

**Profiles of French Immersion Teachers:
Personal and Professional Identities and the
Linguistic and Cultural Reproduction of a
Bilingual Canada**

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to examine how the professional identity of French Immersion teachers in British Columbia is constructed and sustained in discourse. I examine the interplay of individual identity construction and institutional discourses related to bilingualism, to language and culture, and to French Immersion education as an agency of cultural and linguistic reproduction.

This study was conducted with 12 French Immersion teachers in one Greater Vancouver school district. I examine individual interview and focus group data and official documents related to bilingualism in Canada and British Columbia, in order to reveal the ways in which French Immersion teacher identity is shaped and constrained by dominant ideologies of language and authoritative discourses of bilingualism.

My analysis indicates that participants construct a sense of professional identity as French Immersion teachers by drawing on discourses of language that privilege native-speakers and discourses of bilingualism as dual monolingualisms. Identity construction is largely confined by dominant discourses that position these participants as outsiders or bilingual imposters.

A critical examination of the authoritative discourses that inform French Immersion teacher identity creates an opportunity to consider alternative discursive understandings of language and bilingualism for future and current French Immersion teachers. The findings of this study suggest that French Immersion teachers should be offered alternative, progressive discourses that provide new ways of reconceptualising their professional identities in positive ways. Teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, can offer French Immersion teachers access to progressive discourses in order to reimagine and construct their professional identities in favourable ways.

Keywords: teacher identity; French Immersion; discourse; bilingualism; British Columbia

Dedication

To my mother and my teachers for offering me the French language;

To my parents for their support of my education;

To my husband for his understanding and encouragement throughout my graduate studies.

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List of Acronyms

BCME	British Columbia Ministry of Education
CPF	Canadian Parents for French
ERI	Ensemble de ressources intégrées
FI	French Immersion
FSL	French as a Second Language
IRP	Integrated Resource Package
MATESOL	Master of Arts for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
MCHOL	Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages
NS	Native speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
OLA	Official Languages Act
ORE	Office of Research Ethics

Chapter 1.

Introduction

In 1969, the Official Languages Act (OLA) recognized English and French as the official languages of Canadian federal institutions. The political vision of Canada as a bilingual nation has changed little in the 45 years since the OLA was adopted by parliament. The purpose of the OLA is to:

- (a) ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions;
- (b) support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities and generally advance the equality and status and use of the English and French languages within Canadian society; and
- (c) set out the powers, duties and functions of federal institutions with respect to the official languages of Canada.

(Hudon, 2011, p. 1)

The OLA has been twice renewed, through the Action Plan for Official Languages (2003-2008) and the Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality 2008-2013. The authoritative discourse (Bahktin, 1981) of the political document enshrines English and French as the legitimate languages of the Canadian nation-state. English and French are maintained as the official languages, as the official discourse suggests, through a program of "respect" and "development" to "advance the equality and status and use of the English and French languages."

The authoritative discourse of official bilingualism in Canada, as set out in the OLA, informs a dominant, collective understanding of bilingualism. The authoritative discourse is based on a monolingual view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 2008). Official bilingualism in Canada means two separate and autonomous languages, English and French. This dominant ideological construction of dual monolingualisms as bilingualism

shapes the discourse of individual bilingualism in Canada (Brogden, 2009; Byrd Clark, 2010a; Heller, 2001; Lamarre, 2013; Roy, 2010).

Within this national context and dominant discursive construction of bilingualism as dual monolingualisms, individual teacher professional identities are negotiated through institutional discourses and powerful language ideologies (Brogden, 2009; Byrd Clark 2010a; Cook, 1999; Gohier, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003; Sabatier 2011). French Immersion (FI) teacher identity is a complex process of negotiation of internally persuasive discourse and authoritative discourse:

a constant struggle between these two types of discourse: an attempt to assimilate more into one's own system, and the simultaneous freeing of one's own discourse from the authoritative forces at work in the culture system from which they spring. (Bahktin, 1981, p.425-426)

This study seeks to explore the complex identity struggle of bilingual FI teachers as they attempt to legitimize their professional selves and position themselves as individual bilinguals vis-à-vis the dominant discourses of bilingualism as related to monoglossic language ideologies and essentialist models of language and identity. An examination of teacher discourse provides an opportunity to better understand the active construction of self and identity through these powerful discourses. It was anticipated that the knowledge generated from this project would afford new insights and a better understanding of how FI teachers construct and negotiate their identities through discourse.

1.1. Background and Context

The intersection of politics and education in the 1960s gave rise to the beginnings of French Immersion education in Canada. At the time of Canada's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, an Anglophone group of parents began pressuring for the establishment of a programme of French-English bilingual education for their children. The purpose of such a bilingual education program was to increase the linguistic proficiency of the children in order to build cross-cultural communication among French and English speakers in their community, while

maintaining a sense of English identity among the children (Safty, 1992). French Immersion schools were introduced in Canada in 1965 in the Montreal suburb of St. Lambert. French Immersion programs began spreading across Canada in the 1970s to encourage bilingualism, as described by Safty (1992): “French Immersion may be said to be helping give concrete reality to the 1969 Official Languages Act which declared Canada to be officially bilingual” (para. 4).

An ambitious French language education program for non-francophone students, French Immersion is designed to produce functionally bilingual students by using French as the language of instruction (BC Ministry of Education, 1996). The BC Ministry of Education (BCME) defines bilingualism as “oral fluency and literacy in both English and French” in its general glossary of educational terms. Within the curricular documents for French Immersion, the Ministry’s understanding of bilingualism is expanded in terms of the goals of the program:

Le but du programme de Français langue seconde en immersion est d’offrir à l’élève l’occasion d’acquérir la compétence langagière nécessaire en français pour pouvoir interagir avec confiance dans les milieux où cette langue est parlée et valorisée.

Le développement d’une compétence communicative en français permet à l’élève de s’enrichir à titre d’individu bilingue sur les plans langagier, personnel, social et culturel.

Un élève ayant terminé son éducation secondaire au programme d’immersion en français est à même de poursuivre ses études dans un établissement postsecondaire francophone ou d’accepter un emploi dans un milieu de travail francophone ou bilingue. (BCME, 1996, p. 1)

A “functionally bilingual” student of French Immersion should be able to use French confidently in the milieu where French is spoken. The student should identify as a bilingual linguistically, personally, socially and culturally. Finally, a graduate of French Immersion should be able to continue postsecondary studies or work in bilingual or Francophone milieu. In Chapter 2, I will take up the Ministry’s discourse in a more nuanced discussion of the ideologies of bilingualism.

Enrolment in French Immersion programs in British Columbia has steadily increased from 5.45% of total public school enrolment in 2003-2004, to 8.48% of total public school enrolment in 2012-2013. Over the same period of time, total public school

enrolment has decreased by just over 50,000 students (CPF, 2013). Despite a period of overall declining enrolment in public schools, more students than ever are populating FI classrooms. Coupled with increased enrolment, school districts in British Columbia are having difficulty hiring and retaining qualified French Immersion teachers (Bournot-Trites & Veilleux, 2005; Ewart, 2009). Growth in French Immersion programs in general brings about an increase in FI teachers and this group of educators in British Columbia is an under-researched population.

French Immersion teacher identity is a salient component of the FI experience, given the *raison d'être* of the French Immersion program: to provide for students the opportunity to learn the French language; to identify as bilingual in linguistic, personal, social and cultural terms; and also to provide for students the means to explore one's own culture, the culture of their peers and that of the Francophone world (BC Ministry of Education, 1997). The curricular mandate of FI in British Columbia not only includes instruction in, and of, the French language (linguistic immersion), but also encompasses specific cultural learning outcomes (cultural immersion). A consideration of the complex relationship between identity, bilingualism and legitimacy is integral to an examination of bilingual FI teacher identity. Performing as a French Immersion teacher requires "that we act, think, value, and interact in ways that together with language render *who* we are and *what* we are doing recognizable to others (and ourselves)" (Gee, 2005, p. 23). Given the bilingual mandate of FI, the matter of authenticity - performing as an FI teacher and being recognized as an FI teacher - is of particular consequence for bilingual FI teachers. FI teachers are frequently the only models of French-English bilingualism not only in the school setting, but also in the lives of their students. Their professional identities are informed in the ways they negotiate the production and reproduction of French language and culture and in providing opportunities and strategies for their students to use and live French in their daily lives. In the official discourse of FI education policy, "*le développement d'une compétence communicative en français permet à l'élève de s'enrichir à titre d'individu bilingue sur les plans langagier, personnel, social et culturel*" (BC Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 1). The official discourse suggests that the French Immersion program provides students an opportunity to identify as linguistically, personally, socially and culturally bilingual. I maintain that bilingualism and ideological constructions of French language and culture

are produced and reproduced in dominant and official discourses. Therefore, this policy raises the following question: In what ways does the discursive construction of bilingualism, the French language and the French Immersion program shape the identities of bilingual FI teachers that populate FI classrooms?

French Immersion education plays an essential role in Canada in terms of language education and linguistic and cultural reproduction, given Canada's official federal policy of French and English bilingualism. Bourdieu (1991) refers to the functioning of the educational system as a means to "ensure the reproduction of the established order" (p. 136). French-English bilingualism occupies a favoured and powerful position in Canada, as outlined in *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality: The Action Plan for Official Languages in Canada* (2003) and *Plan Twenty Thirteen (2013) Strategies for a National Approach in Second Language Education* (2004). Both documents support and outline the federal government's intent to double the number of bilingual graduates by 2013. In Canadian bilingual educational settings, the work of French language educators is paramount in and for the production, reproduction and maintenance of French language and culture. Within the larger context of the federal government's will to promote French-English bilingualism, enrolment is increasing in FI programs in British Columbia despite province-wide declining enrolment. In the 2012/2013 school year, over 47,000 students were enrolled in FI public school programs in the province of British Columbia in 40 of 60 school districts across the province (CPF, 2013). Families, both parents and their children, identify both linguistic and economic capital as some of the reasons for choosing FI programs (Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Dagenais & Moore, 2008). For the families profiled in the aforementioned research studies, being able to speak, read and write both French and English represents the possibility of both economic and linguistic advantages. French-English bilingualism provides linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in Canadian society. In these bilingual FI classrooms, the FI classroom teacher plays a central role as an agent in the production and reproduction of cultural and linguistic capital, and the "construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 48).

Previous research in the area of second language teacher identity has addressed English Second Language teacher identity (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Morgan, 2004; Pavlenko, 2003; Phan Le Ha, 2008; Sercu, 2006; Tsui, 2007); personal and professional

identity and language (Beynon, Ilieva, Dichupa & Hirji, 2003); and has theorized language teacher identity (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston & Johnson, 2005). Additionally, previous research in Canadian FI education has theorized the professional identity of French Immersion teachers vis-à-vis their perceptions of the work they do and the goals of FI education (Lockhart, 2012); FI student identity (Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais, Day & Toohey, 2006; Dagenais & Moore, 2008; Moore & Sabatier, 2012; Roy, 2010; Roy, 2012) and teacher candidate identity (Brogden, 2009; Byrd Clark, 2008; Byrd Clark, 2010; Sabatier, 2011). However, there is a paucity of research on second language teacher identity in the population of bilingual teachers who teach in British Columbia's FI programs (Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013). My research will add to the body of prior research on language teacher identity by examining the representation of professional identity among bilingual FI teachers for whom French is a second or additional language. I draw on the existing literature on language teacher identity with a focus on its contributions to understanding language teacher identity as a discursive process (Brogden, 2009; Byrd Clark, 2008; Gérin-Lajoie, 2006; Gohier, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003; Phan, 2008; Roy, 2006). I apply theories of language, discourse, and identity (Bahktin, 1981; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Block, 2007; Bourdieu, 1991; Gee, 2005; Hall, 1996; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weedon, 2004) and the ideological construction of language (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Train, 2007a; Widdowson, 1994) to interpret the construction and representations of bilingual FI teacher professional identity. Finally, I consider the role of agency (Bahktin, 1981; Giddens, 1991; Varghese et al., 2005) in the negotiation and representation of bilingual FI teacher identity.

1.2. Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this case study is to explore with 12 bilingual French Immersion teachers in British Columbia the construction and representation of their professional identities. I examine the interplay of individuals and institutions related to bilingualism, to language and culture, and to school as an agency of cultural and linguistic reproduction in the construction of FI teachers' professional identities. Through my research, I intend to shed light on how FI teachers draw upon dominant discursive resources in the ongoing construction of a professional sense of self. A critical discussion and

examination of these authoritative discourses creates opportunities to interrogate dominant discourses that inform FI teacher identity and to consider alternative discursive understandings of bilingualism and FI education for future and current FI teachers. My study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How do bilingual Anglophones articulate a representation of their professional identity as French Immersion teachers?
2. What discursive resources do bilingual Anglophone French Immersion teachers draw upon in constructing a representation of their professional identities?
3. How are the professional identities of bilingual Anglophone French Immersion teachers enacted, performed and sustained in discourse?
4. In what way do these teachers challenge and/or reproduce discourse?

1.3. Research Design Overview

With the approval of the University's Office of Research Ethics (ORE), I studied how 12 bilingual French Immersion teachers articulated representations of their professional identities. I conducted this study with participants from one public school district in a suburban community neighbouring Vancouver, British Columbia. I recruited and selected my participants as bilingual teachers who, at the time of the study, were working in the French Immersion program. Each participant spoke English as her childhood language, and learned French as a second or additional language. The primary method of data collection was semi-structured interviews in the form of a career narrative. The interviews were video-recorded and transcribed in their entirety. The information obtained in the individual interviews formed the basis for the overall findings of this study. In order to expand on the initial findings from the individual interviews, the teacher-participants also participated in follow-up focus group meetings. Finally, I drew on data from official policy documents regarding the implementation and delivery of French Immersion programs in British Columbia.

I was guided in my research by the idea that we use language to make sense of ourselves and of our places in the social world. This project begins with the premise that the primary function of language, as both "action and affiliation" is to enact social activities and social identities (Gee, 2005, p.1). People produce, reproduce, and maintain their identities through language. Language-in-use is the pre-eminent form of

meaning making in educational communication and interaction. A study of language-in-use, then, provides insights into human meaning making: the “relationship between the world and the word” (Wetherell, 2001, p. 10). To explore a study of language-in-use in education holds the possibility of uncovering the ways in which teachers participate in the construction of versions of the social world. In this study, I examine the discursive resources on identity that bilingual FI teachers draw upon and refer to in creating a representation of professional identity.

1.4. Researcher’s Perspectives

As a qualitative researcher, I recognize, as suggested by Maxwell (2005):

Qualitative research is not primarily concerned with eliminating variance between researchers in the values and expectations they bring to the study, but with understanding how a particular researcher’s values and expectations influence the conduct and conclusions of the study (which may be either positive or negative) and avoiding the negative consequences. (p. 108)

I acknowledge my subjectivity as a researcher as it is my own history as a French language learner and my professional history as a French Immersion teacher that led me to my research questions and to this study.

I began my Bachelor of Education at the University of Lethbridge with the intention of becoming a secondary Core French teacher. However, my intent was immediately dashed when upon meeting my professor of language education, he insisted that I try a practical experience in an elementary FI school. He knew there was a need for FI teachers and he proposed that I would be better placed in this milieu. He believed that I would have many more opportunities for employment and career pathways by beginning my professional path as a French Immersion teacher. I have worked in FI education steadily since I graduated with my Bachelor of Education in 1995. I began my career as an elementary FI teacher in a dual-track school in Lacombe, Alberta, with a Grade 4/5 Early French Immersion class. I decided to return to the Greater Vancouver area, where I was born and where I was raised, after my first year of teaching. In 1996 I began teaching in the Late French Immersion program in Maple

Ridge, where for three years I taught both Grades 6 and 7. In 1998, I switched gears and decided to try teaching secondary school, also in Maple Ridge. During my three years as a high school teacher, I taught courses both in the French Immersion and Core French streams. In 2002, I began my job as the Modern Languages Coordinator in another Greater Vancouver School District. No longer a classroom teacher, my responsibilities included organizing workshops, acquiring and implementing new French language resources, assisting classroom teachers and liaising between the school district and parents of FI students. It was during this time that I became more aware of the political context of FI education in British Columbia. From 2006 to 2010, I was seconded as an Inservice Faculty Associate to the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University. My responsibilities included supporting French Second Language Education in several different school districts, by offering teacher in-service in the form of Graduate Diplomas and workshop series. Working directly with French language educators in a variety of different school districts created in me a deeper curiosity regarding the FI teacher population in British Columbia. How did they perceive themselves as FI teachers? Did they feel, as I did, a tension in their professional identity and in the work they were doing as bilingual educators?

At the time of this study, I was employed as a full-time FI teacher in the very same school district in which I was conducting my research. Therefore, I bring to the study practical experience as a working FI teacher, knowing and understanding the experience of being a bilingual FI teacher. This same experience put me in the unique position as both a colleague of my participants and a researcher. I came to my participants as a doctoral candidate from Simon Fraser University. However, most participants in the current study also identify me as a colleague and in some cases, as a friend. I acknowledge that the individual personal and professional relationships I hold with my participants influence the honesty and candour of my participants' responses in our interviews. I also acknowledge that my experience as a bilingual FI teacher could influence my interpretations regarding research findings and data analysis. I will address these issues more fully in the methodology chapter.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the study; Chapter 2 develops and presents the theoretical framework; Chapter 3 presents an overview of the methodology used in this research, including the research design and the specific procedures used in conducting my research; Chapter 4 presents a synthesis and discussion of findings from both institutional and individual data sources; Chapter 5 presents an analysis and discussion of individual discourses; and Chapter 6 presents a conclusion, including actionable recommendations for future research and policy directions.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

The purpose of my research is to examine how bilingual FI teachers make sense of and represent their professional identities. In this chapter, I will begin first with a discussion of the ideological constructions of languages, followed by a synthesis of representations of bilingualism in both theory and research. To end the chapter, I will critically engage with an overview of theory and research related to discourse and identity in second language contexts.

2.1. Ideological Constructions of Languages

The term *ideology* has often been reduced to a synonym for false belief with the implication that somehow ideology is the opposite of what is, or should be, considered real. However, a more critical view conceptualizes the notion of ideology as both constitutive and reflective of a given socially and discursively constructed reality. In this sense, ideologies are systems of belief and representation that both shape and are shaped by individual and collective ways of interacting, knowing, evaluating, imagining, and being in the world. (Train, 2007b, p.210)

Train's description of ideology captures the idea that social realities are constructed. Representations of languages and their speakers are constructed, shaped, produced and reproduced by institutions and individuals: "all accounts of languages ... are claims for the reality and validity of certain 'authentic', 'legitimate', and/or 'authoritative' view of language and its speakers" (Train, 2007a, p. 242). These ideologies, described as representations (Jodelet, 1989), or Discourses (Gee, 2005), are often unquestioned. A critical examination of the ideological construction of languages and their speakers offers an opportunity to question what we know and what we hold as true. In this thesis, I engage with theory and research related to ideologies of legitimacy, authenticity, ownership, and linguistic norm. The ideological construction of languages,

and the French language in particular, in turn shapes the identities of the bilingual participants in the present study.

