaton, 2010). The latter usually have a cost associated with them and are generally unavailable to low-income immigrants and refugees. Non-profit community organizations are therefore a critically important resource for newcomers to Canada to acquire language and literacy skills. Since the 1960s, many non-profit literacy organizations in North America have heavily relied upon adult volunteers to facilitate literacy instruction (Sandlin & St. Clair, 2005). The main benefit of using volunteers as tutors and instructors is that

they are inexpensive. They also often have flexible schedules and have the potential to offer an individualized approach to instruction (Belzer, 2006b). Despite these benefits, there are many challenges involved with using volunteers, some of which may compromise the quality of the organization's service delivery.

Volunteer Training Needs and Challenges

Literacy and second language volunteers are a diverse group of individuals with varying degrees of experience. Some are trained educators but most are university students, professionals or retired individuals seeking to give back to their community. Many volunteers have little experience with education, literacy or second language instruction. Volunteer tutors usually receive a small amount of initial training which can include everything from literacy teaching and learning strategies, relational dynamics between the tutor and learner, forms of assessment, setting long and short term learning goals, using available resources and the logistics of the volunteering process (Sandlin & St. Clair, 2005).

Numerous American tutor-training programs detailed in the existing literature are described as lasting between 8 and 18 hours (Belzer, 2006a; Meyer, 1985; Sandlin & St. Clair, 2005; Tenebaum & Strang, 1992). However, this does not reflect Catherine's own experience as a volunteer tutor in Canada, which involved a shorter initial tutor training session of approximately 4 hours. Volunteer-based tutoring programs are often criticized for providing inadequate training to volunteers, resulting in a low quality of instruction that, at its extreme, can inhibit learners' literacy and language acquisition (Ceprano, 1995; Meyer, 1985; Sandlin & St. Clair, 2005). Sufficient training is particularly important for ensuring quality instruction in second language learning as "even bilingual tutors often do not understand the process of acquiring a second language in an academic setting" (Al Otaiba & Pappamihel, 2005, p. 8). Pre- and in-service tutor training is therefore critical

for ensuring high quality instruction in all volunteer literacy programs, but even more in relation to tutors whose instruction either centers on or has a component of second language learning.

Most organizations using volunteers do so in a context of resource scarcity that often prevents them from providing more extensive pre- or in-service training or support to their volunteers. In Canada, this has become an ever more challenging factor in recent years, as non-profit literacy organizations face significant federal and provincial funding cuts to literacy and essential skills programs (British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 2006; Cavanagh, 2014). This problem is compounded by juridical ambiguity surrounding which level of government is responsible for financing newcomers' language training (Centre for Literacy of Quebec, 2008; Kouritzin & Mathews, 2002). Financial limitations therefore dictate that non-profit organizations providing second language and literacy instruction must either reduce their budgets, with a potentially negative effect on quality of instruction, or explore alternative training resources that can be delivered on a volunteer basis.

The Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa

The Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa brings together diverse perspectives in several ways. It is fully bilingual, meaning that all of its undergraduate and graduate programs are offered in both French and English. It also has streams of concentration instead of internal departments, providing more scope for interdisciplinarity among faculty members and graduate students conducting research within the broad field of education. Among the Faculty's six concentrations is Second Language Education¹, attracting and developing graduate students and faculty members with a high level of knowledge related to second language teaching and learning and a range of methodological, theoretical and philosophical perspectives on second language teaching and learning

practices. The Faculty's bilingual nature and unification across fields of research brings together Anglophone and Francophone graduate students and faculty members from a large range of research concentrations, facilitating interdisciplinary collaboration.

The Faculty is also committed to community outreach, as it is situated within the University of Ottawa's broader commitment to community engagement. The university lists among its core values "practicing and promoting an ethic of service and civic responsibility" and declares in its *Destination 2020* strategic plan: "We help forge a stronger society by combining scholarship and social purpose. We value service to others and foster community partnerships in learning and discovery" (University of Ottawa, 2011). This declaration reflects Boyer's (1990) concept of a *scholarship of engagement* through which universities are transformed as they enter into partnerships with community groups to collaboratively address social, political, economic and moral issues. Marullo and Edwards (2000) expand upon this concept by calling for a social justice focus among community-university partnerships so that, rather than simply fostering charitable interactions, the partnership is driven by empowerment and enhancement of social capital and community in a way that is at once sustainable, draws critical attention to the root causes of social inequalities and operates according to social justice principles. Social justice principles are defined by Carlisle, Jackson & George (2006, p. 57) as having five components: 1) inclusion and equity within the school setting and larger community; 2) high expectations that are empowering for students of all social identities; 3) reciprocal community relationships in which

¹ Since the time of the workshops, the Faculty has reorganized its concentrations to combine the Second Language Education concentration with those focused on culture and first language.

the school is both a resource for and a beneficiary of the community; 4) a systems-wide approach to sustainable social justice for various constituency groups in all areas of the system; and 5) direct social justice education and intervention that confronts manifestations of social oppression.

From the privileged positions of doctoral candidates within the Faculty of Education, we were able to draw upon the resources of the Faculty to meet a known training need of community partners using adult volunteers in order to expand the social, educational and professional opportunities of new Canadians through assisting the development of their language and literacy skills. Our situation as doctoral candidates within the Faculty, Catherine's connection to community partners that could benefit from second language training for tutors and the ethical imperative to contribute to our community led to the establishment of the first annual second language literacy instruction training workshop for local volunteer tutors offered with the support of the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa.

The Workshop

Catherine was intimately familiar with the experience of being a volunteer tutor given her work in that capacity in a local branch of a national non-profit literacy organization working with child learners in downtown Ottawa. She volunteered on a weekly or twice weekly basis from 2009 – 2013 for the organization, which directly contributed to the development of literacy and language skills of new Canadians at various stages of learning English and/or French. She was aware of the tremendous talents and dedication among her fellow volunteer tutors but also that, with the exception of a brief initial training session, there were very few opportunities to update their skills. A local program officer recognized the importance of in-service training for the tutors but, unfortunately, the organization no longer had sufficient funding to provide additional training opportunities to keep the tutors sharp,

informed and continuously engaged in improving their efficiency as instructors. After speaking to other volunteers about this situation, it became apparent to Catherine that most of her colleagues felt capable of effectively helping their students with literacy acquisition, but remained uncertain and doubtful of their capacity when it came to the second language instruction that frequently formed a significant portion of their volunteering.

Catherine's position as a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education enabled her to initiate a training workshop conducted in collaboration with another graduate student or faculty member. Given the fact that Catherine's area of expertise was not second language education, she sought out the assistance of Joël, who was conducting research related to the nuances of second language acquisition and concerned with using his expertise to enhance the capacity of teachers and learners in this area.

Upon reaching out to several non-profit community organizations engaged in literacy and second language learning, we were met with enthusiastic responses to the idea of a training workshop. We worked with the community partners to identify a time and place that would be convenient for most volunteers and shared our workshop model with our partners beforehand to ensure it would meet their needs. The workshop was planned for mid-fall to coincide with the recruitment and training of new volunteers. The community organizations sent out an invitation to all of their tutors to participate in the workshop. It was not mandatory for them to participate in order to continue volunteering. The program was particularly targeted to new volunteer tutors but open to volunteers with any amount of experience.

In developing the workshop format, we worked collaboratively to partner Joël's knowledge of theory and practice in teaching and learning a second language with Catherine's experience as a volunteer tutor delivering the same services as the workshop participants. With the support

of the Faculty, who supplied a venue and refreshments to keep our participants going through the three hour training session, we developed a pilot workshop with the idea that, should the workshop prove valuable and helpful to the community organizations, it could be repeated on an annual basis.

It is therefore with much enthusiasm that we welcomed 17 tutors from different non-profit organizations in Ottawa to our pilot second language-teaching workshop for volunteer tutors in October 2013. Based on the variety of services provided by our partner organizations, we knew that the participants would have a range of roles, experience and responsibilities. They would all provide some form of literacy, language and/or homework support for adults and/or children with multiple language backgrounds, but the format of their programs could vary greatly. Given this diversity, we planned our three-hour evening workshop to help tutors understand the basics of second language learning, which was at the center of much of their volunteer work. We separated the event into two parts: the first focusing on L2 learning, i.e. what it means to learn a second language, and the second geared towards practice. A main concern was to prepare a workshop that would be pertinent to all participants, despite the heterogeneity of their pedagogical needs. We thus opted against a traditional instructor-centered classroom experience and instead emphasized interaction, allowing them to discuss their opinions, reactions, and experiences. In doing so, our goal was to provide a space for them to learn from us, but also to let them learn from each other. This orientation reflects the understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and that, as each person constructs their own reality based on their social experience, multiple ways of knowing are expected in any classroom (Blyth, 1997). To facilitate the participants' abilities to exchange perspectives, experiences, and ideas, our workshop was designed to emphasize elements of collaborative, cooperative and

interactive learning (Oxford, 1997).

inclusion of grammar in teaching practices basis introduced earlier to situations they

Theoretical Underpinnings²

The theoretical part of the workshop was based on second language learning instead of teaching, because we did not want to propose pedagogical options without knowing the specific contexts and the populations in which the tutors would be working. Based on Catherine's experience tutoring children, we expected our participants to work with a similar population. However, our participants turned out to be working mainly with adult learners. Given recent trends in research which increasingly focus on affective (Pavlenko, 2013) and cultural (Block, 2003) factors and their influence on language learning, we decided to adopt a holistic view of our topic. We began with a short introduction in Spanish to introduce our participants to the feeling of being in a context where you do not understand the language being spoken³. We then opened a discussion on what it meant for them to learn a second language in order to understand the participants' initial representations. The extremely divergent responses led naturally to an introduction of the three types of factors (cognitive, affective and cultural) that were to be addressed during the working. Each family of factors was presented for approximately 20 minutes, with a discussion period following the presentation of each so that participants could share their thoughts and experiences in relation to the factors. Since our objective here is not to explain the content of the workshop in detail, the following non-exhaustive table summarizes the factors that were taken into consideration during the presentation.

Many interesting group conversations arose as we presented these topics within the workshop. For example, the view that there is "a biologically determined period of life when language can be acquired more easily and beyond which time language is increasingly difficult to acquire" (Brown, 2000, p. 53) was discussed, nuanced, and debated, while the importance of the

Table 1: Factors that informed our workshop

Types of factors	Factors	Authors ⁴
Cognitive	Age	Birdsong (2006)
	Knowledge of L1	Cummins (1979); Hornberger (2003)
	Linguistic awareness in L1 and L2	Bialystok and Ryan (1985)
Affective	Motivation	Gardner (2001); Viau (2009)
	Social representations of languages	Maraillet and Armand (2006)
Cultural	Language socialization	Duff (2011)

based on the communicative approach was raised through the conversation on linguistic awareness. Beginning with Cummin's (1979) theory on linguistic interdependence between first and second language, we discussed the importance of considering the learner's linguistic and cultural background, an approach that could also influence their social representations of languages and cultures (Maraillet and Armand, 2006). Discussing Viau's (2009) model on motivation, we explored how to create activities that could motivate students by taking into account their perceptions of the activity and self-efficacy. Finally, we approached language socialization, an area that focuses on social, cultural and interactional contexts in which languages are learned. We mentioned, among other things, that discursive practices that prevail in the sociocultural context might be different than the ones in their learners' culture(s) of origin and that, as a result, it was important to question the way the tutors approach language education in regards to the cultural and linguistic background of their students.