In Canada, French and English are accorded symbolic power and authority as official languages. These languages are legitimized and authorized, sanctioned by government and reproduced as legitimate languages through institutions (schools) and the individuals and their language use. Bourdieu's (1991) theory of "authorized language" (p. 109) sheds light on the authority and legitimacy of Canada's official languages. Linguistic communication is not simply being able to speak, but a way to maintain linguistic authority:

To speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language, especially in situations that are characterized in French as more *officielle* (a very exact translation of the word 'formal' used by English-speaking linguists). Produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are charged with the task of inculcating its mastery, the language is a *code*, in the sense of a cipher enabling equivalences to be established between sounds and meanings, but also in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45)

I will examine Bourdieu's theory of authorized language vis-à-vis the Canadian research (Heller, 2001; Brodgen 2009; Roy, 2010) that explores the notion of legitimate language, that is what kinds of French are acceptable in French language education programs, and who may be considered a legitimate speaker.

Heller (2001) reports on research conducted within a Franco-Ontarian high school. Heller's argument, situated in Bourdieu's notion of legitimate language, is that certain language practices and language forms are considered legitimate in educational settings while others are not. She studied both language choice and turn-taking behaviour in classrooms in order to explore the "link between the forms of language valued at school, the linguistic repertoires of the students, and the verbal performances that are evaluated as part of the process of achieving school success" (p. 386). This particular educational institution asks students to become a certain kind of French speaker - to take on a particular French-speaking identity in the school setting. In

Chapter 4, I will examine the institutional discourses of FI education in Canada and in British Columbia to show how authoritative discourses are produced and reproduced in educational settings and how these discourses shape identity construction.

Brogden (2009) examined how linguistic norms are enacted via a case study of one French language student teacher in Saskatchewan. Brogden interviewed her participants on language use, high-stakes language testing and practical teaching experiences. In her analysis of the data, Brogden (2009) concludes:

What counts as knowledge – and by extension, what counts as language, language production, and language teaching – is a shifting concept, subject to an academic peer pressure of sorts and dependent upon the work of knowing itself. Consequently, François – and the interactions he has with his peers, with testing contexts, and with practicum experiences – and I – and the interactions I have with François, and my students, and my research – are both and all engaged in producing language(s). Furthermore, we are complicit in deciding which language(s) and which linguistic subject positions we privilege. (p. 91)

The testing and the practical experiences all contributed to the destabilization of the participants' identity in terms of linguistic ability. At times François felt confident, other times insecure, in light of the linguistic norm valorized in his French degree program at the university. Linguistic abilities are highly regulated, standardized and normed. Ideologies of linguistic norms are powerful in the way they inform how we understand and judge speakers in relation to others. Brogden's (2009) participant refers to "des vraies Fransaskoises" (p. 88). This kind of discourse idealizes certain kinds of speakers and legitimizes the "true" speaker, as if such a homogenous speech community existed. The participants in my present study also refer to the same construct of the "true" speaker, which conveys the "ideology of (in)competence" in which non-native speakers are constructed as deficient in comparison to the ideal (Train, 2007b).

Roy (2010) examined French Immersion students in Alberta and how they view themselves as legitimate speakers of French. She used the "notion of legitimacy to not only study language use and learning in schools, but also to formulate the question, for whom is it legitimate to speak French (and with what competency of French?) and English or to be bilingual in Canadian society?" (Roy, 2010, pp. 543-544). She concludes: "French Immersion students are bilinguals who are often compared with

native speakers of French and English and their identities are not recognized as legitimate in either of the two groups” (Roy, 2010, p. 549). The native-speaker construct is apparent in the “ideologically monolingual zone” of the school and Canadian society (Train, 2007b). The native-speaker monolingual norm positions the bilingual participants in Roy’s study as deficient. Both the students in French Immersion and their parents constructed the learners as not “entirely” or “truly” bilingual because they did not speak like Francophone native-speakers (Roy, 2010). The ideological construction of the true native-speaker is a powerful construct that informs identity and positions individuals as insiders and outsiders.

The most valued linguistic resources are those closest to the ideal, or the norm: to speak the language is to speak the “*langue officielle*.” What counts as legitimate French is “the standardized, ‘pure’ and natural language” (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 175). In the aforementioned research (Heller, 2001; Brogden, 2009; Roy, 2010), participants consider themselves speakers of French, however their language use is mitigated by dominant representations of the linguistic norm. They can speak French, but quickly mitigate their abilities to speak French because to speak French means to speak it like a native speaker, as evidenced in Roy’s (2010) study where students felt they needed to sound like a native speaker, use slang and speak as fluently as the native speaker in order to be “truly” bilingual.

Language ownership has been theorized and researched in a variety of contexts and with a variety of languages (Azimova & Johnston, 2012; Higgins, 2003; Jaffe, 2008; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). The concept of language ownership is a construct used to describe speakers’ proficiency and legitimacy as a language user. Ownership refers to an idea that a language belongs to a group of speakers, whether native-speakers or others who have learned a language in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes. The notion of language ownership endows native speakers as authentic speakers of the language, or linguistic insiders (Widdowson, 1994). A consequence of such a construct is that native speaker teachers of the language in question are the custodians of the language and arbiters of proper usage. Orienting the ownership of the language to native-speakers essentializes language boundaries; the language is linked with a collective people (Jaffe, 2008). Additionally, the ideology of language ownership allows insiders only to claim legitimacy and authenticity as a

speaker. The claim that there are such speakers as “true” and “real” speakers constructs insiders and outsiders and positions the non-native speaker in a deficiency model. In the context of Canadian immigrant woman, Norton (1997) suggests: “if learners of English cannot claim ownership of a language, they might not consider themselves legitimate speakers of that language” (p.422).

Widdowson has been critiqued of his orthodox stance in applied linguistics. According to Pennycook (2001), Widdowson’s “centrist-autonomous” position:

espouses various forms of liberal or conservative politics but sees no particular connection between such politics and applied linguistic knowledge. Although this position may espouse any number of different approaches to research (from positivistic to more hermeneutic approaches), it takes such knowledge production to be an autonomous realm that is not connected to more general political views. (p. 29)

That is, Widdowson does not acknowledge the political nature of discourse beyond language in use. In the context of my research, I draw on Widdowson’s conservative stance as it mirrors the discourse of my participants. I argue that the participants’ orthodox discourse of language ownership reflects the dominant discourses that circulate in society and in schools regarding languages and their speakers. I draw on the notion of ownership to demonstrate how bilingual FI teachers make claims or assign ownership of the French language to particular groups of speakers, including (and excluding) themselves. Indeed one of the goals of this study is to reveal the dominant discourses that circulate, are produced and reproduced, in order to critique the existing status quo.

Language ideologies also determine which languages are socially and symbolically valuable. In the context of official bilingualism and the Canadian state, learning French offers symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). All linguistic interactions, Bourdieu argues, are the product of the relations between linguistic ‘habitus’ (certain dispositions that individuals have acquired through socialization) and the ‘field’ (social context). That is, linguistic communication is not simply being able to speak, but the ability to speak in a certain way and to be heard by a receptive audience. FI education can be conceptualized, in Bourdieu’s (1991) terms, as a means of garnering cultural capital and also as a means of maintaining linguistic authority. French and

English are the official languages of Canada, and the education system is central in upholding and continuing the dominance of these languages. First I explore FI as a means of garnering cultural capital.

The discourse of official bilingualism as social capital in Canadian society has been the subject of research on French Immersion education in British Columbia (Dagenais & Day, 1999; Dagenais & Jacquet, 2000; Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Moore, 2004). This body of work has specifically examined immigrant families who have selected to enrol their children in French Immersion programs in western Canada. In the first of these studies, Dagenais and Day (1999) interviewed immigrant families concerning language education and also observed language use at home. They concluded that French Immersion parents “provide a variety of reasons for enrolling their children in French immersion and describe social and economic incentives for fostering trilingualism” (p.199). Dagenais and Jacquet (2000) explore the values attributed to multilingualism and bilingual education with 9 immigrant families in western Canada. As with the previous study, we see echoes of Bourdieu in the study’s analysis:

la première remarque que nous pouvons faire est que les parents immigrants de cette étude attribuent ce que Bourdieu (1977) appelle une “importance symbolique” au bilinguisme et au multilinguisme. En adoptant les valeurs du groupe majoritaire à l’égard du bilinguisme anglais-français et de son capital linguistique à l’intérieur du pays, ils ont choisi l’éducation immersive comme un moyen de faciliter l’intégration de leurs enfants dans la société canadienne.

(Dagenais & Jacquet, 2000, p. 401)

Dagenais (2003) further explores the constructs of language as economic and symbolic capital in her study with immigrant parents who enrolled their children in French Immersion programmes in Vancouver, Canada. Specifically, her data analysis “highlights how French Immersion presents immigrant families with opportunities unforeseen when the programme was first implemented” (Dagenais, 2003, p.282). More than thirty years after the conception of French Immersion programs in Canada, originally created to promote bilingualism across Canada, immigrant families view “multilingualism as linguistic capital convertible to economic capital on national and international markets” (Dagenais, 2003, p.281). Two final studies (Dagenais & Moore, 2004; Yeung, 2011) specifically explore French language learning among immigrant

Chinese families in Greater Vancouver. The discourse of the participants in Dagenais and Moore's (2004) study adds to the prior research and interpretations of French Immersion as linguistic and economic capital: "Ces discours montrent à quel point les parents sont conscients de l'importance de ces pratiques pour la réussite sociale et scolaire et pour l'insertion de leurs enfants dans la société canadienne" (p. 28). French Immersion is also represented in their discourse as a way to integrate into Canadian society.

Bourdieu's theory sheds light on the social conditions of language choice among immigrant families who enrol their children in French Immersion. An important concept introduced by Bourdieu (1991) is 'capital':

Linguistic exchange...is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material of symbolic profit. (p. 66)

The Chinese families in the aforementioned studies select to enrol their children in French Immersion programs. French Immersion programmes and French language learning are represented as symbolic, linguistic and cultural capital that helps to integrate their children into Canadian society. The discourse of capital in these studies constructs a specific vision of Canada as a French-English bilingual nation. The official languages of Canada inform a vision of Canadian identity and what it means to be Canadian. The symbolic profit of learning both French and English is membership in Canadian society and begin able to claim Canadian identity. In Chapter 5, I show how FI teachers draw on the symbolic and cultural value of learning French in Canadian society when they claim Canadian identity and draw on representation of "Canadian-ness" in constructing their professional identities.

2.2. Representations of Bilingualism

The relationship between language and identity is not purely a linguistic issue. A complex mix of ideological, social, political and national issues work to discursively construct individuals as bilingual, using such terms as: monolingual, bilingual,

multilingual, plurilingual, native speaker, non-native speaker or multicompetent speaker. In this section of the literature review, I draw on research on bilingualism within the Canadian educational context to explore what specific vision of bilingualism and bilingual communities is produced and reproduced in the Canadian system of education. I will explore linguistic identity through an examination of bilingualism, plurilingualism, and legitimate language in terms of linguistic identities. I draw on socio-linguistic theory and research to examine the relationship between language teacher identity and language use.

Definitions of bilingualism are based on notions of fluency versus language use (Grosjean, 2008). According to traditional definitions of bilingualism, the fluent bilingual possesses a native-like mastery of two languages. According to Bloomfield (1966), true bilinguals possess native-like control and total fluency in L2. Bilingualism results from the addition of a perfectly learned foreign language to ones' own, undiminished native language. This understanding of bilingualism views bilingualism as a coexistence of two linguistic systems or dual monolingualisms (Heller, 2007). The monoglossic ideology of bilingualism asserts that bilingual individuals should "be and do with each of their languages the same as monolinguals" (Garcia & Torres-Guevara, 2010, p.189). In this view, bilingualism is the construct of equal and perfect language knowledge of two languages, a 'balanced' bilingual, and anything less is viewed as not "truly" bilingual (Grosjean, 2008). This traditional, powerful, lay understanding of bilingualism creates a binary in positioning individuals as either bilingual/not bilingual.

Additionally, a monolingual view of bilingualism puts an emphasis on the ideal of the native speaker. A bilingual individual is someone who could pass as a native speaker in any one of his or her languages. The concept of the model native-speaker is based on a strong cultural ideal of a homogeneous community of speakers (Lüdi & Py, 2003). Native speakers "are the models we appeal to for the 'truth' about language, they know what the language is...and what the language isn't. They are the stakeholders of the language, they control its maintenance and shape its direction" (Davies, 2003, p. 1). According to Cook (2005):

The reasonable definition of a native speaker is a person speaking the language they learnt first in childhood. By this definition it is impossible for any L2 learner to ever become a native speaker without going back in

time to their childhood; nothing learnt in later life could qualify you as a native speaker. (p. 49)

A different definition of bilingualism, based on language use rather than fluency, proposes a view of the bilingual individual as an integrated whole, rather than a sum of two, separate monolingualisms:

The bilingual is a fully competent hearer-speaker; he or she has developed competencies (in the two languages and possibly in a third system that is a combination of the first two) to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. The bilingual uses the two languages – separately or together – for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. (Grosjean, 2008, p. 14)

In short, Grosjean (2008) states “bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (p.4). Heller (2007) argues “...against the notion that languages are objectively speaking whole, bounded, systems, and for the notion that speakers draw on linguistic resources which are organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions” (p.1). Bilingualism is a social construct, a process and practice.

Moving away from a definition of bilingualism based on the monolingual ideal, defining multicompetent speaker-hearers as plurilinguals provides an approach to linguistic competency based on a repertoire of languages and an awareness of context and circumstance:

Les personnes qui disposent d'un capital linguistique plurilingue et pluriculturel utilisent les langues et les ressources culturelles à leur disposition pour des besoins de communication précis et différenciés, dans des contextes sociaux spécifiques. Il est peu fréquent, et en réalité rarement nécessaire, de développer des compétences équivalentes pour chaque langue. (Moore, 2006, p. 98)

Francophone research and theoretical developments on plurilingualism offer a different theoretical model to conceptualize language competency (Moore, 2006; Moore, 2001; Moore & Gajo, 2009; Cavalli, 2005; Dabène, 1994; Lüdi & Py, 2003). Plurilingual approaches to language learning and language competency “perceive languages and

speakers' plurilingual and pluricultural competence as fluid, dynamic and changing over situations and time" (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p.150). The idea of plurilingual individuals builds on Grosjean's definition of bilingualism and makes an ideological leap forward in understanding and describing people who use more than one language in their lives.

I situate my research study amongst academic literature on the negotiation and construction of bilingual identities in educational settings. Studies undertaken with stakeholders in educational settings, including parents, students and teachers, illustrate the negotiation of bilingual identity in light of different discursive representations of bilingualism in both North American and European educational contexts (Cavalli et al., 2001; Cook, 1999; Desgroseilliers, 2012; Lockhart, 2012; Matthey, 2001; Pavlenko, 2003; Roy, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011). This body of work draws on theories of discourse and social representation to demonstrate how language ideologies are embedded in discourse. The study of language-in-use can provide insights into human meaning making: the "relationship between the world and the word" (Wetherell, 2001b, p.10). In each of the following studies, researchers explored how language-in-use produces and reproduces discourses of bilingualism.

Cavalli et al. (2001) examined the social representations of bilingualism and language learning in Europe. The authors used a series of images and trigger statements to initiate interviews and focus group conversations about social representations of bilingualism with their participants:

Nous dirons que les RS nous intéressent dans la mesure où ils donnent du sens à certains événements, phénomènes ou expériences auxquels les acteurs sociaux sont confrontés, et qu'ils vivent comme plus ou moins problématiques ou peu compréhensibles, ou encore lorsqu'ils sont contraints à agir et à prendre des décisions, ou enfin lorsqu'ils sont engagés dans des interactions verbales relatives à un objet particulier, et qu'ils sont amenés à prendre position, à raconter ou à argumenter.
(Cavalli et al., p. 69)

The authors' discursive analysis of their transcriptions showed, on one hand, how participants' language use drew upon social representations of bilingualism as dual monolingualisms:

Dans les contextes suisse et valdôtain, nous remarquons que beaucoup de participants aux entretiens ne se catégorisent pas comme bilingues, alors même qu'ils utilisent régulièrement deux langues. On peut se demander si ce fait n'est pas révélateur d'une RS du bilinguisme davantage compatible avec la définition "classique" de Bloomfield qu'avec la définition plus fonctionnelle, plus récente aussi, de Grosjean. (p. 85)

Further analyses demonstrated a more functional social representation of bilingualism: *"le bilinguisme andorran ne fonctionne pas sur le principe de l'addition de deux monolinguisms mais qu'il se caractérise, au contraire, par un repertoire verbal mixte dans lequel les langues alternent dans la successivité du flux de la parole"* (p. 94). Data were also explored for moments of discursive dissonance, where individuals' language revealed an inconsistent position on defining bilingualism. Cavalli et al.'s (2001) work is useful in advancing an understanding of how individuals reference social representations in their language, and furthermore, how individuals reference social representations to make sense of bilingualism in terms of fluency versus language use.

Matthey (2001) investigated the representations of bilingualism among Swiss secondary students. Using in-class observations, interviews and language proficiency tests, Matthey examined these students' plurilingual repertoires. In her discursive analysis of the data, Matthey (2001) describes the participants' representations of bilingualism as:

ancrées dans une vision monolingue des langues, marquée par une séparation nette entre elles. Les notions de repertoire plurilingue, de compétences plurielles mais partielles ne font pas encore partie des conceptions linguistiques de la grande majorité des acteurs du système scolaire. (p. 126)

She concludes that despite attending an immersion school and learning three languages (French, Italian and German), for these students, each language is strictly compartmentalized and their representation of languages is anchored in a monoglossic ideology, as per Bloomfield's definition.

Turning now to North American research, Pavlenko (2003) examined "imagined professional and linguistic communities available to preservice and in-service English as a second language and English as a foreign language teachers enrolled in one TESOL

program” (Pavlenko, 2003, p.251). Specifically, the researcher wanted to examine the power of language in constructing social identities. She looked at how the students’ positioning, vis-à-vis the native/non-native speaker (NS/NNS) dichotomy, was influenced by traditional discourse of this dichotomy. She collected autobiographical data from 44 teachers in two different cohorts of Master of Arts for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (MATESOL) students for the purposes of this work. In their autobiographies, the teachers reported feelings of lost confidence, unimportance, and invisibility, and an overall lack of legitimacy as teachers of the L2. Pavlenko’s (2003) data analysis revealed that the second language (L2) users in this study experienced negative effects on self-perception when speaking with target language speakers. The teachers did not feel as though they had the right to speak in the target language community, and they experienced a profound loss of confidence when having to communicate in L2. In summary, the non-native speaking L2 teachers were marginalized when shaping their identities through the lens of the native speaker ideal, or the NS/NNS dichotomy. However, when the teachers learned of Cook’s (1999) theory of multicompetency, the identity narrative shifted. The teachers reshaped and repositioned their identities from deficient native speakers, to a more positive narrative, as multicompetent speakers.