Practical Applications

The second part of the workshop was designed to practically apply the theoretical

are likely to face in their work as volunteer tutors. To do so, we divided the participants into small groups and gave each group a profile of a learner they might encounter in their volunteering. In light of the theory that was previously discussed, the small groups were asked to come up with a list of characteristics that described the learner. They were then encouraged to identify the ways they might approach a tutoring session with that individual and strategies that could be effective. Here are examples of the profiles that were distributed:

²The authors wish to thank Dr. Carole Fleuret, Associate Professor in Second Language Education, who read and validated the theoretical content of the workshop. They also wish to thank Vice-Dean Research Dr. Raymond Leblanc and Administrative Assistant Stéphanie Berger for their assistance planning the event.

³The authors wish thank PhD Candidate Gloria Romero who kindly accepted to give a short introduction to our workshop in Spanish. This activity led to an engaging conversation and allowed us to introduce the topic in an innovative way.

⁴The authors mentioned here are some of the ones who influenced our presentation, and their names are provided here for the reader who would like to find more information on these topics. There are, however, many more researchers who have similar interests.

- A. 6 year-old learner from Ghana learning French and English, although neither is his first language. He is very shy and is reluctant to speak or participate. He is enrolled in a French school so his homework is in French, but he has a stronger understanding of English, although he is also reluctant to speak or write in both languages. The boy is able to sound out words in French but with great reluctance and demonstrates no understanding of what the words mean. His parents speak English fluently but do not speak French.
- B. Middle-aged Arabic speaker from Syria learning English. She has very limited English skills, no French skills, and is interested in learning to speak English at a conversational level. She is dedicated and serious about learning English and feels some urgency.
- C. 7 year-old French speaker from Gatineau learning English. The child has very strong spoken English but has a hard time sounding out written words. She has excellent understanding once the written words are sounded out.

Participants presented the results of their conversation to the entire group and engaged into a larger discussion of their scenarios. We then gave each small group possible challenging scenarios that reflected the realities often faced by volunteer tutors, inviting the participants to adapt the scenarios they were given to reflect a more typical experience for themselves. This modification happened extensively as many scenarios were related to children and a majority of our participants were working with adults. The challenging situations they were presented with included:

- D. There is an insufficient number of volunteers so you have to work with multiple adult learners at once. Learners are of approximately the same skill level but come from very different linguistic and cultural

backgrounds.

- E. A child learner is uninterested in reading and/or doing the homework he has brought in. He is bored and easily distracted.
- F. Working with multiple adult learners in a conversational English group, the English ability of several adults vastly exceeds that of most of the group. You want to challenge these individuals without going over the heads of the other group members.

Whereas the first discussions were about the diversity of learners and the ways to address this ethnolinguistic heterogeneity, the second set of scenarios gave them the opportunity to work from the theory to solve concrete challenges. For example, in Scenario D, the group discussed how to consider the diverse backgrounds of learners in developing activities. In other words, the group found ways to incorporate linguistic background and experiences into teaching practices, and thus proposed and shifted conceptualization of diversity as a source of didactic richness in accordance with Cummins' (1979) and Hornberger's (2003) models on L2 learning.

Reflections

Our main objective was to provide tutors with the theoretical grounds of second language learning in order to favour instruction that is more coherent with research findings from this field. At the same time, our workshop design encouraged sharing ideas, opinions and advice between participants. Based on the feedback forms that each participant filled out at the end of the workshop, the workshop's socioconstructivist orientation that conceptualized learning as a social process through which individuals create knowledge together (Kim, 2001) was considered one of the strengths of the training session. Due to the informal approach, the theoretical component was a great opportunity for the participants to reflect on the contents and ask questions

as the presentation went on, thus creating a welcoming and accepting community of learning. It was, moreover, interesting to notice that their conceptions of second language learning changed during the workshop, as many of them mentioned the discussion of cultural factors as a key element of the theory that they had not previously considered. Research on second language learning has traditionally focused on its cognitive dimension but is now shifting focus to pay more attention to cultural and affective factors (Atkinson, 2011). Although we cannot make clear connections between epistemological orientations in research and people's views on second language learning, the appeal of cultural factors for our participants can possibly be explained by an effect of novelty, as studies have only recently started addressing second language learning in this regard and it has not yet become prominent in practice.

We also received strong positive feedback regarding the group activities and scenarios, which shifted the focus toward practical tools, techniques and their application in context. Most participants agreed that it was a relevant way to link the theory with both the concrete tutoring situations we provided and each other's experience in the field. Despite this positive feedback, some tutors felt that the workshop was too theoretical and would appreciate an even more practical orientation. Some mentioned wanting more tips that they could apply during their volunteering hours. We had considered this prior to the workshop and concluded that, since "tips and tricks depend on the assumption that different groups respond similarly" (Gunn, 2007, p. 4) and we were unsure of our participants' needs, practice and backgrounds, we would focus more broadly on language learning. Other participants mentioned the lack of attention on specific tutoring situations such as homework clubs and conversation groups, which was difficult for us to address as we did not know who was going to take part in the workshop when we organized it.

Reflecting these suggestions, we adapted our next workshop accordingly. The second workshop took place in November 2014 with a new group of tutors that, this time, were working almost exclusively with children⁵. This time we had 28 participants, an increase in enrolment likely due to the active promotion by one organization's Community Coordinator. While we did not modify the overall formula of the session, we made several changes to reflect the suggestions of our first group of participants. In order to integrate the practical application more throughout the theoretical discussion, we used video resources of tutors in action⁶ to demonstrate the application of each of the factors (cognitive, affective and cultural) after the factor was introduced. Each video was then followed by a group conversation to respond to the factor and its application as demonstrated in the video. We considered one participant's suggestion of inviting second language learners who have participated in a tutoring program to share their views. As the group this year was working primarily with children, for ethical reasons we decided to implement this suggestion in future with an adult learner when we had a group working primarily with adults. We did, however, select video resources that included the perspectives of both tutors and child learners. These adaptations allowed us to maintain what was already appreciated in the workshop, stay true to the theoretical and research foundations, and reinforce the practical relevance of the theoretical basis. As with the first workshop, we received almost universally positive feedback from the participants and enthusiastic expressions of interest from the participating organizations to continue the workshop on an annual basis.

Concluding Thoughts

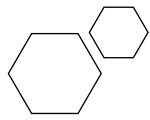
In 1996, Boyer described his concern regarding the growing divide between universities and service to the local, national and international community. He encouraged universities to foster “a

special climate where academic and civic cultures communicate more continuously and more creatively with each other, helping to enlarge what anthropologist Clifford Geertz describes as the universe of human discourse and enriching the quality of life for all of us” (Boyer, 1996, p. 20). While his call is primarily directed toward university administrators and faculty members, we believe that graduate students need not wait until they obtain a faculty position to begin contributing to this special climate. Our workshop demonstrated that, even with significant time and resource limitations, small initiatives can connect the knowledge resources available to doctoral candidates with community needs. We also realized that we can learn as much from our participants as they can from us. Given the demonstrated demand for second language training to volunteer tutors, we are exploring possibilities to further enhance the relevance of our training workshops and better understand the potential contributions university-based training sessions can make through empirical action research on this subject. The participants in our workshop voluntarily offer their time and energy to help promote second language and literacy development among immigrant learners and willingly gave up an additional evening to enhance their instructional skills. The workshop provided us an opportunity to directly apply our knowledge to contribute to the professional development of their volunteer efforts and we will strive to enhance our ability to effectively make this contribution.

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⁵Two participants from the 2013 workshop returned to participate again in 2014.

⁶The video resources were created by the Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY) and are available on YouTube. CMY runs a program called Learning Beyond the Bell, which supports over 250 homework clubs in Victoria, Australia.



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Language and Identity Research Revisited: Deleuzian ‘Becomings’

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Introduction

Based on Deleuze & Guattari’s (1987) ontological concept of assemblage, this paper explores what it means to work within the research assemblage when examining language and identity. For Deleuze & Guattari (herein referred to as D & G), “all we know are assemblages” (1987, p. 25), which refers to the inter-relation of multiple heterogeneous elements or objects that enter into relation, work together within a system combining and transforming each other and the greater system of which they are a part (MacGregor-Wise, 2005).

This paper looks at some of the multiple elements that comprise the research assemblage including the researcher(s), research topic(s), research site(s), research participant(s), and the material collected in the field. Each entity brings his/her/its own assemblage. For instance, the researcher brings her/his personal experience including worldview, affect, values, academic training and theoretical perspective, and empirical literature that has shaped her/his interest in the research topic. Likewise, each individual participant brings his/her/its life experience, world

views, and trajectories. Even the research site might be viewed as an assemblage comprised of the broader social context, and the geography and materiality of the institutions involved. What happens when the researcher, a research topic, a research site and research participants connect? What might be produced?

This paper draws on earlier qualitative research on language and identity that the first author conducted when she was an English as a Foreign Language Instructor in Korea. Drawing on incidents¹ that occurred in the data collection process, the following questions will be addressed: What does it mean to work in a research assemblage? What does this imply for concepts of subjectivity, agency, language, and voice, and the practices of representation, coding, and knowledge production in language and identity research?

This paper begins by explaining principles central to D & G’s concept of assemblage: decentered subject; human agency; non-hierarchy of language, and voice. It becomes evident that working within the assemblage requires a radical rethinking of how research might be conducted so not to control and manage our existence but rather, as Lather comments, to produce a different type of knowledge and to produce knowledge differently (2013). Therefore, the purpose of this article is not to provide definite responses but rather to open space of and for difference² (Coleman & Ringrose, 2013). In the second section, the earlier research is plugged into Deleuzian thinking regarding two specific incidents that occurred in the data collection calling into question the utility of traditional

qualitative practices to deal with the micro-singularities. How these two incidents may have shaped the data in invisible ways, that is, through means not recorded on paper, is considered. In the third section, the limitations of traditional practices of coding, categorizing, and representation in qualitative language and identity research are discussed; however, before purporting Deleuzian methodologies as a solution to the limitations of traditional research, an exploration of the multiple challenges of working within the research assemblage is warranted.

Section 1: Deleuze and Guattari Ontology

Becoming

In response to Western philosophy’s reliance on reductionism and linearity to explain social and cultural phenomenon, D & G put forward an ontology emphasizing change and difference through becoming (1987). A clear example of traditional reductionism is the practice of applying universal

¹ The term incidents is used here to refer to interactions with participants before and during the data collection that typically would not interfere with analysis and production of the written report; however, from a D & G lens, this is central to the dynamics, affect, and interrelation of working within the research assemblage.