Although both Cook and Pavlenko’s work offers an alternative way of conceptualizing multiple language users, Hall, Cheng and Carlson (2006) critique the notion of multicompetence. The authors argue that the notion of multicompetence still relies on three assumptions:

The first assumption that continues to influence multicompetence-inspired research efforts is the treatment of L1 and L2 language knowledge as distinct systems. Deriving from this is the second unexamined assumption: the presumption of a qualitative distinction between multicompetence and monocompetence. Third is the assumption of homogeneity of language knowledge across speakers and contexts. (p.222)

The authors instead suggest a “usage-based view of multicompetence”:

To refer to those individuals who are considered skilled participants in a variety of communicative domains or practices as instantiated within particular communities of practice, we suggest the term *multi-contextual*

communicative expert. We suggest this in lieu of terms such as native speaker, bilinguals, and multilinguals, as they fail to capture the fact that differences in language knowledge between individuals and groups is not a matter of code but is, instead, tied to the quality and variety of individuals' experiences in multiple communicative contexts. (p. 233)

Roy (2010) investigated the social construction of bilingualism and linguistic identities with French Immersion students in Alberta. In her three-year ethnographic and sociolinguistic study, she collected data using classroom observation; interviews with parents, teachers, administrators, initiators of the program and students; and an analysis of official documents related to French Immersion. In her analysis, she concluded that "in Canadian society, the monolingual view of bilingualism dominates; bilinguals are lost between the two legitimate monolingual worlds; the third space of their transculturality is not recognized" (Roy, 2010, p. 556). Stakeholders in the French Immersion program "contribute to the discourse of bilingualism as two monolingualisms, while knowing that students in French Immersion do not meet this criterion...they believe they will never access the dream of being 'totally bilingual'" (Roy, 2010, p. 557). This research is deeply connected to my study, but does not address the representations of bilingualism among the teachers of the French Immersion students. Roy and Galiev (2011) further mined the data from the participants in the aforementioned project (Roy, 2010) to connect local discourses on bilingualism to global discourses on bilingualism and concluded that bilingualism in Canada is regarded as two monolingualisms.

Desgroseilliers (2012) examined representations of bilingualism and French second language among students in British Columbia. The purpose of studying these representations was to have a better understanding of why students choose to continue or abandon the study of French as a second language. Using text generated from interviews with students and also official documents related to French second language learning in British Columbia, she used discourse analysis to see how her participants represented discourses of bilingualism. The participants in her study represented bilingual identity in a variety of ways:

pour G, une compétence équivalente dans les deux langues et une expérience de vie, là où la langue cible est utilisée par les habitants; pour J et C, une assez bonne compétence sans être paritaire; et pour SA, une compétence asymétrique qui permet de se tirer d'affaire dans le

quotidien. Pour les répondants des deux autres groupes, c'est la compétence fonctionnelle reflétée dans la définition de Grosjean, une compétence que, paradoxalement, ils n'estiment pas adéquate lorsqu'il s'agit d'autocatégorieser leur propre bilinguisme.

(Desgroseilliers, 2012, p. 131)

The participants of Desgroseilliers' study, as those in Roy and Galiev (2011), demonstrate how the competing global definitions and social representations of bilingualism are produced and reproduced in the local context.

Lockhart (2012) examined FI teacher identity and the construction of the teachers' professional identities vis-à-vis their perceptions of the FI program in British Columbia. The objectives of the FI program in British Columbia include specific linguistic, cultural, and intercultural learning outcomes. Lockhart concluded that several participants in her study perceived their work in terms of being teaching generalists, rather than being specialists of FI teaching. That is, despite teaching in French in an English dominant milieu, the participants did not construct their professional identities in terms of building and creating a bilingual Canada: *“enseigner spécifiquement en immersion française ne semble guère peser sur les représentations que les enseignants se font de leur travail et de leurs responsabilités”* (Lockhart, 2012, p. 106). Representations of bilingualism did not figure prominently in their perceptions of their professional identities.

In summary, this section gave an overview as to how representations of bilingualism are produced and reproduced by stakeholders in a variety of educational contexts. Parents, teachers and students are situated in a social context where they are exposed to a variety of ideological definitions of bilingualism. In Chapter 5, I will take up these representations of bilingualism to show how a monolingual construction of bilingualism shapes FI teacher identity in the present study.

2.3. Constructivist Theories of Identity

Identity is a key construct in the lives of individuals. Identity is about who people are and how they make sense of themselves, and others, and their roles in the social world. Identity construction takes place in settings where competition for control and

power are embedded in the social world. Identity work is a site of struggle whereby identities are actively constructed, disputed and managed in a variety of discursive environments: family, school, work and community. I will critically review the findings of relevant research on second language teacher identity and French Immersion education, as well as the key ideas of prominent thinkers in the areas of social identity theory (Bourdieu, 1991; Butler 1990; Gee, 2005; Giddens, 1996; Hall, 1996; and Weedon, 2004).

Identity is constructed in and through social and linguistic practices that cannot be separated apart from the wider social practices that involve interaction, values and beliefs (Gee, 2008). The implication of this theoretical framework is that the construction of individual identities, then, can be understood as the result of a dynamic reciprocity between the individual and wider social practices. Identities are constructed in and through social and linguistic practices. From this socio-cultural perspective, identity and identity work are a public phenomenon.

Gee (2005) describes the social uses of languages in terms of “*whos-doing-whats*” (p. 41). That is, individuals communicate who they are to others through language, and what they are doing is communicating their socially situated identities. Socially situated identities are constituted in Discourse with a capital “D”: “Discourses are ways with words, deeds and interactions, thoughts and feelings, objects and tools, times and places that allow us to enact and recognize different socially situated identities” (Gee, 2005, p. 35). Gee uses “discourse” with a lower case “d” to refer to language-in-use, such as conversations or stories. Language in use, combined with other social practices – ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing - are what Gee (2008) calls “socially situated identities.” Identities are therefore understood as being constructed, maintained, and negotiated through language and discourse. Gee (2008) also uses the term “situated” and “core” identities to describe the identities that individuals take up in specific contexts (situated) and the fixed sense of self (core) that underlies any shift in identity. I will take up the contested notion of fixed and situated identities further in this chapter.

As a researcher, I am operating from a “view of social reality which stresses the importance of the subjective experience of individuals in the creation of the social world,”

and my concern lies in “understanding the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he or she finds himself or herself” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.8). My theoretical framework is socio-cultural. I believe that identities are constructed and negotiated socially (Bourdieu, 1991; Butler 1990; Gee, 2005; Giddens, 1996; Hall, 1996; and Weedon, 2004). Individuals make sense of themselves and make themselves recognizable through language (Gee 2005). Because my research takes an approach to identity as discursive practice, I also draw on a discursive theoretical framework.

Discourse has been described as the language above the text, language in use, language as social practice, or more generally the knowledge of the world one brings to bear on a text (Cameron, 2001). Drawing on the work of Foucault, Mills (2004) explains discourse and ways of thinking about discourse:

One of the most productive ways of thinking about discourse is not as a group of signs or a stretch of text, but as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault, 1979, p.49). In this sense, a discourse is something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analyzed in isolation. A discursive structure can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within a particular context, and because of the effects of those ways of thinking and behaving. (p. 17)

Foucault’s notion of discourse is evident in the work of both Gee (1999) and Fairclough (1992). Gee (1999) established a distinction between “little d” discourse and “big D” Discourse. Foucault’s thinking is evident in Gee’s acknowledgement of the connection between language and the practices, or ways of thinking and behaving that inform language. Fairclough (1992) described discourse in similar terms:

Discourse do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitute’ them; different discourses constitute key entities (be they ‘mental illness’, ‘citizenship’ or ‘literacy’) in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as doctors or patients), and it is these social effects of discourse that are focused upon in discourse analysis. (pp.3-4)

Qualitative research is concerned with how the sociocultural world is experienced and understood and therefore provides the most fitting approach for the discursive theoretical frame of my project. I take the position that reality is discursively constructed, “made and remade as people talk about things using the ‘discourses’ they have access to” (Cameron, 2001, p.15). For the purposes of my research plan, I propose to examine the discourses of identity and bilingualism as accessed and understood by my participants in telling me who they are both personally and professionally. I did not only take into account what text was produced in my data collection process, but also considered the knowledge about the world that was brought to bear on the text (Cameron, 2001).

I also draw on French theories of representation (“*représentation sociale*”) to analyze and interpret the identity work of bilingual FI teachers. Jodelet explains *la représentation sociale* as (1989): “*une forme de connaissance, socialement élaborée et partagée, ayant une visée pratique et concourant d’une réalité commune à un ensemble social*” (p. 53). These shared representations of the world and ways of being in the world are transmitted as deeply held truths, as explained by Blanchet (2011):

Les connaissances ordinaires, cumulées par les groupes sociaux, sont en effet organisées en cultures anthropologiques : chaque groupe humain se construit, se transmet, se reconstruit, se retransmet une grille global d’interprétation du monde et d’adaptation au monde (naturel et social) tendant donc vers une représentation spécifique, relativement partagée au sein de ce groupe, avec d’autres groupes et avec l’environnement. Les classifications signifiantes de cette culture, dont la ou les langues que y sont incluses constituent un moyen essentiel, sont inculquées aux membres du groupes (notamment via l’éducation des enfants, les idéologies, les croyances religieuses) et proposent ainsi, en général imposent, des connaissances tendant dès lors vers des croyances : vers des « vérités » dont le questionnement critique et la transformation sont plus difficilement possibles, d’autant qu’elles contiennent des hiérarchies de valeurs et des enjeux idéologiques. (p.11)

Representations of languages, beliefs about languages, contain value and ideology. These shared values and ideologies about languages, and the people who speak them, are frequently unquestioned. These beliefs are held as truths. Social attitudes towards these unquestioned truths and common-sense knowledge in turn shape the identity of the individuals who populate social and linguistic groups.

Kramersch (2008) explains the French notion of *représentation sociale* as “at once mental structure and social habitus” (p. 321). She explains:

It structures and is structured by what the authors of this chapter call *discours*, in the sense given to the term by Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault in social and cultural theory, and by James Gee and Norman Fairclough in educational linguistics. In fact, French *discours* corresponds here pretty much to what James Gee has called Discourse with a capital D, i.e., “a way of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people” (Gee 1990, xix) – what most Anglophone language teachers would lump together under ‘culture’. (p. 321)

Dagenais and Jacquet (2008) furthered understandings of francophone theories and elaborated on theoretical connections between francophone theory and English language scholarship on discourse: “social representation is a form of socially constructed knowledge and consensual reality that enables people to make sense of shared events and actions” (p.43). This theoretical understanding of the social construction of knowledge is similar in many ways to Gee’s (2011) notion of figured worlds:

Figured worlds are simplified, often unconscious, and taken-for-granted theories or stories about how the world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily lives. We learn them from experiences we have had, but, crucially, as these experiences are guided, shaped, and normed by the social and cultural groups to which we belong. From such experiences we infer what is “normal” or “typical.” (p. 76)

Calvet’s (2006) take on linguistic representations is useful in a discussion of bilingual teachers’ discursive identity work: “Representations are constituted by the set of images, ideological positions and beliefs of speakers on the subject of the languages under consideration and on linguistic practices, both their own and those of others” (p. 134). French theories of social and linguistic representations offer an additional lens for further understandings of bilingual Anglophone teachers in French language minority contexts.

The purpose of my research is to uncover and better understand teacher identity construction via the discursive resources that teachers produce, reproduce and

challenge in representing their professional identities. In order to meaningfully discuss language as the site of identity work in my research, Bahktinian theory of authoritative and internally persuasive discourse provides an additional frame in which to theorize bilingual FI teachers' identity work. Bahktin's (1981) understanding of the process of identity formation and construction is founded in the notion of agency and discourse. We are surrounded by alien discourses, and human "coming-to-consciousness" happens when we selectively assimilate the words of others: "Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others" (p. 176). Individuals demonstrate their agency when making choices about which discursive resources to assimilate and which to reject. Authoritative discourse, religious, political, or moral, approaches the individual from without; is transmitted; it demands that we make it our own. Internally persuasive discourse is the "retelling in one's own words, with one's own accents, gestures, modifications" (Bahktin, 1981, p. 342). Bahktinian theory provides a frame for understanding my participants' identity work as the agentive negotiation of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. My data analysis will demonstrate how the participants in the present study largely appropriate and rarely reject authoritative or dominant discourses on bilingualism, native-speakerism, language ownership and legitimacy in constructing representations of their professional identity. I will take up each of these concepts in more depth later in this chapter.

Research on language teacher identity and French Immersion in Canada calls attention to the social construction of second language identities in educational settings. For Gérin-Lajoie (2003), "*le rapport à l'identité ne peut donc pas être décrit et compris en dehors du contexte social dans lequel il évolue, puisque c'est le dernier qui lui donne son sens*" (p. 25). The social construction of identity is evidenced in research on French education student teacher identity (Byrd Clark, 2008; Byrd Clark, 2010); French teacher identity (Gérin-Lajoie, 2006; Gohier, 2007; Roy, 2006; Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013) and teachers of minority ancestries (Beynon et al., 2003).

In a two-year ethnographic study, Byrd Clark (2008 & 2010) examined the discourse of Italian Canadian teacher candidates participating in a French teacher education program in Toronto. Byrd Clark called on a reconceptualization of the construction of French Second Language Education and its discourses in order to

provide diverse ways for teachers to represent their varied and complex identities. Byrd Clark argued that the teachers positioned themselves in relation to discourses of multilingualism, citizenship and French Second Language education, and how the representations of their identities were linked to these discourses, in particular to “French as a symbolic resource and conceptions of Canadianness/Canadianité; notions of investment; and complexities and ambiguities in being and becoming Canadian” (Byrd Clark, 2008, pp. 8-9). The social identity construction of her participants was intimately connected to larger discourses and ideologies on the French language and the Canadian Nation-state.

French teacher identity is the topic of four recent Canadian studies situated within a conceptual framework of socially situated identities (Gérin-Lajoie, 2006; Gohier, 2007; Roy, 2006; Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013). In a three-year ethnographic study, Gérin-Lajoie (2006) studied the personal and professional identity paths of Francophone teachers in French language minority settings in Ontario, Canada. Gérin-Lajoie (2006) identified ways in which two teachers identified (or not) with the role and responsibility of the producing and reproducing French language culture in an Anglo-dominant setting: *“Les résultats indiquent en effet que même dans le cas où le sens d’appartenance à la francophonie est très fort, les enseignantes conçoivent toujours que leur responsabilité première auprès de leurs élèves est de transmettre les connaissances”* (p.174).

In light of both educational reform and the professionalization of teaching in Québec, Gohier (2007) studied teacher identity in transformation. Two of the most important and relevant themes in the study include teachers’ identity construction and identity and discourse. One common theme taken up in several of the most pertinent chapters is the notion that teachers’ professional identity is constructed at the intersection of one’s self and the educational institution. In times of institutional changes, crises or uncertainty, teachers’ professional identity is re-thought and re-negotiated. Therefore teacher identity construction is viewed as an ongoing and dynamic process in light of institutional change. Nevertheless, as identity construction is viewed as a dynamic process between self and society, the self is relatively stable: *“l’identité est issue d’une double transaction, l’une subjective interne à l’individu et l’autre objective externe entre les individus et les institutions, permet de comprendre l’identité professionnelle enseignante”* (p. 96). A second strong line of argument presented in

certain chapters explores how teachers situate themselves, or how they are situated in, particular educational discourses. Gohier (2007) reveals how teachers in the minority language setting do not demonstrate an understanding of their role in French cultural and linguistic reproduction. Although this mission is the official discourse of their institution, they do not situate themselves within this discourse in their teaching work. Rather, they identify themselves as *“agentes de transmission des savoirs, où la langue française représente en quelque sorte un outil de travail...Le lien entre la langue, la culture et l'identité est ainsi ignoré dans le discours des enseignants”* (p.132). Therefore in this instance of identity transaction, the individuals resist the official discourse of the institution and take up their own professional identity.

Roy (2006) examined the representations of professional identity among 15 Francophone teachers in Francophone and French Immersion schools in Alberta. She undertook an examination of the representations and discourse of these teachers in order to better understand their perceptions of their roles as professional and the challenges in their work as French language educators in a French language minority setting. Roy (2006) asserts that:

ils [des enseignants] voient leur travail selon leur cheminement personnel, mais également selon leurs connaissances par rapport à l'acquisition d'une langue, leur connaissance des situations minoritaires et bilingues ainsi que de la pédagogie reliée à ces contextes et aux défis de travailler avec des élèves au bagage linguistique et culturel varié.
(p. 190)

Again it is the social situation of identities, in this case in the minority language setting, that presents pathways for negotiation and understanding of one's identity and role as a French language educator.

More recently, Wernicke-Heinrichs (2013) examined the “non-native speaker teacher” professional identity of teachers in French Second Language (FSL) education in British Columbia. She began the study with 87 FSL teachers at the time of a two-week sojourn to Vichy, France, to examine the notion of authenticity as it relates to language learning and teacher identity. In her analysis, she suggests that the native speaker standard in second language acquisition is definitive in second language teacher identity: “given the ‘native speaker’ as ultimate standard of authenticity, focal

participants' identity construction centered primarily on establishing legitimacy as FSL teacher in relation to or based on 'native speakerness'" (Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013, p. 146). The salience of native speaker ideology among participants in Wernicke-Heinrichs' study is similarly evident in the discourse of the FI teachers in my present study. I will take up the issue of native speakerness as it relates to FI teacher identity more fully in Chapter 5.

A final study supporting the sociocultural nature of identity construction explores the linguistic identities of 25 teachers of Chinese and 20 teachers of Punjabi ancestries (Beynon et al., 2003). Specifically, the researchers looked at how these teachers represented their linguistic identities when seeking employment as classroom teachers in British Columbia. They identified ways in which these participants constructed their linguistic identities situationally in a variety of family, community and institutional settings. Of importance and relevant to the social construction of identity, Beynon et al. (2003) discovered "in spite of a range of teacher perceptions about language use, both within and between groups, different notions emerge from the respective groups of what constitutes 'knowledge' of their language" (p.20). Teachers in this study constructed their linguistic identities differently at different times of their lives and in different contexts as well. The teacher participants renegotiated their identities in the social world.

As indicated in the research on French language teacher identity and minority language teacher identity in Canada, teachers make sense of and construct their identities in the social world. Contexts, such as French language minority settings, and discourses, such as notions of *Canadianité*, shape and inform representations of individual identity. Across a variety of Canadian educational settings, teachers make sense of themselves as professionals in light of discourse and context. It is precisely this construction of identity in light of discursive resources and the social world that help to illuminate an understanding of bilingual FI teachers in my research. In Chapter 5, I will make connections between the research in this area and add my findings to the academic conversation on the social construction of teacher identity.

In a variety of different linguistic, social and national settings, the literature indicates that social institutions play a powerful role in shaping individuals' identities and in sustaining dominant identity constructions: "Not only do *people make spaces*, but also

spaces make people, by constraining them but also by offering opportunities for identity construction” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.211). In this environment of both opportunity and constraint, the role of social institutions in identity construction is evident in the research of Heller (2001) and Gérin-Lajoie (2003). These studies highlight how students’ cultural identity is informed by experiences at school. In each of these instances, students’ identities are negotiated through the policies and practices of the school. For example, in the Francophone schools of Gérin-Lajoie’s (2003) study:

le français véhiculé dans les écoles est celui de la majorité et correspond difficilement à celui des élèves en milieu minoritaire. ... Dans ce contexte, on ne se gêne pas pour dire aux élèves qu’ils parlent mal le français, ce qui provoque de l’insécurité linguistique chez certains d’entre eux.
(p. 165)

This theme, the social imbalance between sanctioned forms of language and all others, is common across languages, schools and countries in the research on language and identity. These research contexts illuminate Bourdieu’s (1991) theory of the social conditions of language use. All linguistic interactions, he argues, are the product of the relations between linguistic ‘habitus’ (certain dispositions that individuals have acquired through socialization) and the ‘field’ (social context). That is, linguistic communication is not simply being able to speak, but the ability to speak in a certain way and to be heard by a receptive audience. In Heller (2001), for example, the Francophone high school students can speak French, but they must speak in a certain way to be ‘heard’ by their teachers in the school context: “the effect is to value the verbal displays of students who come from middle- or upper-class well-educated backgrounds, especially those who grew up in areas where French is a majority language” (p. 392). These educational examples show how institutions play a powerful role in shaping and informing identity construction of the individuals who populate them. However, the relationship between individuals and institutions is not one-sided. I will now turn to the dialectic nature of identity construction.

In institutional, social and linguistic settings, identity construction is an active, dialectic process between self and society. The research of Gohier (2007), Phan (2008), and Sabatier (2011) shows how individuals manage, resist and negotiate active identity construction in a variety of educational contexts. According to Giddens (1991), in the

post-traditional order, we have to work out who we are for ourselves: “the self is seen as a reflexive project for which the individual is responsible. We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves” (p. 75). Giddens accords a significant amount of agency to individuals for their work in sustaining personal narratives that amount to the “reflexive project of the self.” Nevertheless, the biographical narrative is constructed and re-constructed in light of the social world. People shape institutions and institutions shape people: “while abstract systems penetrate deeply into day-to-day life, responses to such systems connect the activities of the individual to social relations of indefinite extension” (p.176). Benwell and Stokoe (2006) critique Giddens’ “project of the self”. Instead, “the self comes to be *defined* by its position in social practice” (p. 24). Block (2006) cautions the “extreme suggestion that all individuals in a particular community or society have the same range and quality of choices before them as their lives unfold” (p. 27). Giddens’ theory of self and society is evident in several examples drawn from the literature. Gohier (2007) found that the participants in her research resisted the official educational discourse of their institution and their position in this discourse as agents of French cultural and linguistic reproduction. Although this mission is the official discourse of their institution, they do not situate themselves within this discourse in their teaching work. Rather, they identify themselves as “*agentes de transmission des savoirs, où la langue française représente en quelque sorte un outil de travail...Le lien entre la langue, la culture et l’identité est ainsi ignoré dans le discours des enseignants*” (p.132). Therefore in this instance of identity transaction, the individuals resist the official discourse of the institution and take up their own professional identity despite the institution.

The English-speaking Vietnamese teachers in Phan’s (2008) research are constantly negotiating and sometimes resisting Western pedagogy in their educational settings. For these teachers, identity issues come to the fore when they negotiate the differences between being a Vietnamese teacher (considered a moral guide) and being a Western-trained English teacher. In these differences, we see the teachers fastening, unfastening and refastening their identities in an attempt to negotiate the differences between these contexts: “they were tempted to align themselves with Western teachers in terms of ‘being open-minded’, but they were inclined to align themselves with Vietnamese teachers in terms of teachers’ roles” (Phan, 2008, p. 153).

Sabatier (2011) examined the construction, transformation and negotiation of French education student teacher identity in British Columbia. Sabatier (2011) uncovered how these student teachers were negotiating their professional identities in light of popular discourses on French language and bilingualism, contrasted with the institutional discourses that offered the student teachers pathways to empowerment:

Pris dans un double étau entre, d'une part, une institution de formation qui favorise le plurilinguisme et la réflexion sur ce dernier, et d'autre part, un environnement social qui reste attaché à une représentation équilibrée du bilinguisme, les futurs enseignants de Français de base n'apparaissent pas en mesure à ce stade de leur développement professionnel de combler l'écart entre les discours officiels et institutionnels et la réalité du contexte dans lesquels ils évoluent.
(pp. 195-196)

Educational institutions are complex sites of identity negotiation. It is precisely at this juncture, *"l'écart entre les discours officiels et institutionnels et la réalité du contexte dans lesquels ils évoluent"*, where individuals make sense of their individual identities. Dominant discourses shape the identities of individuals. In Chapter 4, I will take up official and institutional discourses related to FI education. These dominant discourses shape individual identity and have important implications for bilingual FI teacher identity.

Current identity research and theory suggests that identities are shifting and mutable, in transformation, active, and ongoing. As individuals interact in or move between social settings, or when individuals are in times of change or crisis, the shifting nature of identity becomes apparent. Canagarajah (2004) shows how "safe houses" provide spaces for students to create, imagine, construct, and adopt alternate identities as they cross discourse boundaries. The students in this study know that in order to succeed academically, they have to take on and use a specific academic discourse: "I really don't have much to say because I'm here and I know what it takes to make it. ... so instead of trying to fight the system, I'll just go along with it and perform as expected" (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 131). Gérin-Lajoie (2003) found that the adolescent participants in her research were continually on the border of two languages, having to re-negotiate their bilingual identity on a daily basis in a variety of contexts: *"l'identité se construit au jour le jour, à travers les pratiques sociales et langagières"* (p.179). Her study also supports the notion that identity is in constant transformation and that the process of

identity construction is dynamic. In each of the multilingual and multi-discursive settings of the aforementioned case studies, the participants take on different identities in different languages and contexts. The examples drawn from this research speak to the dynamism of identities and of individuals' ability to flow between different discourses and languages and to construct alternate identities in these different linguistic and discursive spaces.

Identity is negotiated daily in the ways that individuals are positioned by and position themselves in dominant discursive representations of identity. However, I take the position that fixed, essentialized representations of identity are also powerful discursive constructions that inform individual identity. I argue that the participants in the present study do not demonstrate a significant amount of "fastening" and "unfastening" as suggested in the work of Phan (2008). Rather, they draw on fixed cultural models (Gee, 2010) to discursively construct their identities.

From a socio-cultural perspective, hybridized identities are the norm, rather than ones that are fixed or essentialist. From an essentialist perspective, the identity of an individual is "absolute and knowable" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 9). Hybridity, however, better captures the fluid and multi-faceted nature of identity, as described here by Hall (1992):

Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, in transition, between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalized world. (p. 310)

Hybridized identities in educational settings are the focus of the research of Giampapa (2004), Phan (2008), and Gérin-Lajoie (2003) where we see individuals occupy multiple discursive spaces and languages in different ways, thereby illustrating the hybrid nature of their identities. These hybridized identities are apparent in the "Italian and Canadian at the same time" (p. 196) participants in Giampapa's (2004) work, in the teachers who identify as both Vietnamese and as English teachers in Phan's (2008) research, and in the bilingual youth of Gérin-Lajoie's (2003) case study. Phan (2008), for example, discovered that some kind of hybrid identity was in process for the

Vietnamese teachers in her study, having been Western-trained in English and pedagogy:

Seeing themselves as no longer the same as they used to be and different from Western teachers, these teachers defined themselves Western-trained, a group incorporating both but having their own code for their identity formation, the code that could not be shared by outsiders.
(p. 156)

Hybrid identities are also evident in the adolescent youth of Gérin-Lajoie's (2003) work: "*on peut être effectivement profondément attaché à la francophonie tout en affichant une identité bilingue*" (p. 150). The youth who identify as bilingual, and use both English and French in their daily lives with their families and friends, and in school and in the community, cannot be identified as only Francophone, while they still possess a deep attachment to "*la francophonie.*" A recent study of young Montréalers demonstrates the fluidity of language repertoires in a unilingual Québec:

In Québec and Canada, the saliency of language in the politics of identity has led to a tendency to reify the language and identity relationship, the "little boxes" of Canadian and Québécois politics that have become so important. These categorizations are often imposed on the participants in this study, who don't particularly thing of any one language as a marker for who they are.
(Lamarre, 2013, p. 51)

In these studies, hybrid identities are developed and developing as individuals flow between a variety of languages and cultures. These individuals' identity work takes place at the borders of language and culture, where they continually re-negotiate and manage questions of identity.

In my data analysis, I will argue that the notion of hybridized or fluid identities does not capture the negotiation of bilingual FI teacher identity. Rather, as suggested by Jaffe (2008):

In an essentialist perspective, the content of both 'language' and 'identity' and their iconic relationships are seen as fixed, ascribed/natural and unproblematic. This ideological position is the cornerstone of many nationalist ideologies. ... Because language is being used in the service of a model of a bounded and homogenous nation, that boundedness and homogeneity is projected back onto language.
(p. 58)

Dominant official discourses of French-English bilingualism in Canada and the construction of national Canadian identity is shaped by the essentialist perspective as described by Jaffe. This perspective is evident in Roy's (2010) study of French Immersion students who represented themselves as outsiders of both official language groups: "to be bilingual, one has to be part of one of the homogeneous groups of Canada" (p. 551). Lamarre (2013) argues that Canadians "are still looking at language through the lens of the 1960s and 1970s" (p. 53) while her evidence demonstrates that this essentialist paradigm no longer captures the identity work of young, urban multilinguals. Despite the social reality of Lamarre's participants, the essentialist perspective on language and identity is a dominant discourse in identity negotiation for the teachers in the present study. May (2000) argues the nation-state model "remains the bedrock of the political world order":

Nation-state congruence holds that the boundaries of political and national identity should coincide. The view here is that people who are citizens of a particular state should also, ideally, be members of the same national collectivity. (p. 370)

The dominant discourse of the nation-state and Canadian-ness shapes the identity of the bilingual FI teacher participants in this study. I will examine how the participants take up these dominant discourses and how these discourses inform individual identity in both Chapters 4 and 5.

2.4. Chapter Summary

As human beings, we use language to make sense of ourselves and of our places in the social world. This review of the literature shed light on the function of language, as both "action and affiliation," to enact representations of social identities (Gee, p. 1, 1999). People build, rebuild, enact and project their identities through language. Getting recognized as taking on a certain role or identity involves constructing a "here and now" identity through language (Gee, 1999). For bilingual FI teachers, making oneself recognizable as a teacher in and of French draws on representations of language, identity, bilingualism and ones' social role as a teacher in an official bilingual nation-state. Previous research on French language education in Canada demonstrates

how French language student teachers, teachers, parents and students represent their identities in light of officially sanctioned forms of the French language as it is produced and reproduced in educational settings. School has always played an important role in Canada in terms of language education and linguistic and cultural reproduction, given Canada's official federal policies of French and English bilingualism. In this context, the role of the bilingual FI teacher as an agent of cultural and linguistic reproduction is particularly relevant. The work of French language educators takes on an additional level of significance in the reproduction and maintenance of French language and culture in Canada. FI teachers produce and reproduce discourses and negotiate their identity via these discursive resources. An examination of bilingual FI teachers in British Columbia will contribute to understanding how and which discursive resources are negotiated, produced and challenged in the construction of their professional identity.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

3.1. Introduction and Overview

The purpose of this case study was to explore with 12 bilingual French Immersion teachers the construction and representation of their professional identities. I examined the interplay of individuals and institutions related to bilingualism, to language and culture, and to school as a site of cultural and linguistic reproduction in the construction of FI teachers' professional identities. Through my research, I intended to shed light on how FI teachers draw upon discursive resources in the ongoing construction of a professional sense of self. My study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do bilingual Anglophones articulate a representation of their professional identity as French Immersion teachers?
2. What discursive resources do bilingual Anglophone French Immersion teachers draw upon in constructing a representation of their professional identities?
3. How are the professional identities of bilingual Anglophone French Immersion teachers enacted, performed and sustained in discourse?
4. In what way do these teachers challenge and/or reproduce discourse?

This chapter presents the research methodology for my project and is organized as follows: rationale for the research approach; description of the research sample; summary of information needed; overview of research design; methods of data collection; analysis and synthesis of data; ethical considerations; issues of trustworthiness; research relationships; limitations of the study; and a concluding summary.

3.2. Rationale for Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research is “concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced [...] based on methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced, [and] involve understandings of complexity, detail and context” (Mason, 1996, p.4). Maxwell (2005) identifies five intellectual goals in qualitative research:

1. Understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in.
2. Understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions.
3. Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new, “grounded” theories about the latter.
4. Understanding the process by which events and actions take place.
5. Developing causal explanations.

(pp. 22-23)

The purpose of my research is to understand how FI teachers represent their identities in the social world and how they construct and negotiate these identity representations discursively. Therefore one very important and relevant key to understanding representations of identity among my participants is the perceptions they have as being FI teachers. Additionally, because I looked at FI teacher professional identity, the context of identity negotiation within the institutions of school and government in Canada are paramount in examining the relationship between individuals and institutions.

I situated my research in a constructivist research paradigm. The overall research design of my project, then, is based on the idea that knowledge is not absolute; knowledge exists in relation to the social and historical context; and knowledge is co-constructed (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). The researcher and the researched are “fused into a single entity” (Guba, 1990, p. 27) and the knowledge generated in my research is a result of the interaction between my participants and me.

3.3. Rationale for Case Study Methodology

Case studies are an appropriate methodology when there is a unique or interesting story to be told (Yin, 2003). Different types of case studies have different purposes (Yin, 2003), and case studies can deal with either single or multiple cases (Stake, 2005). Descriptive case studies describe what is happening, and the different characteristics of a phenomenon in its real-life context. Exploratory case studies are often used in pilot studies to collect data before a question is formed. Explanatory case studies answer a 'how' question in order to explain the phenomenon (Yin, 2003). There are two types of single case study: the intrinsic and the instrumental. Intrinsic case study is conducted to learn about a unique phenomenon and one particular case. In an instrumental case, a particular case is examined to gain insight into an issue; the case is of secondary interest (Stake, 2005). The collective case study is done to provide a general understanding using a number of instrumental case studies that either occur on the same site or come from multiple sites. In the collective or multiple case study, there is even less interest in the particular case; this type is used to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition (Stake, 2005). As I was investigating the discursive representations of identities, the collective case study was the most appropriate.

When using multiple cases, the questions of how many and who arises. These questions are intimately linked to methodological issues in case study, including validity and credibility. The researcher needs to provide a rationale for the cases used, so rather than a random sample, I used information-oriented selection (Flyvbjerg, 2004) "to maximize the utility of information from small samples" (p. 426) and I selected cases based on my expectations about their information content. Purposeful sampling is generally used in case study research. It is important to explain sampling procedures and case selection, and the defining characteristics and typicality or atypicality of the case: whether the case in question is a deviant or extreme case, a critical case, a paradigmatic case and so on (Creswell, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In my research, I relied on maximum variation cases (Flyvbjerg, 2004), in order to "obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome" (p. 426). The participants were contacted for participation due to their

adherence to the criteria for selection (being bilingual [at least] FI teachers who have learned French as an additional language and who spoke English as the primary language of their childhood). However, aside from the key criteria, the demographic profile of each participant was unique in terms of personal and professional details.

The primary advantage of a case study is that it provides detailed information and presents data collected from multiple methods to provide a complete story. The aim of this research project is to analyze and theorize bilingual FI teacher identity construction. Case study methodology allows me to analyze an existing, real-life situation in all its complexity, yet also allowed me to focus on the analysis of single phenomena against the backdrop of this complexity (Kyburz-Graber, 2004). Talking to teachers helped facilitate my understanding of the issues in my question; I needed to talk to people “living the case” (Stake, 2005, p. 445). I wanted to see how the phenomena of representation and use of discursive resources in identity work occur in several exemplars and I wanted to get different perceptions of these phenomena. A case study was appropriate for the analysis of single phenomena against the backdrop of personal, historical and life historical aspects (Yin, 2003). Because of the specific research questions I pose regarding how professional identity is represented, case study provides a more appropriate framework for structuring my research project. Ethnographic research, for example, focuses on participant observation. My research questions do not lend themselves to observational evidence that the ethnographer may use (Erickson, 2011). Rather, I used individual and group interviews to capture the participants’ representations and discursive constructions of identity.

3.4. The Research Sample

I cannot deny that my personal and professional perspectives as the researcher influenced my research. I will elaborate further on this issue later in this chapter. Like my participants, I am a FI classroom teacher and I learned French as an additional language. The research question emerged out of my felt tension, ultimately a question of legitimacy, as a bilingual educator teaching in a variety of FI programs at both the elementary and secondary levels. This tension informed the research questions I developed for this study. I sought to understand why I felt this tension and to see if

others felt the same way in order to bring some level of understanding to my professional conundrum. Therefore, I used a purposeful sampling procedure to select the research participants, as I was seeking other “teachers like me.” The criteria for selection of participants were: all participants were teaching in a FI program; and all participants had learned French as a second or additional language.

The research setting was one school district in the Greater Vancouver Area. I selected the setting because of my insider role as a teacher within this district. I will explore my insider/outsider role more fully later in this chapter. The school district is comprised of three distinct geographical communities. Currently, French Immersion is offered in each of the three communities. There are seven dual-track¹ elementary schools and two dual-track high schools. Approximately 9% of the total school district population is enrolled in the French Immersion program, slightly higher than the provincial average.

I received ethical approval from the school district to contact French Immersion teachers via the school district in-house email network. Based on the criteria for participants, I began by contacting FI teachers that I knew in the school district. After I began the initial interviews, I also used snowball or chain sampling and asked my participants to identify other teachers who fulfilled the criteria and who may have been willing and interested to participate in the project (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I used purposeful selection of participants not only in order to identify teachers who fulfilled the criteria for participation, but also to capture the diversity within the group of participants (Maxwell, p. 89). While all participants shared the two aforementioned criteria for selection, there were differences among them, including: age, years of teaching experience, grade(s) taught, French-language learning profile, and university/teacher training experiences.