² Difference is traditionally conceived of as the relation between two terms each with a distinct identity. Deleuze (1994) reverses this order, whereby identity is produced by a prior relation between differentials. Difference is a transcendental principle that constitutes what is perceived as empirical diversity (Smith & Protevi, 2012).

characteristics to define social groups; the category of woman is composed of specific fixed and stable traits, which contrast the category of man (Jackson, 2013). D & G take issue with science's fixation with the pre-given and static, and propose becoming to uncover what happens in between polar categories. *Becoming* emphasizes the potential for change as a fluid process of interactions and transformations that destabilize rigid structures, such as gender categories and linear assumptions that bind us to the status quo (Martin & Kamberelis, 2013). In terms of non-linearity, Massumi (1992) contends "there is no origin, no destination, no end point, or goal" (p. 105). Hence, it is misguided to assume a direct linear relationship between cause and effect, such as a teacher's instruction leading to a student's learning. Instead, becoming occurs through unpredictable zig-zags. By focusing on the micro level singularities that break away from the normative, becoming brings to light the unpredictable reality of an ever-changing world. These breaks from the normative arise in the day-to-day through events that cause ruptures and transformations, moving the individual (deterritorialization). For all states in D & G ontology, deterritorialization is temporary, shifting to stability (reterritorialization) but only to be moved again (deterritorialized/reterritorialized) in an ongoing cycle. Because existence is in a constant state of becoming, that is consistently being reshaped and redefined, Western science's dependence on essentialized static identities fails to capture the intricacies of movement, and change. Emphasizing change, difference, and what happens in between presumably fixed constructs (Martin & Kamberelis, 2013), becoming and assemblage provide an alternative approach to examining interrelation, complexity, non-linearity, variation, and unpredictability in the process of transformation.

Becoming is particularly relevant to second language acquisition (SLA). Accepting that language learning challenges the very heart of learners' psychological,

social, and cultural sense of self (Kramsch, 2009), language learning cannot be viewed as a neutral practice but rather as potentially conflictual and transformative leading to the reorganization and renegotiation of learners' identities (Norton & Toohey, 2011). While Norton's conceptualization of identity has spurred a wealth of research proving its significance as a critical variable in language acquisition, language and identity research has not been without its critics. For example, Norton's (1995, 2000) post-structuralist conceptualization of identity as plural, non-unitary, multiple, and ever-changing, emphasizing change and fluidity fails to account for stability and why some aspects of identity change while others stay the same (Menard-Warwick, 2005). Furthermore, competing conceptualizations of agency, structure, and individual subjectivity continue to plague language and identity research, hence the reason for which Block (2013) calls for new approaches to further advance the field, more specifically, theoretical and methodological developments that take into account the psychological and social nature of language identity negotiation.

Assemblage

With what has been called the social turn in SLA, research has shifted to the view of language learning as a social process (Block, 2013). In a similar vein, D & G ontology also emphasizes interconnection as people are not isolated from their environment (1987). People are inseparable from the pressures and resources presented by the external and internal milieus in which they function and from which they are produced. However, D & G (1987) take it one step further by connecting all entities, both human and non-human, in the flux of the assemblage: "There is no such thing as either man or nature now, only a process that produces the one within the other and couples the machine³ together" (p.2). The assemblage does more than operate to produce an end result. Assemblages produce changes within and between its entities and changes to other assemblages to which they are connected.

For example, the language classroom might be viewed as an assemblage bringing together languages, students, teachers, program curriculum, subject content, a specific lesson of the day, lesson materials, and the physicality of the learning site. The expected outcome of this assemblage would be achieving the lesson objectives, yet other more individual specific and subtle results may emerge such as a participant enjoying a particular activity, reinforcing his/her prior knowledge, or feeling more motivated. In the system of the assemblage, forces, flows, and intensities connect and interact, and within this system, all parts and components are equal; there is no human hierarchy, no individualist center, and no participant subjectivity.

Decentered Subjects

A decentered subject goes against the longstanding predominant view in Western philosophical thought of humans as rational actors actively and autonomously performing and creating their actions (Masny, 2013). From D & G's perspective of a decentered subject in the assemblage, individuals are not autonomous thinking subjects with rationality, nor can their world be subjectively constructed (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). There is no "subject" that creates conditions, incidents, or outcomes but rather parts of the system working together to produce becomings. Instead of focusing on the intentions, actions, and subjectivities of the individual participants, D & G ontology considers the "subject group" (the assemblage) and what might be happening in the greater picture where productive forces that connect individuals to each other and to their context determine the working of the assemblage (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). Just as a language cannot be learnt alone, the individual learner cannot independently create and control

³ Deleuze uses the word machine not to describe an item or an object but the process of production that is the connections that make up the relationship between entities (Colebrook, 2002, p. 55-56).

the optimal conditions for learning.

Human Agency

However, being de-centered in the assemblage does not mean that humans are hapless victims to the social context they find themselves in. D & G draw on post-humanist thought and the concept of collective agency. This differs from individual agency whereby individuals are free-willed and self-determined. Likewise, it differs from the view of human agency expressed through collectives, or collectively (such as institutions), that exerts human-like agency with directionality and intentionality. From a post-human materialist standpoint, human agency, either individual or collective, is bound with and exercised through materiality, including not only objects and tools but also the bodily and the affective. Hence, one entity, be it an individual or institution, is not in superior possession of agency. Instead, agency is distributed and emerges between the elements, temporally, and unpredictably, changing, growing, and breaking, only to re-grow (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013).

Qualitative research has up to now operated with the view that “agency is an innate characteristic of the essentialist, intentional, free subject that enable him to act on and in the world” (Mazzei, 2013, p. 733). This means that ascribing “agency” to someone implies a voluntary rational actor that can make willed, rather than determined, choices. It presupposes subjects “who speak for themselves; subjects capable of knowing others; and subjects in charge of their desires and identifications” (Lather, 2009, p. 17). Again, experienced language teachers know oral classroom participation is more complex than students simply knowing the answer, wanting to say the answer, and actually saying the answer. This is evidenced in MacIntyre, Clement, Dornyei, & Noels’ (1998) notion *Willingness to Communicate*. Furthermore, the assumption of a fully knowing and controlling rational actor underpins qualitative interviewing which

presumes that participants are in control of their thoughts and can fully access and articulate their perceptions and experiences through spoken/written language (Mazzei, 2013).