The research participants included 12 individuals, all female, who were teaching at 5 different dual-track elementary schools in the research setting. At the time of data collection, the participating teachers had between 3 and 32 years of teaching experience. All participants were teaching in the French Immersion program at the time

¹ Dual-track schools offer French Immersion and English language classes.

of the interviews and focus groups, in a variety of grades, and in enrolling and non-enrolling positions in their schools. The following table provides a more detailed profile of each participant. Participants are identified using the first, second, and third letters of their given name and the date of their individual interview.

Table 3.1. Profile of Participants

Participant	Teaching assignment at time of interviews	Years of teaching experience	Teacher training	Acquisition of French language	Language spoken in childhood	Language used in everyday life
DAN 20120111	Grade 7 Late French Immersion	8	Bachelor of Education, English and Learning Disabilities	Completed Double Dogwood in French Immersion in B.C.	English	English
SA 20111201	Grade 1/2 Early French Immersion	11	Bachelor of Arts, French, German and Spanish; Bachelor of Education; Masters of Education in French	Studied French as a second language in high school, majored in French at university, completed Master's degree in French in Vancouver and Montréal	English	English
CY 20111030	Grade 7 Early French Immersion	19	Bachelor of Education, French	Studied French in Moncton, New Brunswick and majored in French at university	English	English
SU 20120130	Grade 6 Early French Immersion	22	Bachelor of Arts, French and German	Studied French as a second language in high school, attended university in Québec	English	English
CHE 20111017	Teacher librarian in dual-track school	23	Bachelor of Arts in French, Bachelor of Education in French	Studied French in community college, French degree at university including exchange to Chicoutimi, Québec	English	English

Participant	Teaching assignment at time of interviews	Years of teaching experience	Teacher training	Acquisition of French language	Language spoken in childhood	Language used in everyday life
E 20120229	Grade 4/5 Early French Immersion	3	Bachelor of Arts in French, Bachelor of Education in French	French Immersion student from K-12 in public education system	English	English
L 20120213	Grade 5/6 Early French Immersion	5	Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education in French	Completed double dogwood in French Immersion in B.C., worked as a language assistant in French school system (France)	English	English
DAI 20120124	Grade 2/3 Early French Immersion	6	Bachelor of Arts in French and Spanish, Bachelor of Education in French	Studied French as a second language in high school, majored in French at university	English	English
CHR 20120311	Grade 3 Early French Immersion	7	Bachelor of Arts in Marine Biology and Religious Studies, Bachelor of Education	Completed double dogwood in French Immersion in B.C.	English	English
JO 20111117	Learning assistance teacher in dual-track school	32	Bachelor of Arts in French, Masters in French Literature	Studied French as a second language in high school, attended university in France and Québec	English	English
JA 20111109	Learning assistance teacher in dual-track school	32	Bachelor of Arts in French and Special Education	Studied French in Québec and majored at university in French	English	English

Participant	Teaching assignment at time of interviews	Years of teaching experience	Teacher training	Acquisition of French language	Language spoken in childhood	Language used in everyday life
T 20120307	Grade 2 Early French Immersion	32	Bachelor of Arts in French, Bachelor of Education in French	Participated in student exchange to Quebec, and language exchange programs to France and Québec, participated in Canada World Youth	English	English

The information summarized and presented in this table indicates a variety of bi/multi/plurilingual participants in the sample. In the present study, my focus is on the French-English bilingual identity of the teachers and therefore I selected to use the term “bilingual” to describe the participants. Additionally, the term “bilingual” is commonly used to refer to both institutions and individuals within official and dominant discourses of bilingualism in Canada.

3.5. Overview of Information Needed

This case study focused on 12 bilingual FI teachers working in 5 different dual-track schools in one Greater Vancouver school district. I collected demographic, perceptual, contextual and theoretical information in interviews, focus groups and in a document review. The information needed to answer my research questions included:

- Demographic information pertaining to participants years of experience teaching, teacher training and how they learned French themselves
- Teachers’ perceptions of their experiences teaching French Immersion as it pertains to their role in French language education, the purpose of French language education in B.C., and their perceptions of bilingualism
- A review of the official documents on French Immersion education to provide the history, vision, and objectives of French Immersion education in Canada and in B.C.
- A review of previous studies and theoretical literature related to my topic of inquiry to support my methodological approach, my research design, my data analysis and conclusions

3.6. Research Design

Prior to beginning the collection of data, I conducted a review of the literature to study the theory and prior research in the areas of second language teacher identity and French second language education in Canada. I prepared and submitted a research proposal to Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) for approval. The ORE approval process required preparing and submitting a detailed research proposal, including all procedures and related documents to ensure participant confidentiality, informed consent and minimal risk. Once I received approval from ORE, I sought and received approval from the school district to conduct my research with their teachers. Potential participants were contacted by email and I set up a date and time to interview those who agreed to participate. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 different teachers. I began the process of data analysis and identified the need to return to my participants with 2 further questions in a focus group format. Four focus groups were conducted with 9 of the 12 initial participants. Additionally, my work was informed by an ongoing review of the official documents related to French second language education in British Columbia.

3.7. Data-Collection Methods

The integration of multiple data collection methods on multiple occasions, or methodological triangulation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007) serves the credibility and validity of my conclusions. The purpose of my research is to theorize the negotiation, construction and representation of identities within discourse and therefore the intent of my work is not generalize my results to the FI teacher population, but to increase "confidence in the robustness of the theory" (Freebody, 2003, p. 83). Additionally, the purpose of my research intent is to examine how my participants use language to construct their accounts of the social world (Cameron, 2001). Therefore, in this study I employed the following data-collection methods: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and an analysis of official documents related to bilingualism and education in Canada and in British Columbia.

3.7.1. Interviews

My primary method of data-collection was semi-structured interviews. Interviewing is a fundamental tool in qualitative research: “the qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.1). My logic for using interviews as my primary method is that the theoretical foundation of my research is representations of identity in discourse. Therefore, my research questions required of my methods a tool whereby I could elicit rich, detailed data that captured the participants’ experiences in their own words. I needed a way to generate and collect data that would permit an analysis of language-in-use. Face-to-face interaction allowed me to mine answers more deeply with the teacher participants, and to ask for clarification and extensions where appropriate. Furthermore, “multisensory channels [can] be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 349). I videotaped my interviews in order to capture the sound and the image, the words and the body language in the interactions. However, it is the very social interaction of the interviews that precipitated the challenges of this data collection tool in my research: interviews are not neutral sites of data gathering. The interviewer and the interviewee interact and influence one another. The interaction and the knowledge created in the instance of the interview may be different with a different interviewer (Kvale, 2007). I will address these challenges later in this chapter, in the section “Research Relationships.”

The Interview Questions

I developed my interview questions in light of the demographic and perceptual information required to address the key themes that I wanted to explore in my research: identity, bilingualism and the social role of the teacher. I began each interview with the intention of asking the following list of questions:

Table 3.2. Interview Protocol Based on Research Questions

Demographic information pertaining to participants years of experience teaching, teacher training and how they learned French themselves

- How long have you been a teacher?
 - What grade do you teach?
-

-
- Tell me the story about how you became a French Immersion teacher.
 - Tell me about the languages that you speak at home, at work, and in the community.
-

Teachers' perceptions of their experiences teaching French Immersion as it pertains to their role in French language education, the purpose of French language education in B.C., and their perceptions of bilingualism

- What do you like most about teaching?
 - What do you like least about teaching?
 - What is the most challenging aspect of teaching?
 - What is the most challenging aspect of teaching French Immersion?
 - What do you like most about teaching French Immersion?
 - What do you like least about teaching French Immersion?
 - Do you feel that being a French Immersion teacher in British Columbia is different from or similar to being a teacher of French in other parts of Canada or the world?
 - What do you say to the parent of a child considering French Immersion?
 - What do you think the French Immersion program is about? What's the goal?
 - What, for you, is school for? What's its purpose?
 - A stated goal of French Immersion education is to provide for students the opportunity to identify as bilingual. How do you define bilingualism?
 - Do you call yourself bilingual?
 - How do you develop in your students this opportunity to identify as bilingual?
 - How do you understand the terms "francophone" and "Francophonie"?
 - Would you use either or both of those terms to describe yourself? How?
 - Would you use either or both of those terms to describe your students?
 - How do you develop in your students a feeling of belonging to La Francophonie?
-

As the individual interviews were happening, I discovered that I spent more time on the demographic questions regarding the participants' individual experiences and personal histories. These stories were interesting and provided valuable insight into individual language use. Additionally, I found that I spent more time probing questions about bilingualism and the philosophies and purposes of FI education in particular rather than general questions about the teaching experience. I was able to ask follow up questions about bilingualism and identifying as bilingual that led to rich conversation about representations of bilingualism that got to the core of my research questions.

The Interview Process

I sent individual e-mails to prospective participants describing the purpose of my research and inviting their participation in my study. To the respondents who agreed to participate, I send a second e-mail to request a convenient time and date for the

interview. The interviews took place between October 2011 and March 2012. The duration of each interview was between 40 and 75 minutes per participant. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and in 9 of the 12 cases, after school hours in the classrooms of the participants. Three of the 12 interviews were conducted on the weekend; of these, two interviews were conducted in the researcher's home and one was conducted in the participant's home. Before the interviews began, each participant was asked to read and sign a university consent form for participation in the study. All interviews were videotaped and afterwards the interviews were transcribed in their entirety.

3.7.2. Focus Groups

A secondary method of data-collection was conducting focus groups. I finished transcribing my interviews and began data analysis in the winter of 2012. As I analyzed my data, I discovered that my participants had broadly discussed notions of professional identity and I was seeking more depth and detail on this topic. I set up a meeting with my committee in February 2013 to provide an update on my progress and to get feedback on my research from the committee members. At that point, my committee members and I decided that I should develop and use the focus group as a secondary data-collection tool to uncover additional perceptions on professional identity that may not have been revealed in the interviews. The goal of combining focus groups with the individual interviews was to strengthen my overall project.

The main advantage to using the focus group at this point in my data collection was to build detail and depth on one issue. I also wanted to see how the participants worked through similarities and differences in order to build consensus around an answer to two specific questions. Focus groups rely on interaction to produce data: "the comparisons that participants make among each other's experiences and opinions are a valuable source of insights into complex behaviors and motivations" (Morgan, 1997, p.15). In my protocol, I was asking two questions of my participants and using a process which involved a significant amount of cognitive work; working together I believed would help make the process more manageable for the participants. Logistically, it also made sense to group participants by their work site in order to meet

with them together, rather than attempting to schedule 12 separate interviews treating two questions.

Three weaknesses of focus groups are the amount of time that each participant has to share, how the group itself may influence the nature of the data that is produced, and the logistics of setting the time and place for the focus group (Morgan, 1997). Because there are multiple participants in a focus group, each person is accorded less time to speak. However, I had already conducted in-depth interviews with each participant and the secondary data collection was to delve more deeply into a single issue. Secondly, the presence of other colleagues in the focus group may impact what individuals contribute to the conversations. Some participants may not be comfortable sharing in a group what they would otherwise say in private. In the focus group, the individual participant is not anonymous. Indeed, one of my original participants refused to participate in a focus group because of the nature and composition of the group. Finally, there is the logistical challenge of setting a convenient time and place for the focus group that best meets the needs of the participants and inconveniences them the least. To that end, I decided to structure my focus group meetings by the work sites of the participants.

Focus Group Protocol

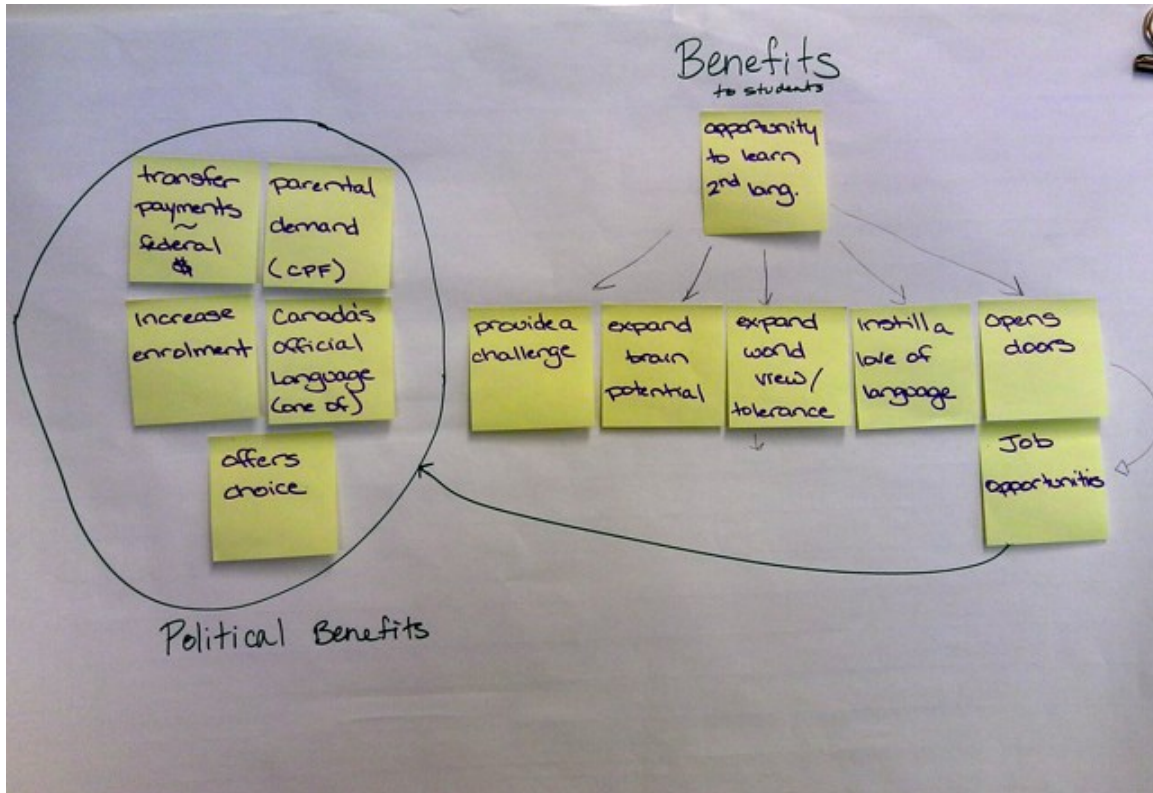
Concept Maps

With the assistance of my supervisory committee, I developed a focus group protocol based on two questions aimed at exploring professional identity more deeply with the participants: What are the most important factors in being a successful French Immersion teacher? What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs? In order to answer these two questions, I asked the participants in each focus group to create a concept map together. A concept map is a type of graphic organizer used to organize and represent information or knowledge. By using the concept map, I was asking my participants to engage differently with the questions by working cooperatively to create a graphic representation of their experience. Using concept maps in qualitative research has advantages and challenges, as summarized by Wheeldon and Faubert (2009). The use of concept maps probes the “backstage” of participants’ experiences, and in this case, uncovered more

deeply held perceptions about their roles as FI teachers within the larger context of the program. The concept map also created a medium for the participants to order concepts hierarchically and/or show relationships between concepts. Indeed the concepts identified by the participants in their concept maps were useful for naming repeating themes during the data analysis phase of the research. A challenge in using concept maps is how best to analyze the data that is generated. Concept maps could be analyzed by counting the concepts named or by looking at the relationships created between and across concepts in the map. I used both of these text features when I analyzed my data. Ultimately I decided to use the concept map to strengthen the triangulation of my data collection and to provide for participants an opportunity to demonstrate their perceptions using a multimodal method.

As a classroom teacher, I use concept maps with my intermediate students. I presumed that the participants in my study would come to this activity with some background knowledge about concept maps, and they appeared to engage with the activity without difficulty. Because both questions required “factors” or “reasons”, answering the question began with generating a list. From the original lists, the participants worked together to group and categorize the words and phrases in their lists in order to answer the primary questions. At this point of the focus group, individuals found similarities and also negotiated the differences: what elements to keep and those to discard. The concept map was a rich strategy because it allowed participants to show relationships between factors and reasons, and also to group ideas in order of importance or significance. Again, the participants had to work together to decide how to group their ideas and how to show relationships. Once finished their concept maps, the participants answered the primary questions by way of describing their concept maps. The concept map protocol is included as Appendix A.

**Figure 3.1. A Sample Concept Map:
What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?**



Note. Focus Group CHE20130430.

Focus Group Process

In April 2013, I e-mailed 10 of the original 12 participants in my study seeking their interest in participating in a focus group. Two of the original 12 participants were not contacted because one teacher was on a maternity leave and the other teacher was no longer working in the school district. Of the 10 remaining participants, 9 were willing to participate in a focus group. Following the original e-mail, I sent an additional e-mail to arrange the times and places for the focus group meeting. In April and May 2013, I conducted 4 focus group meetings after school in the teachers' classrooms. The first focus group was with only one teacher who was unavailable on any of the other dates to meet with other participants. I still conducted the protocol with her although she worked alone. The second focus group had 2 participants working together, the third focus group had 4 participants working together, and the final focus group was 2 participants

working together. The duration of each focus group was between 45 and 90 minutes. I selectively videotaped the focus group session; only the description of the final concept map was recorded. I selectively transcribed the video recordings from the focus groups. Data collection also included the actual concept maps the participants produced in the focus groups.

3.7.3. *Body of Documentation*

The third, and ongoing, method of data collection included a body of documentation comprised of official documents related to French Immersion, French language education, and bilingualism in British Columbia and Canada. The body of documentation was made up of documents from both political institutions that guide and set policy for French second language education and also organizational institutions that are leaders in French second language education. I included in the body of literature federal government documents from Canadian Heritage and the Office of the Commissioner of Federal Languages, given their responsibility to develop and promote both official languages in Canadian society. I also used documents from the British Columbia Ministry of Education, including both program policy documents and the curricular documents, Integrated Resources Packages (IRPs) that prescribe the learning objectives for French Immersion programs in B.C. The body of documentation under analysis also included reports from Canadian Parents for French (CPF), a national organization of parents who support and promote French second language education across Canada. The documents were selected for their pertinence to the policy, implementation and promotion of French second language education, in order to contextualize the experience, perceptions and discourse of the participants. Additionally I analyze the official discourse of these documents in Chapter 4 to compare and contrast authoritative and individual discourses of the participants.

3.8. Data Analysis and Synthesis

After completing the individual interviews, but before beginning the focus groups, I began the formal process of data analysis with the interview transcripts. The data analysis process for developing grounded theory, as suggested by Corbin and Strauss

(2008) provided a framework for this phase of my research. Corbin and Strauss' (2008) conceptions of methodology stem from key assumptions about individuals and the world we live in, including:

- The external world is a symbolic representation, a “symbolic universe.” Both this and the interior worlds are created and recreated through interaction. In effect, there is no divide between external or interior world;
- Actions are embedded in interactions—past, present and imagined future. Thus, actions also carry meanings and are locatable within systems of meanings. Actions may generate further meanings, both with regard to further actions and the interactions in which they are embedded;
- A major set of conditions for actors' perspectives, and thus their interactions, is their memberships in social worlds and subworlds. In contemporary societies, these memberships are often complex, overlapping, contrasting, conflicting, and not always apparent to other interactants.

(p. 7)

Because I wished to examine the social negotiation of identities, it is the alignment between my research concern regarding the representation of and discursive nature of identity construction and negotiation, and these key assumptions, that drew me to this method of data analysis.

The first step in my analysis was to re-read the corpus of interview transcripts to create an overall feel for the data. I based my data analysis process on my research concern: how do bilingual Anglophones articulate a representation of their professional identity as French Immersion teachers? Additionally I re-visited my interview questions, and the information I needed to begin to answer my research question, and I grouped the interview questions thematically: autobiographical, teaching, FI teaching, FI purpose/philosophy, philosophy of education, bilingualism, and Francophone. I re-read the data and color-coded the transcripts as per these descriptors, or repeating themes (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

Once I had identified the passages that formed the repeating themes, it was at this point that I created the focus group protocol and returned to my participants to further explore the notion of professional identity. Having thoroughly mined the data of the interview transcripts, I felt that I needed to delve more deeply into the topic of

professional identity with the participants and I also needed to refocus my data analysis on answering my primary research question.

After finishing the focus groups, I returned to the primary body of data, the interview transcripts. I re-read the data and the repeating themes that I had originally created. At the same time, I began coding the concept maps from the focus groups. Again using color-coding and post-it notes (I did not want to write directly on the original data source, the concept maps themselves), I looked at the factors that the participants grouped in the concept maps and I identified repeating themes. At this point the data analysis process was overlapping between the concept maps and the interview transcripts and I started looking more closely at the meaning of words (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), for example: bilingual, opportunity, and challenge. I began asking a bigger question of the corpus before me: what are the assumptions in these texts? This led me to bring together the corpus of data from my participants, and I grouped together words and relevant text into a new set of themes related to the participants' professional identities: bilingualism, challenge, cognitive benefits, culture, hyper-norm, identity as French speakers, identity as French language learners, legitimacy, opportunity, and politics. Finally I grouped the themes into theoretical constructs (Auerback & Silverstein, 2003). These theoretical constructs ran through the corpus of data and they could serve as headings to group together some of the lesser concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Using the theoretical constructs of identity, bilingualism, and the role of the teacher, I was able to create a theoretical narrative as described by Auerback and Silverstein (2003):

...the culminating step that provides the bridge between the researchers' concerns and the participants' subjective experience. It tells the story of the participants' subjective experience, using their own words as much as possible. However, it also includes the researchers' theoretical framework by including the theoretical constructs and themes in parentheses throughout the narrative. Weaving together subjective experience and abstract concepts brings together the two very different worlds of researcher and participant. (p. 40)

At this point in my data analysis, working with both the theoretical constructs and the theoretical narratives, and with the corpus of official documents on French second language education, I continued with a discursive analysis of the data.

3.8.1. Discourse Analysis

Germane to my data analysis is an understanding of how language is recognized within our experience of the world and how it is used as an “identity building tool” (Gee, 2010, p.106). Wetherell (2007) explains: “Discourse is seen as doing many more complex activities than mere description and these activities qualify how we understand the *referential* [italics added] functions of language” (p. 392). By analyzing the perceptual and demographic text in the data, I also wanted to see how the participants used language in order to refer to larger discourses that informed the construction and representations of their professional identities. Specifically I applied three theoretical constructs: positionality (Davies & Harré, 1990), subjectivity (Weedon, 2004), and authoritative and internally persuasive discourse (Bahktin, 1981).

Positionality helps to theorize how language is used as a tool, and how it is used as an identity-building tool:

An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Accordingly, who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available with one’s own and others’ discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others’ lives
(Davies & Harré, 2007, p. 263)

In my discourse analysis, I used positionality to theorize the ways in which participants made use of, or challenged, particular discursive resources to represent their professional identities. However, I recognize that my participants drew upon subject positions: “the subject positions and modes of embodied subjectivity constituted for the individual within particular discourses allow for different degrees and types of identity and agency both compliant and resistant” (Weedon, 2004, p. 19). That is, they drew upon particular discourses when unconsciously positioning themselves in a subject position. I argue that the participants positioned themselves and took up subject positions in the discursive resources that were available to them at the time of the data collection. Therefore, their representations of themselves are liable to change if and when new discourses were to become available to them.

Finally I drew upon a Bahktinian reading of my data when I wanted to analyze in what ways the participants produced, reproduced and challenged authoritative discourses on bilingualism and the social role of the teacher. I wanted to get a sense of the power and agency of my participants in challenging or reproducing particular authoritative discourses that may be interpreted as positive or negative in their representations of their professional identities and in what ways they had (or not) internalized particular authoritative discourses.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

My research, at all times, followed the guidelines for conducting qualitative research ethically: informed consent; free of deceptive practices; privacy and confidentiality; and accuracy (Christians, 2010). When I received ethical approval for my research with the ORE at Simon Fraser University, the study was categorized as minimal risk. At the beginning of the study, participants were informed of the voluntary nature of their participation, the purpose of my research study, and potential risks and benefits involved in participating. Ethical issues relating to safeguarding the anonymity of participants in any research study is a significant concern. I took the necessary measures to safeguard my electronic data on an external hard drive and kept the electronic and paper-based data locked in a safe cabinet away where only I had access. I was committed to safeguarding the anonymity of my participants. The names of the participants, and any identifying characteristics such as schools or places were changed to maintain anonymity. I have ensured that the data collected, analyzed and used in my research is accurate and free of fabrications and omissions.

3.10. Issues of Trustworthiness

Issues of trustworthiness in qualitative research are based on notions of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Validity is not the goal of my research; however concerns for validity were instrumental in the overall design of my qualitative project (Maxwell, 2005). I will organize a discussion of issues of trustworthiness by describing how I took specific steps in the

overall design of my study in order to address threats to the trustworthiness of my research.

I included two features in my research design to address potential limits to the methodological validity of my study. That is, did the research design, methods and analytic approach answer the research questions? I began first by using my research questions to guide the creation of data collection methods that would capture perceptual, demographic, contextual and theoretical information. Specifically I selected interviews in order to generate rich perceptual data from the participants' point of view. Additionally, because I wanted to examine the discursive construction of identity, I needed to ensure that I selected data collection methods that would create text, based on participants' experiences, for discourse analysis. Secondly, I included focus groups in my data collection methods after beginning data analysis of my primary data. I wanted to add depth and detail to my initial body of data in order to answer my research questions on professional identity.

3.10.1. *Participant Selection*

I addressed limits to credibility and transferability in designing the processes and methods used in participant selection in my study. I purposefully selected 12 participants based on the essential criteria: bilingual FI teacher who spoke English as her primary language in childhood and learned French as an additional language. I also sought maximum variation by inviting teachers with a wide variety of learning and teaching experiences. The primary rationale of my research was to make a contribution to understanding and theorizing the representations of teacher identity in this particular case. The purpose of case study research can be to develop theoretical ideas rather than external generalizability (Merriam, 1988). I addressed internal generalizability (Maxwell, 2005) by purposefully selecting and drawing participants from a variety of school settings, at different points in their careers with different training, education, and experiences.

3.10.2. Relationship Between the Researcher and the Participants

My relationships as a researcher, colleague or friend to the participants in my study impacts the knowledge co-production in this study which I will explain more fully in the next section of this chapter. However, the question of credibility of the information shared in our interviews and focus groups impacts the knowledge generated: how much of what they were prepared to say was related to our shared relationships? I acknowledge that our relationships impacted the co-construction of knowledge in the research: “reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed social and experientially” (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011, p. 103). I addressed the credibility issue by including a variety of participants in the study, some whom I met only for the first time through this study and others whom I’ve known for up to 10 years. In my data analysis process, I was mindful of comparing the data between and across participants to address issues of credibility and trustworthiness.

3.10.3. Whose Story?

The final issue related to the credibility of my research is my role in the research process and in the conclusions I made: how could I honor my participants so that the findings were a result of the research and not a result of my own biases, subjectivities and experience? Whose story was I telling? In the constructivist paradigm “knowledge is socially constructed, not discovered” (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011, p.107). I was not looking to discover a single truth in undertaking this research; rather, the knowledge generated in this study was co-constructed through the interaction of the researcher and the participants (Guba, 1996). The interviews and focus groups were a site of knowledge co-creation. I purposefully selected the participants in the study in order to ensure participants with different backgrounds and experiences. Finally, I collected rich, detailed data in fully transcribing 12 interviews and conducting 4 focus groups. Rich data, as argued by Becker:

counter the twin dangers of respondent duplicity and observer bias by making it difficult for the respondents to produce data that uniformly support a mistaken conclusion, just as they make it difficult for the observer to restrict his observations so that he sees only what supports his prejudices and expectations. (as cited in Maxwell, 2005, p. 110)

3.11. Research Relationships

I confronted two challenges in conducting my research, both related to my subjective role as the researcher: power dynamics and the integrity of the research. I had to address the integrity of my research when considering how my role as an insider-practitioner affected the study:

the notion of reflexivity is used more specifically to indicate an awareness of the identity, or self, of the researcher within the research process. Reflexivity means the tendency critically to examine and analytically to reflect upon the nature of research and the role of the researcher in carrying out and writing up empirical work. (Elliott, 2005, p. 153)

I was intimately connected to my topic as it was borne of my own practice as a FI teacher, and I also had developed collegial and friendly relationships with most of my participants having worked with them for up to 10 years in the same school district. I will explore the notion of reflexivity, power, and integrity as it applied to my role in my own research, as it became evident during the semi-structured interviews with my participants.

First, the research interview is not an everyday conversation between colleagues or friends. The researcher holds the power in the interview scenario and “defines and controls the situation” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.3). A participant in my research refers to this power relationship in the following excerpt:

123. RES: Do you want to talk about that right now?

124. INT-CY20111030: I don't care.

125. RES: @Well

126. INT-CY20111030: @It's your interview@@@@

127. RES: It's my, it's our interview.

By referring to the process as “my” interview, the participant overtly recognizes the power asymmetry between the researcher and the participant (Kvale, 2007). When I answered with “it's our interview,” I attempted to reassure the participant that this was a co-constructed conversation between two people. However, I determined the topic, I

posed the questions and I decided when to ask follow-up questions, and when to terminate the interview. I observed firsthand the delicate nature of the researcher-participant relationship, and how my position as an interviewer impacted the interview situation and the participant's demeanor.

Secondly, being an insider-practitioner had advantages and disadvantages in terms of the integrity of my research. As I collected by research in both the interviews and focus groups, I was employed as a FI teacher and I was a colleague of my participants. Being an insider, I understood the challenges and issues in being a French Immersion teacher. My participants positioned me as a teacher and at times, the interviews became conversations between two colleagues where my role as researcher was in the background and my role as teacher and colleague was in the forefront. This type of collegial interaction was most often heralded by the use of the pronouns "we" and "our", which occurred in every interview, as in the following excerpt:

220. INT-CY20111030: And I think that's just teachers. We're always questioning ourselves, and we're always beating ourselves up about it, even if you had the best day ever.

At these times I was positioned as a colleague and confidante, a fellow FI teacher who understood the challenges and issues of teaching in the FI program. This type of relationship lessened the distance between the researcher and the researched. I felt that on several occasions my participants confided in me because they thought I would understand the role of the FI teacher, as demonstrated here:

110. INT-CHR20120311: Um...well when you asked about the challenges of being a French Immersion teacher I mentioned you know getting the students to speak in French. The other major challenge I see for French Immersion teachers particularly on the West Coast is materials, and having access to you know, appropriate materials, particularly for primary...that you know, we, we joke about it all the time amongst ourselves you know that we spend most of our time on our weekends creating our materials all the time.

Another advantage of being an insider-practitioner stemmed from the personal relationships I have developed with several of my participants. I have worked with many of the participants for up to 10 years in the same school district, and have worked as a

colleague on the same school staff with 4 of the participants. These relationships lessened the distance between the participants and me, when the interviews were punctuated with laughter and jokes:

37. INT-CHE20111017: So yeah that was kind of a round-about way of getting into being a French Immersion teacher, but that's how I did it.
38. RES: It's interesting, yeah, very interesting. Like I did not know that about you, about the/
39. INT-CHE20111017: /@@@/
40. RES: /starting at the River College/
41. INT-CHE20111017: /and then seeing my French teacher at Whistler one time and going, "guess what I do for a living?" @@@ After you failed me in grade eleven. Probably the best thing she could have done.

Being positioned as a colleague and a friend by the participants I believe encouraged my participants to confide in me in ways that they would not have done with an unknown researcher. However, this very same positioning also triggered my dual role as a researcher and a colleague. I became highly sensitive to the stories I would be telling in my research in terms of critical distance: whose story would I tell and what would that story be? I reconsidered this challenge, however, in light of the qualitative tradition of research:

a form of social inquiry that tends to adopt a flexible and data-driven research design, to use relatively unstructured data, *to emphasize the essential role of subjectivity in the research process* [italics added], to study a small number of naturally occurring cases in detail, and to use verbal rather than statistical forms of analysis. (Hammersley, 2012, p. 12)

I embraced the subjective nature of my research and my insider position. I was not approaching my research questions as a positivist in search of one knowable truth. My research was not an impersonal or standardized process (Hammersley, 2012). Rather, my research process was a co-construction of knowledge together with my participants. My subjectivities are embedded deeply in my qualitative research approach and constructivist paradigm and here I make them transparent. The goal in qualitative research is not to attempt to control or minimize the influence of the researcher in the

study. It is, however, important to understand how the researcher influences the process and how her experiences and biases impact the conduct and the conclusions in the study (Maxwell, 2005).

3.12. Limitations of the Study

When adopting a qualitative research design, there are potential methodological limitations to the quality of the findings and the researcher's ability to effectively answer the research question. There were three potential limitations to this study concerning: the restricted number of participants; participant selection; and participant reactivity.

The first limitation was the limited number of participants. There were only 12 participants in the interview portion of the study, and from this group only 9 participated in the focus groups. I would have liked to include more participants in my study, however given the time constraints on myself as the researcher and on my participants as working teachers this was not possible. Secondly, participant selection was limited to the extent that the only participants were female elementary school teachers. The diversity of the participants could have been improved by including male and female teachers at the elementary and secondary level. However, most of the FI teacher population in the school district is at the elementary level and the secondary program is limited to 2 schools with a small FI teaching population. Additionally, there are very few male elementary FI teachers in the school district. Therefore, the largest group of teachers to draw upon was female elementary teachers. Finally, participant reactivity was a potential limitation (Maxwell, 2005). Because I was the researcher, this had an impact on the interactions I had with my participants, compared to another researcher conducting the same study. Of the teachers participating in this project, 10 knew me already from previous working relationships in the school district and I met 2 teachers for the first time at the interviews. I worked in the same school district as a curriculum coordinator and at that time, my responsibilities included working collaboratively with all French Immersion teachers in our district. As a result, I have established working relationships with most FI teachers in this school district. However, I believe that being an insider-researcher also benefitted my study to some extent, as described in the previous section on research relationships. The methodological limitations on my project

are largely due to the context of this study. Because I conducted the research in my own school district, I was faced with these specific challenges. However, I also believe that conducting the study in the same school district where I work also gave me access to participants and a corpus of data that could not have otherwise been collected with a different researcher.

3.13. Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter provided an examination of the methodological approaches to my research. Qualitative case study was selected to illustrate how bilingual FI teachers articulate representations of their professional identities and which discursive resources they use in doing so. The study was comprised of 12 purposefully selected participants in one Greater Vancouver school district. Three data collection strategies were used including interviews, focus groups (concept maps) and document analysis. Issues of trustworthiness were addressed through purposeful recruitment of participants, selection of interviews and focus groups to generate a rich corpus of visual and text data and a triangulation of data sources. I conducted a review of the literature on second language teacher identity and French language education in Canada in order to build and support a conceptual framework for my research. The intent of my research was that this study would contribute to the body of literature on FI teacher identity, specifically on the discursive construction and negotiation of identity as a social phenomenon.

Chapter 4.

Reporting Findings: Institutional and Individual Discourses

4.1. Introduction

The key finding in this study concerned articulations of professional identities as FI teachers vis-à-vis a monolingual, essentialist discursive construction of FI education. The data findings suggest that participants' discourse produced a particular social reality, drawing on representations of language, culture and bilingualism, that together construct French Immersion education. The participants' professional identities were expressed through categories available to them in discourse and in how they positioned themselves in the social reality they articulated in the focus groups and interviews (Davies & Harré, 2007). These categories were predominantly situated in essentialist and monolingual discourses of language, culture and identity. As a consequence, participants were positioned as outsiders vis-à-vis the discourses of language, culture and bilingualism that together represent FI education. In Canada, institutions (i.e., federal government, Ministry of Education, schools) and their policies play major roles in positioning FI teachers' professional identities and subsequently in their private identities. Institutional policies regarding the maintenance and reproduction of the French language further position FI teachers as insiders/outside and play a major role in the teachers' feelings of legitimacy. In light of the institutional discourse, the FI teachers question, doubt, and rarely assert themselves as legitimate speakers and teachers of French language and culture.

In this chapter, I will synthesize and discuss the present study's findings in light of federal, provincial and national institutional discourses. Through a discursive analysis of specific institutional documents and discourses, I will focus on the relationship

between identity and authoritative discourse; and how participants constructed and maintained their professional identities in light of the dominant discursive construction of bilingualism and FI education in Canada.