The De-centered Researcher and Agency in the Research Assemblage

Just as everything in life is interconnected, the researcher cannot separate her/himself from the research topic, the research site, the field material, and the research participants. Post-structuralist theories have long rejected the notion of pure positivist objectivity; however, within post-structuralism, there remains a belief that “true” “real” knowledge exists and is out there to be discovered by reflective researchers well-trained in controlling and bracketing their subjectivity. As Barad (2007) has argued, for qualitative research, humanist views of agency become paramount when discussing issues of subjectivity and the assumption that the researcher can step outside of him/herself and bracket his/her subjectivity. For some strands of qualitative inquiry, thoughtful consideration and precise techniques make achieving sufficient reflexivity possible. In other words, if a researcher is reflective enough, then he/she can get to the real truth⁴.

This is problematic for D & G scholars on two accounts: First, is the assumption that there is a “real” “truth” waiting to be uncovered. D & G espouse the idea that there is no “real” truth to get at, yet reflexivity in qualitative research continues to endorse the misguided belief that “truth” is out there to be found. Barad (2007) cautions against the danger of this latter line of thinking according to which reflexivity will produce a “truer” more authentic understanding of the research phenomenon by citing Haraway’s observation that “reflexivity has been recommended as a critical practice, but my suspicion is that reflexivity, like reflection, only displaces the same elsewhere, setting up worries about...the search for the authentic and really real” (p. 71). For D &

G, reality is always in flux, and the notion of an essentialized truth to be discovered is a delusion.

The second problematic D and G point to is the nature of unvarying agency. It is incorrect to presume that innate fixed agency is available and that properly trained researchers can access and activate agency to sufficiently address researcher subjectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity.

D & G’s view of social research maintains that subjectivity cannot be contained. What a researcher thinks, seeks to discover, observes, perceives, reasons, and writes is not because of his/her autonomy. Instead, agency is enacted in the entanglement of researcher-data-participants-theory-analysis, rather than as an innate attribute of an individual human being (Mazzei, 2013). From a Deleuzian perspective, researcher reflexivity scholarship, would thus have to be read with a grain of salt. For example, Menard-Warwick (2011) outlines the process of methodological deliberation involved in her analysis of English language teacher identity narrative data. Yet, despite the author’s attempt to be a “more transparent-than-usual researcher” (p. 572) and provide an account of her data analysis protocol, she concedes that a completely transparent account is not possible. Agency also relates to the participants and what they contribute to the research assemblage. The decentered subject with agency made available through the enactment and intra-actions within the assemblage implies that participants are not fully in control of what to think, see, perceive, and say. This becomes relevant when we consider the agency enacted by participants in data collection.

Decentered Language and Voice

Just as individuals are decentered in the research assemblage, so is language.

⁴Pillow (2003) discusses four common uses of reflexivity in qualitative research: reflexivity as recognition of self, reflexivity as recognition of other, reflexivity as truth, reflexivity as transcendence.

Inherent to the foundations of qualitative interview methods is the assumption that language is the primary, and perhaps exclusive, means of gathering interview data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). Within the research assemblage, the hierarchy of language is demoted from the supreme source of expression and understanding (MacLure, 2013a). Language is flattened, hence requiring a completely different way of looking at what traditionally has been considered “data” and how to approach this “data” for knowledge production.

Language centered assumes that spoken words are sufficient to understanding expression. Perhaps this is most apparent in language learners experimenting with the target language, applying vocabulary and expressions correctly or incorrectly to express ideas. Decentered, language is not superior to other forms of materiality or expression, such as actions, emotions, and the visual or what collectively Deleuze (1990) refers to as ‘sense’: “Deleuze identified something wild in language: something that exceeds propositional meaning and resists the laws of representation...Sense is important for a materialist methodology because it works as a sort of ‘mobius strip’ between language and the world” (MacLure, 2013a, p. 658). Words spoken in the interview are only one element of the incident and they do not compose or reflect their entire circumstance within the assemblage. Thus, what is occurring in the interview process is more than an exchange of words. The words that are documented and that will later be categorized, coded, and interpreted to explain a specific phenomenon are only one part of the picture. Believing that language and words alone are sufficient goes against the notion that there is more happening during the interview.

The second issue with decentered language and decentered subjects relates to voice. Because assemblages operate through collective agency, we cannot separate individual agents, hence reconceptualizing how we understand individual’s utterances. Mazzei proposes *Voices without Organs* to

conceptualize collective agency, non-hierarchy, and unity within the assemblage:

There is no separate individual person in an interview study to which a single voice can be linked - all are entangled. In Deleuzo-Guattarian ontology, there is no present, conscious, coherent individual who “knows what she is, what she means, and means what she says (MacLure, 2009, p. 104). Thus, we decouple voice-words spoken and words written in transcripts - from an intentional, agentic humanist subject and more to VwO (Voices without Organs) voice thought as an assemblage as a complex network of human and non-human agents that exceeds the traditional notion of the individual (Mazzei, 2013, p. 734).

From a Deleuzian perspective, it is illogical to reduce statements to just the speaker. Likewise, it is faulty to presume that individuals can know their truth and accurately and completely convey it in words.