4.2. Institutional Discourses and Identity Work

Four institutional documents were examined from national and provincial political institutions that guide and set policy for French second language education in Canada. Also included is one document from Canadian Parents for French (CPF), a national volunteer organization that lobbies locally, provincially and nationally for the support and expansion of French Second Language (FSL) programs in Canada. The documents were selected for their pertinence to the policy, implementation and promotion of French second language education, in order to contextualize the experience, perceptions and discourse of the participants. In this section, I will provide both a description of the context and environment of French second language education through a review and summary of the documents and secondly, and also a discursive analysis of the content of the documents in light of the participants' discursive construction of their professional identities. The documents include:

- The Official Languages Act (1988)
- Education, Immigration, Communities: Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018
- Government of British Columbia French Immersion Program Policy (1996)
- Français langue seconde – immersion M à 7: Ensemble de ressources intégrées 1997
- 2013 State of French Second Language Education in BC & A Roadmap Moving Forward

4.2.1. *The Official Languages Act*

The Official Languages Act (OLA) is a federal law that recognizes English and French as the official languages of Canada and sets out objectives for maintaining Canada's historic linguistic duality. Part VII of the OLA, entitled "Advancement of English and French", sets out the federal government's goal to maintain and foster the recognition and use of French and English in Canada:

41. (1) The government of Canada is committed to

(a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and

(b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. (Official Languages Act, 1988, p.19)

Additionally, in section 43, the OLA sets out the specific mandate of the Minister of Canadian Heritage, to take measures to advance the use of English and French in Canada, including:

(a) enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and support and assist their development;

(b) encourage and support the learning of English and French in Canada;

(c) foster an acceptance and appreciation of both English and French by members of the public;

(d) encourage and assist provincial governments to support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities generally and, in particular, to offer provincial and municipal services in both English and French and to provide opportunities for members of English or French linguistic minority communities to be educated in their own language;

(e) encourage and assist provincial governments to provide opportunities for everyone in Canada to learn both English and French;

(f) encourage and cooperate with the business community, labour organizations, voluntary organizations and other organizations or institutions to provide services in both English and French and to foster the recognition and use of those languages;

(g) encourage and assist organizations and institutions to project the bilingual character of Canada in their activities in Canada or elsewhere

(Official Languages Act, 1988, p. 20)

This federal legislation is the keystone document for French Immersion education in Canada. The federal document discursively constructs an ideology of federal bilingualism rooted in Canada's historic linguistic duality. The legislation specifies that the federal government is committed to enhancing both English and French in Canada. The OLA then charges the Minister of Canadian Heritage with the responsibility of implementing policies and procedures to "take measures" to advance both official

languages. This document serves to remind Canadians that Canada is officially bilingual and refers to the historic model of French-English bilingualism despite Canada's changing demographics. The authoritative discourse of French-English official bilingualism is tied to models of homogeneous nationalism, "which put forth the dominant ideology that languages are bounded wholes that are linked to the construction and reproduction of a homogeneous community (i.e., one language, one people)" (Byrd Clark, 2010a, p. 385). The dominant discourse in this document presumes a "common-sense understanding of the relationship between language and the nation" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 7). Heller and Duchêne (2008) describe the "language-culture-nation ideological nexus":

Talking about language rather than speakers makes perfect sense, especially since speakers can change language (but languages need speakers). This puts us on the path of understanding the importance of an ideological complex in which language figures centrally but is not the only element. This is about more than essentializing languages, it is about the reproduction of the central legitimating ideology of the nation state. (p. 7)

A critical look at the ideology of language shows how power and linguistic resources are connected and represented as essential elements of the Canadian identity. English/French bilingualism is deeply embedded in the construct of Canadian national identity. The national Canadian bilingual identity is imposed through schools and educational systems that legitimize English and French as the official languages of Canada.

The OLA discourse privileges the dominant discursive construction of a French-English bilingual Canada and encourages provincial governments, business communities, organizations, institutions and the public to accept and adhere to the idea of two official languages. However, Canada's historic and institutional bilingualism is markedly different than individual bilingualism as it is lived, spoken and experienced in Canada (Lamarre, 2007; Lamarre 2013; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Dagenais, Day & Toohey, 2006; Dagenais & Jacquet, 2000; Byrd Clark, 2007; Heller, 2001; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003). Lamarre (2013) summarizes the dominant discourse of official Canadian bilingualism:

Most research, and particularly demolinguistic research, considers linguistic categories as closed and impermeable: you are either a Francophone or an Anglophone or an Allophone (a category that lumps together all speakers of home languages other than French and English). (p. 45)

Canadian cities are becoming increasingly multilingual, and some Canadians are negotiating linguistic categories in new and different ways (Lamarre, 2013). Dagenais (2013), in her recent review of the literature, identifies a gap between official language policy “within the context of rising multilingualism” (p. 286).

The dominant discourse of Canadian bilingualism is pervasive in the data as the participants construct a representation of Canadian identity, as in the following example:

150. INT-DAI20120124: ... We are Canadian and for me like I said Canada has two official languages French and English, French should be made more prominent. And yes I also understand being Canadian means multiculturalism, but when it comes down to it, **officially, our language is French and English.** And that’s a very big thing I find, I mean this would get me stoned, if I said it and I do say it outside and I don’t care...but I said you know what, um...**this is Canada, you speak English or you speak French, that’s fine, it’s great if you can speak another language but ... officially these are our languages.**

An examination of this excerpt from the data, in light of the dominant discursive construction of a bilingual Canada in the OLA, shows to what extent the participant’s language is “not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speakers’ intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others” (Bahktin, 1981, p.294). In the excerpt from the interview with DAI20120124, there is a direct transmission of the authoritative discourse as legislated in the OLA. The participant’s construction of a bilingual Canada echoes the French-English bilingualism as privileged in the OLA: “this is Canada, you speak English or you speak French.” Her identity as a bilingual Canadian is recognized and authorized within this dominant framework. Other participants echo the dominant discursive construction of Canada as a bilingual country in the following excerpts:

INT-FGLSA20130515: Well we started out with the **major point** we felt was that we’re a **bilingual country** and you know that is

related to the **history** of our country and also the **constitution** that everyone has the right to be educated in both languages.

98. INT-SU20120130: Uh...well I think it's the true north strong and free, right? It's ah...it's the closer you get to bilingualism, the closer you get to that **true ... combination of the two cultures, two founding cultures,**
84. INT-T20120307: Yeah...we're so used to it, we're just so used to it that that should be an option, you know. ... **As opposed to any other language** cause I've heard the argument about you know we should be doing **the Mandarin thing or the Japanese thing**
152. INT-CHE20111017: **"They shouldn't be learning French. They should be learning Chinese." You know, or Mandarin, or this or that. ... and then I say well Canada is a bilingual country so that's why we learn French.**
90. INT-SA20111201: ... we have, you know, that is part of **our history, the French and English...**
82. INT-E20120229: ... **not having French Immersion goes against sort of the principles of our country**
96. INT-CY20111030: ...But that French Immersion, **French, is culturally, historically part of Canada.**

The "authoritative word" (Bakhtin, 1981) is perpetuated by the participants' discursive construction of the FI program and its primacy and privilege "as opposed to any other language." The professional identities of the FI teacher participants are sustained within the dominant construction of Canada as a French-English bilingual nation. They actively position themselves as French-English bilinguals to claim the identity as Canadian. The discourse of the OLA, however, also creates a malaise and disjuncture in identity construction, whereby the participants position themselves as inferior bilinguals.

The OLA also constructs Canada's official bilingualism as the linguistic duality of English and French. Official, institutional bilingualism is constructed as the equal and equivalent status of both English and French. The authoritative discourse of official bilingualism is internalized and interpreted by individuals in terms of their individual bilingualism in light of the institutional construction of bilingualism in Canada. That is, the OLA:

[sets] up bilingualism as two parallel monolingualisms (conventionally understood as the mastery of two separate [but ideally] internally homogeneous languages), in which each variety must conform to certain prescriptive norms. (Heller, 1999 p.271)

The institutional discourse of bilingualism, viewed as dual monolingualisms, is present in the participants' discourse. The dual monolingual language ideology views bilinguals as two separate and distinct parts: English and French. The participants internalize this federal institutional discourse and in doing so, view personal bilingualism as the sum of two separate parts, rather than an integrated, bilingual whole. The participants actively construct their professional identities as FI teachers and personal identities as bilinguals through the institutional discourse of dual monolingualism, as evident in the following excerpt:

84. INT-CHE20111017: In English I figure there's ... there's ... five ways I can say one thing, and in French, there's one way I can it, or two ways I could say it, so it's just I guess the level of proficiency. But I think a truly ... biling- like, **a truly bilingual person I guess in my mind, is a person who can switch back and forth like when you go to Ottawa and you hear somebody and you think, "that person's Francophone." And then two seconds later you're like, "no, that person's Anglophone." That to me is like the true bilingual.**

Federal linguistic duality refers to having two parts: advancing the interests of Francophones and Anglophone. The federal document constructs a progressive notion of Canada as a bilingual nation, however the discourse conveys a monolingual language ideology. This powerful language ideology is internalized by individuals and has important consequences for the professional and personal identities of bilingual FI teachers. The institutional discourse is evident in the way the participant sees, interprets and represents herself as a bilingual in this context. She identifies the "true bilingual" as the individual who possesses dual, equal but separate identities: Anglophone and Francophone. This reflects the institutional, monolingual take on bilingualism. The consequence of internalizing the institutional discourse is that she positions herself on the outside, not a "true" bilingual who can "switch back and forth" between two separate languages and linguistic identities.

Discursively the participant has appropriated and internalized the official ideology of linguistic duality. The authoritative discourse (Bahktin, 1981) of official bilingualism has had a profound influence on how she sees and represents her own identity. Viewed from a Bahktinian perspective, the authoritative discourse of dual monolingualisms has become internally persuasive. She has appropriated the ideology of bilingualism as dual monolingualisms and her excerpt suggests that she does not view herself as a “true bilingual.” As suggested by Heller (1999), this participant indicates that “true” bilingualism is the mastery of two separate linguistic systems.

4.2.2. *Education, Immigration, Communities: Roadmap for Canada’s Official Languages 2013-2018*

The Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages (MCHOL) is responsible for the implementation of the Official Languages Act, and has outlined the most recent plan to do so in *The Roadmap for Canada’s Official Languages 2013-2018*. This document sets the objectives and initiatives to support and promote official languages in Canada for the next five years, and includes detailed financial commitments to “allow Canadians to enjoy the benefits of linguistic duality” (Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages, 2013, p. 16). The current Roadmap targets concrete action in the areas of education, immigration and communities in order to provide social and economic benefits for Canadians. The subsection of the Roadmap on Education is the most compelling element of the document because of its pertinence to the context of my research and the professional context of the FI teacher participants. The plan specifies \$658 million in support for official language education initiatives across Canada for the period 2013-2018. The objectives and key terms of the document identify social, cultural and economic benefits of supporting second language learning. First, the MCHOL (2013) specifies cultural and social benefits of second language education:

Learning both official languages brings Canadians together. It increases opportunities for exchange between Canadians and with the world. It encourages mutual understanding, which allows us to live and work better together. This, in turn, contributes to the long-term stability, unity and prosperity of our country. (p.5)

Powerful language ideologies are embedded in the discourse of the *Roadmap*. Second language education is linked to political, economic and social interests. The acquisition of the dominant linguistic capital, English and French, functions as social capital and access to membership in legitimate Canadian society. Acquisition of French and English permits participation in a Canadian French-English bilingual community. FI education has a primordial role in this community where English and French linguistic competence function as symbolic, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). The FI teacher-participants reference representations of FI education in these terms, which suggests their individual discourse is aligned with a broader dominant discourse of FI education as a means to accruing capital:

108. INT-SU20120130: ... I mean it's a no-brainer obviously since it's a free program. ... there's so many possibilities later on, more and more colleges and universities are offering **bursaries** specifically for French Immersion students, and uh, the **travel**, and it gives them a heads-up or um sorry **a leg up** on other students who may be um...**competing for co-op positions**, uh especially elsewhere like Paris
78. INT-CHR20120311: ...Um I think it, it opens up opportunities for **travel**, for **job opportunities**, and just personal enrichment
114. INT-DAN20120111: ...it can open up so many doors that um, may not be able to be opened um, without that second language so you're looking you know, for example, we're talking about **teaching** or even just **government jobs** or there's **a lot of jobs** out there that require a second language.

Additionally, the idea that bilingual education "brings Canadian together" and "encourages mutual understanding" was echoed in the following participants' discourse:

40. INT-JO20111117: ... I think it's a neat opportunity to show children, to expand, to expand their minds. You know the same reasons, like it's a privilege for me to do that for the children. **To learn about another culture.** To just expand their brains a little bit and think about how other people function.
52. INT-JO20111117: For school. Well I have a bias there too. I, @@ I think one of the most important things we have to teach children is social responsibility. That's huge for me. That almost comes before the academics. That we have to, um, that

we have to train children to be caring, to be compassionate, to **get along with each other.**

82. INT-CHR20120311: Yeah, well I mean French is the second official language of our country. I think also that French is spoken in a lot of countries around the world. Um, and so the opportunities worldwide are greater than if you were to choose some certain other languages. Um...that being said, I mean I would encourage French for those reasons but I think learning any second language is beneficial just for what I was describing earlier about the educational benefits and the ability to understand another person's perspective, **an appreciation of cultural diversity** um and just being able to stretch yourself beyond your own little world and your own personal experiences to have that ability I think is really important.

These excerpts appear to suggest that FI education supports and encourages cultural understanding. However, "cultural diversity" is constructed in very strict terms within the understanding that Canadians are either English or French speakers. Both symbolic capital and cultural capital are valorized within the French-English Canadian context, and the FI program is constructed as a means to accruing that capital. French-English "cultural diversity" is privileged and legitimized in the *Roadmap*, and the authoritative word is echoed in individual discourse. The participants have internalized the authoritative discourse of French language learning as a way of securing social harmony and understanding among French- and English-speaking Canadians. In appropriating this official discourse, the participants maintain the construction of Canada as a French-English nation and relegate diverse language learners as outsiders in the dominant construction of a bilingual Canada. There is a disconnect between "a dominant ideology of national homogeneity and actual heterogeneity" (Byrd Clark, 2007, p.99). The excerpts appear to suggest heterogeneity, but actually they construct the dominant ideology of homogeneous French-English duality in Canada.

Additionally, the MCHOL (2013) cites the economic benefits of English/French bilingualism: "The majority of Canadians...believe that being bilingual improves chances of finding a job. Across the country, bilingual employees are considered assets to their organizations" (p. 5). Again, the FI teachers appear to appropriate the dominant discourse of bilingualism as linguistic and economic capital, as suggested in this concept map:

Figure 4.1. What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?



Note. Focus Group CHE20130430.

In this concept map, the “benefits to students” are clearly connected to the “political benefits” of offering FI program in British Columbia. This concept map reflects the official discourse of French-English bilingualism as capital. The organization of the concept map points to individual bilingualism, that is the benefit to students in the “opportunity to learn 2nd lang[uage]”, leading to “open[ing] doors” to “job opportunities,” which in turn lead directly to “political benefits.” The FI teachers who created this concept map view learning a second language as a process that provides an economic benefit to students and leading to an economic advantage in Canadian society. FI educational programs serve as a site for provision of economic and linguistic capital. The FI teachers reproduce the authoritative discourse of the French and English languages in terms of serving the greater political good and benefits to Canadians and Canadian society.

Together, the Official Languages Act and *The Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018* set out and legitimize French and English as the dominant languages in Canadian society. The dual monolingual ideology of the state is taken up and reproduced in the individual discourse of the FI teachers, in both focus group and individual interview data. These participants perpetuate the notion of Canada as a bilingual country in terms of French-English bilingualism. However, performing bilingual identity in this hegemonic monolingual discourse creates a feeling of unease and illegitimacy among some of the participants. Although education policies and curricula are within provincial jurisdiction, these two federal documents set the tone for the national discourse on French second language education. Next, I turn to two provincial documents that set the vision and the purpose of FI education in British Columbia.

4.2.3. *British Columbia Ministry of Education French Immersion Program Policy*

In the province of British Columbia, the British Columbia Ministry of Education is the primary source of institutional discourse on French Immersion education. The British Columbia Ministry of Education [BCME] (1996) “supports French Immersion programming in BC schools, consistent with the goal of providing the opportunity for non-francophone students to become bilingual in English and French.” The provincial policy echoes the federal policy in terms of the rationale for offering French second language education in social, cultural and economic terms, and also adds a statement on the cognitive benefits of FI education:

French Immersion programming benefits the cognitive and social development of students, as well as their opportunities for career advancement. Research demonstrates that students who successfully complete a French Immersion program attain functional bilingualism while doing as well as, or better than, their unilingual peers in the content areas of curriculum, including English Language Arts. (BCME, 1996)

The participants' discourse is also aligned with the provincial institutional discourse in terms of the cognitive benefits of FI education. Through FI education, students attain not only “functional bilingualism” but also achieve better academic results than their unilingual peers. The idea that FI education helps students attain higher academic achievement is echoed in the individual discourse of several participants, as seen in

Figure 4.1, the concept map lists another benefit to students in FI programs as “expands brain potential.” In individual interviews, participants also articulate individual beliefs on the cognitive benefits of FI education, rooted in the same authoritative discourse as the provincial policy, referencing FI education that: “expands a child’s mind” (INT-L20120213); and “opens up more of their brains” (INT-JO20111117). FI education is about gaining academic benefits, and in turn, securing a resource in a competitive world. The participants see valuable economic, social, academic and cultural purpose in the work they do and in their roles as FI teachers providing these benefits. However, their individual discourses on bilingual proficiency suggest that they perceive the services they are providing, as bilingual educators, may not be legitimate or adequate French in a bilingual Canada built on dual monolingualisms.

The provincial policy includes the following information on the role of teachers in FI programs in British Columbia:

In addition to regular certification requirements, teachers teaching the French portion of immersion programs should have a high degree of oral and written proficiency in the French language. Teachers should have a sound knowledge of the culture of French-speaking peoples and should also have completed at least one course in immersion methodology.
(BCME, 1996)

In the FI program, then, the teacher plays a dual role as a teacher of both French language and culture. FI teachers are expected to have a sound knowledge of the culture of French-speaking peoples. This expectation both essentializes culture and places an unreasonable burden on bilingual FI teachers who have learned and use French almost exclusively in English-dominant milieu. The official provincial policy links French language to French culture by connecting the French language with a collective people. This policy essentializes the connection between language and culture and suggests an ideology of language ownership (Widdowson, 1994): the French language belongs to “French-speaking peoples.” The official discourse delegitimizes bilingual FI teachers who do not possess a sound knowledge of “the culture.” This official discourse is internalized and expressed in several individual participants’ interviews when they reference this official discourse that ascribes legitimacy to some speakers and draws boundaries between various speakers of the French language (Heller, 2001). This

discourse was echoed in individual discourse when participants spoke of feeling “phony” (INT-CY20111030); “the least...competent in my teaching” (INT-CHE20111017); “not being a Francophone I feel like it’s maybe a bit fake” (INT-E20120229); “it’s not my...background either so I would say that would be the most challenging” (INT-DAN20120111); “I mean it’s not my culture really so it’s hard” (INT-SU20120130). One participant sums up the official discourse of the essentialized connection between language and culture:

106. INT-JA20111109: a large majority of our teachers in French Immersion are **not Francophone** people. You know, they are English language learners who love French Immersion and love French but **they don’t have that connection with the culture**. Or you know with a **heritage**.

This participant assigns ownership of French culture to Francophones. In doing so, she ascribes the authority and legitimacy to teach FI to Francophone teachers and “English language learners who love French Immersion” are represented as imposters. Outsiders cannot claim legitimate ownership, and these teachers are labeled deficient in the dominant construction of languages and cultures as owned by homogeneous groups. As they cannot claim ownership, they are not considered legitimate (Norton, 1997).