Section 2: Plugging-In

Reconceptualizing the “data” and the qualitative data collection, interview, and analysis process requires plugging-into the Deleuzian ontology. This paper is very much inspired by Jackson (2013) and Jackson & Mazzei (2013), who describe data as “multiplicitous—it is not dependent on being stabilized or known in an ont-epistemic project of qualitative research ‘interpretation’ and ‘analysis’. As a machine, data ‘works’ when it enters and interrupts a flow, or is ‘plugged in’ to produce different ontologies” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013, p.114). Researchers apply theory to explain human phenomenon. This is what is referred to as “plugging-in”. Likewise, the reader plugs-in by making sense, or not, of what we have written and applying the text to his/her own knowledge. As D & G (1987) comment, “When one writes, the only question is which other machine the literary machine can be plugged into, must be plugged into in order to work” (p.4). Plugging into different machines entails different processes and different outcomes. Colebrook (2002, pg.

56) elaborates on this variance:

The bicycle is a machine that does not work or have a particular meaning or use until it connects up with another machine. When it connects up with a cyclist, it becomes a vehicle; when it is placed in a gallery, it becomes an artwork.

When we plug the data into Deleuze, we unmake and remake producing something new. This process of plugging-in entails rearranging, reorganizing and refitting together the pieces of the two machines (the data and the theory), thus developing a new understanding of how things are connected and what these connections create (Jackson, 2013; Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). In the research assemblage, the researcher also plugs into the machine, simultaneously producing research and being produced by the research, or in the words of Mazzei (2013), “where the we/me is made/unmade” (p. 735).

The Previous Study

The earlier research focused on second language identity negotiation of Korean EFL learners. To address the disparity of L2 identity research in EFL localized settings (Norton & Toohey, 2011), the earlier study examined how English shapes self and social identity through actual use in day-to-day interaction in the local Korean context. Underlying this study was the presumption that language use is highly context-dependent. In the context of Korea where competing language ideologies play a critical role in defining national identity, the English language would not be a straightforward clear-cut matter (Park & Lo, 2012).

The initial study examined the return of Korean students from extended periods of study abroad to understand how they (re)negotiated their multiple linguistic and cultural identities once back in their native context. The theoretical framework drew on Norton’s construct of identity (1995, 2000), on that of multiple identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), and on

agency (Ahearn, 2001). Data for the study was collected over several months from 2012-2013. Using purposive homogenous sampling techniques, open-ended questionnaires and in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 adult bilingual Korean-English speakers who had lived abroad for over 4 years: a criterion which assumes the formation of self and social identity aside from their native L1. All the participants knew the researcher as an instructor, either being enrolled in one of her classes or as a faculty member in their program⁵. Findings of the earlier study showed (1) challenges in using English in the local context; (2) strategic use or non-use of language to blend in or distinguish themselves from the local population; and (3) “natural” L2 expression and language identity occurring mainly in private or professional circumstances. Findings suggest that L2 identity negotiation in local contexts is a complex process raising the question of L2 identity options and (dis) empowerment. Pedagogical implications relating to L2 language instruction followed (Vasilopoulos, 2015).

The Incidents that Occurred

Plugging into the interview data and field notes of incidents leading up to, and during, the interview with Keith,⁶ this section interrogates how the researcher approached the interview, contributed to the interview, and what the researcher made/unmade, and simultaneously how the researcher was made/unmade, from the interview.

Incident #1

Prior to the interview, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire designed to serve two functions: (1) to elicit general background demographic information, and (2) to turn participants’ attention to the research topic of language and identity. Keith attended the researcher’s office to submit his completed questionnaire and discuss his eligibility to participate in the study. He was concerned that his atypical history of moving overseas and returning to Korea was very relevant to his linguistic

identity but too distinct from that of other participants. He proceeded to disclose highly personal details of his childhood upon which the researcher asked to take notes to add to his participant file. The interviewer was thus informed of Keith’s history. How did this shape the incidents within the research assemblage? How did knowing the unique and perhaps traumatic circumstance of Keith’s history affect the researcher’s and even the participant’s voice? How did this impact the interviewer’s questions, and the connections between questions and responses? If we accept the interconnection between entities (the researcher, the participants, the research topic, etc.), there is little doubt that what occurred outside of the formal interview and not foreclosed in the formal transcripts greatly impacted what occurred during the taped session from which data analysis was based.

Incident #2

Looking at the interview memos and re-listening to the transcript, an intriguing moment occurs when Keith was describing an incident where he felt he had to conceal his English proficiency. At the end of the narrative, the interviewer noticed Keith’s eyes swollen with tears. This display of emotion was not included in the original transcript, yet the interviewer’s noticing this evidence of emotion certainly impacted the next line of questions. Feeling destabilized by his extremely candid response and the sensitivity of the topic, the interviewer changed the line of questions to avoid prying too deeply into what seemed to be a very personal issue. Though the interview did continue until all relevant research topics were covered, one must wonder about the role emotion played during the interview and subsequently in analysis of the data.

The interconnection between researcher/interviewer, research topic, participants, research site, theory, data, analysis, are so associated that singling words or ideas to one source would be false. This becomes apparent in the shift

to the line of questioning that occurred when Keith began to show emotion. It was a shift made in the given circumstance of a near-crying adult male student. It was based on sensitivity towards the participant’s discomfort, the interviewer’s personal discomfort, knowledge of his past, the relationship as his instructor, and the interest in continuing the interview. What happens in the research assemblage produces something very different from what traditional researchers have hoped to acquire. It goes beyond the words on the transcripts, the words on the field notes, and the words to code, classify, and represent and attribute utterances as exact reflections of what occurred and what is occurring. This presents multiple challenges to researchers working within the assemblage. How can incidents within the research process be understood, and how are these incidents interpreted by the researchers to fit the protocol of traditional qualitative research?

Data Reconsidered

The incidents outlined above suggest that more is going on in the data collection process than is captured on tape, field notes, or in the written questionnaires. What is missing in the data, which constitute the “findings” of qualitative research? In the research assemblage with a decentered researcher, decentered participants, decentered language and collective voice, it seems that traditional practices of coding and categorizing literal transcribed statements are insufficient to explain the dynamics of the interview process. MacLure (2009, 2011, 2013a) has written extensively on the topic of what coding misses such as the entanglement of bodies, materiality, and emotion that may not be directly

⁵ Ethical approval was provided by the University’s Ethical Review Board and formal written consent was obtained from all participants prior to data collection.

⁶ A pseudonym was chosen by the participant and is used throughout the manuscript to protect their identity.

visible in language. Focusing on literal and tangible language, researchers ignore the sensations of familiarity, comfort/discomfort, nausea, complacency, disgust, embarrassment, guilt, fear and fascination (MacLure, 2013b). MacLure further argues that acknowledgement of affect is vital to understanding our thoughts and decision-making as researchers, and as individuals: “These gut feelings point to the existence of embodied connections with other people, things and thoughts that are far more complex than the static connections of coding” (MacLure, 2013b, pp. 171-172). Keith’s disclosure of his unique (and traumatic) past was shocking. Likewise, his tearing eyes were destabilizing and uncomfortable and leading to digression from the topic. Within the existing framework of qualitative research methodology, do traditional methods in language and identity research sufficiently address the impact these incidents and affect had on this interviewer’s data collection and data analysis?

Qualitative interview research focuses on language (MacLure, 2013a). This is very important in language development and identity research because researchers are looking for data in the form of words spoken or written by the research participants. Researchers then take the words collected over an artificially bounded period of time and hold these words as a representation of the complex process of linguistic identity development that the participants are experiencing. This is also problematic in the sense that words are essentialized as reflections when in fact they are not more than temporal means of quasi-representing ever-changing self-perceptions. It is perhaps even more troubling to do so when dealing with a phenomenon as elusive and abstract as identity. Moreover, it seems even more paradoxical to use incomplete representations to label and explain an essence (identity) that is forever changing and not fixed. From D & G’s perspective, identity is always in flux in the state of becoming and hence should not, and cannot, be essentialized through sedentary

words. The attempt to conduct linguistic identity research has proved challenging, and in retrospect, questions the legitimacy and appropriateness of the previous socio-constructivist approach and qualitative methods.

The potential of applying D & G ontology to examine interconnections between language learners’ linguistic development and becoming is compelling. As D & G put it, there is no beginning and no end; we enter in the middle and leave in the middle (1987). In terms of the original study which attempted to uncover the linguistic identity negotiation of bilingual Korean returnees, the question now is, where did their becoming begin and when did it end? The belief that the past and the present of a phenomenon as expansive and indefinable as identity can be captured in a series of tape-recorded interviews, questionnaires, and observations is misguided. In D & G’s world, much more exists that goes beyond the knowledge of the introspective participant and the eye/ear of the trained researcher.

In this case, one might consider how the *we/me* made and unmade each other, as the interview process itself is a becoming for the participant and the researcher. From within the research assemblage, how the sharing of Keith’s past history contributed to the research assemblage and the making/unmaking of *we/me* is interrogated. What produced Keith’s tearing eyes, and what did his tearing eyes produce? Moreover, how did the relationship between the researcher and the participant as ever changing entities function in producing Keith’s near tears? Within the research assemblage, the precise role of each actor, or his or her relationship, will not be discovered, nor is its explanation necessary. The goal is to draw attention to what is happening aside from the language spoken, transcribed, coded, and analyzed to produce “findings”. Agentive acts within the assemblage shaped Keith’s and the researcher’s becoming. In short, if it is not possible to separate the interviewers/researchers/participants from the interview process, then what is the

utility of maintaining distance, bracketing, reflexivity, and so-called authenticity in qualitative research?

Conclusion

This paper discussed the multiple challenges faced when conducting language and identity research within the D & G research assemblage. Through the revisiting of an earlier study conducted in 2012 on language and identity negotiation among bilingual Korean adult returnees, two incidents that occurred with one participant are re-assessed. Plugging into D & G ontology, these incidents illustrate potential shortcomings of qualitative research practices related to subjectivity, reflexivity, representational uses of language and coding. A lot of what occurred in the interview developed because of what occurred outside of it, combined with elements that went beyond what could/was captured in the recording. All the researcher had to work with was words: words from respondents’ questionnaires, unrecorded words spoken prior to and after the interview, and words in the taped interview. From reading D & G’s perspective, what words and language produce in the data collection may not be enough. The bracketing of time when data collection starts and finishes artificially confines what is defined as formal “data”. Likewise, the site where data is uncovered is bound by temporal, situational, and geographical limits. Furthermore, for interview data, the means of conveying and expressing is limited to the spoken word. Combined, there is a fixation on interpreting meaning, and representation through coding words (or in ethnographic approaches, codifying and quantifying actions, sights, sounds, etc.), which in the end produces a very definitive picture but an incomplete one at that.

Through the reconceptualization of the incidents from the perspective of the research assemblage, the interconnection and complexity inherent to the mangle of life in the assemblage come to light. However, the challenges of working

within the research assemblage are also apparent: if one accepts D & G's emphasis on difference and becoming, one must look beyond essentialized identities and the sedentary nature of words. How can scholars investigate language without focusing just on words? What will our new relationship between language, expression and representation be comprised of and how will it function? Moreover, accepting that becoming occurs in the assemblage requires a decentering of the researcher, the subjects, and voice. Working within the research assemblage requires a radical reconceptualization of how traditional qualitative language research has until now analyzed data. The uncharted waters are expansive and may be promising, but be forewarned, the waves will be rough.

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