By internalizing this official discourse, the participants tie particular groups of French speakers to authentic cultural practices, thereby lending authority and legitimacy to those French speakers who have a “sound knowledge of French-speaking peoples.” The language is an important symbol of culture and identity. The emphasis on the relationship between language and culture in both the institutional and individual discourse of the participants perpetuates the social reality for these teachers as a means of identifying who is a legitimate speaker of French. The participants’ identities as FI teachers are built and articulated via this discourse of language and culture, and as a result, they position themselves in this discourse as “fake” and “phony”. Essentialized categories assume essential connections between language and identity, and the participants position themselves and others in these categories by constructing language skills and cultural backgrounds as value or deficit in light of the native-speaker ideal (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Train, 2007a; Widdowson, 1994).

4.2.4. Français langue seconde – immersion M à 7: Ensemble de ressources intégrées 1997

The French Immersion policy statement sets the direction and purpose for FI education in the province. The curricular document for French Language Arts, *Français langue seconde – immersion M à 7: Ensemble de ressources intégrées* (ERI), reiterates the purpose and intentions of FI education and specifically sets out the curriculum overview, prescribed learning outcomes, and suggestions for teaching, evaluation and learning resources. The ERI is the document that FI classroom teachers refer to when planning for instruction. The ERI establishes specific Prescribed Learning Outcomes (PLOs) that designate what students should know and should be able to do at each grade level. In order to achieve the educational outcomes, the ERI document provides a rationale for the curriculum, suggested instructional and assessment strategies, and approved resources for teaching.

The introductory pages of the *Français langue seconde – immersion M À 7: ERI* begin with an explanation of the purpose and overarching goals of FI education:

*Le but du programme de Français langue seconde en immersion est d'offrir à l'élève l'occasion d'acquérir la compétence langagière nécessaire en français pour pouvoir interagir avec confiance **dans les milieux où cette langue est parlée et valorisée**. Le développement d'une compétence communicative en français permet à l'élève de s'enrichir à titre d'individu bilingue sur les plans langagier, personnel, social et culturel. L'apprentissage d'une langue seconde lui permet d'explorer les possibilités de communiquer des émotions, des idées et des connaissances et d'établir des liens avec les autres. Il lui fournit, en outre, des moyens d'explorer les réalités de **sa propre culture, celles de ses pairs et celles du monde francophone** de manière à ce qu'il puisse reconnaître ses propres forces et valeurs et celles des autres. Apprendre le français en immersion au Canada offre à l'élève l'occasion d'explorer et de **mieux comprendre différentes cultures francophones**. Cet apprentissage lui ouvre l'esprit et lui fait voir le fait français et les autres communautés culturelles de manière positive. C'est un but particulièrement important pour les jeunes en Colombie-Britannique, province qui se distingue de plus en plus par sa diversité ethnique, culturelle et linguistique. ... Un élève ayant terminé son éducation secondaire au programme d'immersion en français est à même de **poursuivre ses études dans un établissement postsecondaire francophone ou d'accepter un emploi dans un milieu de travail francophone ou bilingue**.*

(BCME, 1997)

The expectations and goals of French language education stipulates that students be able to speak French with enough competence and confidence “*dans les milieu où cette langue est parlée et valorisée.*” Specifically, FI students, upon the completion of secondary school, should be able to “*poursuivre ses études dans un établissement postsecondaire francophone ou d’accepter un emploi dans un milieu de travail francophone ou bilingue.*” The discourse of the introductory statement suggests that the ideal use of the French language is in Francophone settings. The goals of the FI program legitimate standard practices because the ultimate goal is to be able to use the language with Francophones and/or in francophone milieu. The ideal use of the language is in those settings, school and/or work, where French is spoken as the first language. The institutional discourse suggests that the expectation for students is to be able to speak and use French in an environment of and with French native-speakers. The institutional discourse constructs the goals of the FI program within the nativeness paradigm (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) whereby native speakers (Francophones) are the authentic linguistic insiders (Widdowson, 1994). What counts as “good” is being able to use the French language with legitimate French speakers (Bourdieu, 1991).

The participants articulate their identities in a way that is closely attached to the institutional discourse valorizing the Francophone speaker. This authoritative discourse is evident in the following excerpts:

120. INT-CHE20111017... I think also too **it makes a huge difference if you have Francophones on staff**, a huge difference, because I’ve worked in both of those situations...
128. INT-CHE20111017: [Oh yeah] huge, to me that makes a huge difference because um ... **you have someone there for you has the answer, you have someone there who knows the culture**, who ... you just ... you... I feel like if I’m there with somebody and I’m speaking French, then I ... it gets me back to the oh yeah, oh yeah I’m a bilingual person.

This participant privileges the native speaker as the authority on French language and culture (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) when she says: “you have someone there for you has the answer, you have someone there who knows the culture.” First, her discourse suggests a monoglossic language ideology that empowers native speakers. For CHE20111017, Francophones are categorized on their ability to speak a

standardized language variety: native-speakers have “the answer” or the key to unlock the standard, ideal form of the French language. Train (2003) explains: “the native standard language model that tends to support asymmetrical power relations between the authoritative expert native or near-native speaker and the inexpert and subordinated nonnative student-learner” (p.10). The previous excerpt suggests that the expert on staff is the native-speaker who has the answers and can unlock the culture. This social attitude towards native-speaker expertise shapes the participant’s identity as an FI teacher as inferior to the native-speaker-ideal.

Secondly, the participant’s discourse indicates an essentialized category of French speakers, assuming an essential connection between language and identity. By having a Francophone colleague on staff, there is “someone who knows the culture.” Her discourse suggests Francophones share a culture because they speak French and her representation of culture implies Francophone culture as a whole and bounded cultural group (Mason, 2007). This participant positions herself as bilingual when she is able to communicate with those members of the in-group who speak the language and possess the culture.

The idea that “cultures are internally uniform” (Mason, 2007, p. 223), is present in the discourse of the FI curricular document. The purpose of FI education, as outlined in the curriculum, cites the goals of exploration and understanding of one’s own and Francophone cultures. This goal suggests an “ideology of ‘separate bilingualism’ ... which views languages as discrete and tied to nation and culture in simplified and coherent ways” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 20). Holliday (1999) in Blackledge and Creese points out that “constructing cultures as ‘large’ in language teaching involves culturist reduction of students, teachers and their educational contexts. He describes large cultures as prescriptive and normative, involving teachers and students setting out to find differences, which are then used to explain behaviour in those terms” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p.71). This construction of large cultures is evident in the FI *ERI* in the following PLOs:

4^e année: prendre conscience des similarités et des différences entre les cultures francophones et la sienne

5^e année: repérer des similarités et des différences entre ses coutumes et celles des autres cultures

5^e année: faire ressortir des éléments des cultures canadiennes-françaises

6^e année: faire ressortir des éléments de cultures francophones dans le monde (BCME, 1995, p. A 14-15)

Further to the PLOs, the IRP suggests teaching and assessment strategies to meet the learning outcomes. One suggestion in the Grade Six curriculum is to compare a French language film and an English language film that treat the same subject, and then have the students compare and contrast the values portrayed in each film. A second example, also drawn from Grade Six curriculum, is for students to conduct research on the different cultural aspects of a Francophone country, including food and customs, and prepare a tourism brochure (BCME, 1995, p. 98). The learning outcomes, and the teaching strategies attached to these outcomes are based on the ideology that there is an essential link between language and culture. In this representation of language and culture, because French speakers share a language, the curriculum suggests that the language they share makes it the particular culture that it is (Mason, 2007). In particular the suggested teaching strategy for watching and interpreting the values in a film imply that all English speakers share the same values that are portrayed in an English-language film and all French speakers share the same values that are portrayed in an French-language film. Cultures are fixed and static and linked to simplified cultural narratives. Language and culture are linked and “they come to stand for or symbolically represent the particular ethnic and/or national collectivities that speak them” (May, 2012, p. 140). The discursive emphasis in the provincial curriculum is on “the connection between language and culture, which implicitly casts the content of both language and communities as fixed and unproblematic” (Jaffe, 2008, p.61). The consequence of such an essentialized link between language and culture positions speakers of French in as insiders and outsiders, and shapes the identities of bilingual FI teachers.

Essentializing discourses contained within official curricular documents sustain simplified cultural narratives, as echoed in the following participant’s discourse on culture and identity (at the time of the interview, INT-E20120229 was teaching Grade 4/5 Early French Immersion):

78. INT-E20120229: Um...learning another language, learning about another culture um...definitely the whole, I find that they're ... maybe more of an attitude of inclusiveness and curiosity towards other cultures which I think lack, is lacking in just a one language...classroom where you are learning about another culture, oh, I wonder what, and maybe more of an interest in oh this is **what they do in France** this is **what they do in Quebec** what about these other places in the world?

Within her comments, there are traces of the social, political and historical forces that have shaped it, the authoritative discourse: "each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.293). In this case, her discourse echoes the essentialized interconnectedness of culture and language. She appropriates the authoritative words that suggest a reduction of cultures to things and entities and simplifies cultures to basic narratives. "What they do in France" and "what they do in Quebec" suggests a representation of cultures as homogeneous and fixed. The consequence of the internalization of the authoritative discourse has consequences for the negotiation of her professional identity. Here, she constructs her professional identity in relation to the essentialized cultural categories of English and French speakers:

88. INT-E20120229: Well that's interesting. Um @ **because not being a Francophone I feel like it's maybe a bit fake**. Like I feel like maybe um...that's probably not my forte although this year um...um me and two other teachers and I are doing a Carnival so we're doing it for two years so um and we're doing it for the whole school and not just for the French Immersion cause we think it's important that the English classes are involved and understand the different aspects of Quebec and what this, this thing, so um...there...**have there been any Francophone...not this year...I don't think...I don't think there's been any people, there hasn't been any people brought in...**

Not being a French native speaker, she is left feeling "fake" in her role as the teacher of French language and culture in the FI classroom. The essentialized link between language and culture prescribes legitimacy to native speakers over others, draws boundaries and delegitimizes non-native speakers. This discourse also appeals to linguistic essentialism, tying language to authentic cultural practices (Patrick, 2008). The consequence of this, as this excerpt suggests, is this FI teacher is feeling like an

imposter in her role and in her professional identity. The nativist orientation in her discourse constructs the native speakers as “the source of authoritative knowledge and expertise” (Train, 2007a, p. 260). She again suggest the authority and authenticity of the Francophone as she recalls if any Francophones have been “brought in” to share their knowledge and expertise as insiders with her students: “I don’t think there’s been any people, there hasn’t been any people brought in.” Three other participants are focused on the nativist orientation of French speakers, as suggested in the following excerpts:

188. INT-CY20111030: Because I’m not Francophone...I guess **I’m Franco-phony**

114. INT-DAN20120111: It can be challenging to get across to the kids because it’s not my, **it’s not my...background**

76. INT-SU20120130: ... I mean **it’s not my culture really so it’s hard.**

In these excerpts, the participants take up and reproduce the authoritative nativist discourse of the curricular document that shifts power and authenticity to the native speakers. Their use of the phrases “it’s not my background” and “it’s not my culture” suggests that only native French speakers can claim rightful ownership of French culture (Widdowson, 1994). The participants’ ideological construction of native speakers as the owners of French culture shapes the identity of these teacher participants as “Franco-phony”, marking themselves as non-members (Widdowson, 1994).

4.2.5. 2013 State of French Second Language Education in BC and a Roadmap Moving Forward

An additional institutional document pertinent to a discursive analysis related to this study is a recent report from Canadian Parents for French (CPF). CPF is a volunteer advocacy group that supports the promotion and creation of French second language education opportunities in Canada, with national, provincial and local chapters. The organization’s vision for French language in Canada includes: “A Canada where French- and English-speakers live together in mutual respect with an understanding and appreciation of **each other’s language and culture** and where **linguistic duality** forms an integral part of society” (CPF, n.d.). The vision statement contributes to the

production and reproduction of Canada as a “dual-monolingual” state and maintains a vision of “linguistic duality”. The institutional discourse of the CPF legitimizes a monolingual view of bilingualism: “two separate and isolable language competencies” (Grosjean, 2008, p.10).

The most recent report from CPF explains the organization and its mandate, and its vision for French second language education in terms of social, cultural and economic benefits:

The French language and culture in British Columbia is fresh, rich, diverse, vibrant, and enjoys great support from native and non-native French speakers. It has created **social, cultural, and economic opportunities** for hundreds of thousands of young Canadians.
(CPF, 2013, p. 6)

The document outlines the social, cultural and economic value in offering French second language education in British Columbia, citing employment rates, numbers of French speakers in Canada and the world, and how French is used around the world in international organizations (CPF, 2013). The CPF report echoes the discourse exhibited in the federal and provincial government’s documents regarding French language and education in Canada. The institutional discourse of the CPF reproduces FL education as a form of symbolic, cultural, economic and linguistic capital. Several participants reproduce the dominant discursive construction of Canada as a bilingual nation whereby learning French is an “opportunity” to accrue capital:

- 84. INT-E20120229: ... be more **competitive** so **the more languages you know the better you can communicate** I think the, the **better options for careers**
- 114. INT-DAN20120111: ... **a lot of jobs out there that require a second language.**
- 78. INT-CHR20120311: Um I think it, it opens up opportunities for travel, for **job opportunities**

Both institutional and individual discourses echo the dominant discursive construction of language as social capital: “Linguistic competence (like any other cultural competence) functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.

651). The participants play an integral role in the production and reproduction of the bilingual market in Canada, and justify the role of FI programs in their social and economic benefits to both individuals and to society.

Additionally, the report cites the importance and relevance of both the French language and of French-speakers in Canada and around the world, and in doing so, perpetuates the nativeness paradigm:

Self-identified French language speakers in BC increased by 10% from 2001 when 269,360 indicated to be able to speak both Official Languages. Punjabi was the mother tongue of 182,915 British Columbians.

French is the **mother tongue** of 70,760 British Columbians. ...

In addition to these **native-French** speakers are **34 years of graduates from very popular French second language programs like French immersion, and core French.**

French is the 10th most commonly spoken language in the world, and an official working language of a number of international bodies including: the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the United Nations, the European Union, the International Federation of Journalists, the World Trade Organization, Doctors Without Borders and many many more.

For comparison purposes, the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* **defines a Francophone as anyone who can conduct a sustained conversation in French.**

220 million The estimated number of Francophones worldwide in 2010.

370 million to 770 million The projected number of Francophones worldwide in 2060 (according to various predictions), mostly in Africa and in Haiti. (CPF, 2013, p. 13)

The report states that French second language education has “opened doors for tens of thousands of young students and helped develop the strength and vitality of French language and culture here in Canada’s most western province” (CPF, 2013, p. 13). Interestingly, here the report touts the importance of learning French particularly in terms of being a member of the Francophone world, or “anyone who can conduct a sustained conversation in French.” This definition appears to construct the Francophone in a way that challenges the nativist paradigm. However, the statistics in this excerpt are also

presented in a way that perpetuates the native/non-native binary, through the use of “mother tongue” and “native speakers” to describe one category of French speakers, and all others (non-native speakers) as the “graduates from very popular French second language programs.” The discursive construction of the native French speaker, the Francophone, in particular is very powerful in positioning the bilingual participants in this study, as evidenced in the following exchange:

71. RES: Yes. Um, so you’ve kind of talked already about the French-speaking countries around the world and I wonder if you can talk to me about how would define a person who is a Francophone? When we say someone’s a Francophone...
72. INT-JO20111117: Mm-hmm. Well, I guess first and foremost **their first language would be French**. And so I would think they were **very lucky** because they would have **such perfect French** @@@. Um, so that would be ... I guess that would be my... my definition of it, that that was, they were born into a family that used French as their way of communicating and expressing themselves. And then the, obviously, around that would be a culture that went with it. But I think it’s pretty hard to put your finger on just what Francophone culture is ‘cause there’s so many different facets of it. You know I think we used to think it was easy, it was just the Quebec <L2> Carnaval <L2> and then the more you learned, the more you realized that you can’t ... you can’t define it as easily, so but I guess that would kind of be my, my narrow definition that French was your mother tongue @@@.
73. RES: So would you call yourself Francophone?
74. INT-JO20111117: No, no I would not. No.
75. RES: Bilingual?
76. INT-JO20111117: Bilingual, but not Francophone. No, no and there’s a difference. Yeah, **there’s always that little something that we just don’t quite have**. Yeah, and I think it would be presumptuous to think that we did. Yeah.

In this exchange, the participant captures a sentiment that is evident in previous excerpts and analysis, as participants construct their professional identities in a deficit model using the nativeness paradigm: “that little something that we just don’t quite have.” The participant’s excerpt suggests that native speakers are privileged as authentic insiders (Widdowson, 1994). Although the CPF document suggests that anyone who can sustain a conversation in French is a Francophone, this participant, and

others, view themselves as outsiders and are discursively positioned, and position themselves, as non-Francophone in this representation of legitimate and illegitimate French speakers. They do not consider themselves legitimate members of the Francophone community. While the teachers maintain a strong bilingual identity, they consider themselves bilingual outsiders to the Francophone world. While the CPF report suggests that programs such as FI education promote and support the vitality of French language and culture, the participants in this study view themselves as bilingual, yet cultural outsiders. Essentializing discourse, suggesting the “Francophone world”, positions French-speakers as members and outsiders of this world. While the participants have learned French to be able to teach and live their professional lives in French, they do not identify as members of the Francophone world and give symbolic power to those who speak French as their first language, as suggested in this excerpt:

138. INT-JA20111109: ...Part of the problem is that they used to um, send principals or directors of instruction to Quebec to um, actually go to job fairs and encourage, you know, Francophone people to come and teach here in B.C. And they don't do that, they haven't done that for years. ...
140. INT-JA20111109: Yeah, 'cause we had talked before about how you know, how I feel that the culture is the piece that is missing. Not always, but it's certainly, **it certainly has been watered down as well and so the culture has been watered down, the language has been watered down, and so you've got a watered down program. Um, which to me, isn't right.**

This participant's discourse suggests a language ideology that privileges Francophone speakers and stigmatizes bilingual educators. Her discourse assigns value to those “Francophone people” and suggests that the FI program is “watered down” when FI teachers are not Francophone. Her discourse contributes to the official and dominant discourses that construct notions of linguistic legitimacy and cultural essentialism in the FI program. The CPF document promotes learning the French language as an added value in the Francophone world. However, as speakers negotiate their identities within this discourse, they activate the notion of legitimate and authentic speakers and position themselves and others as authentic members of the category “Francophone.” Heller (2001) describes the marginalization of groups of French speakers, in Franco-Ontarian schools: “It is about constructing the value of the different languages in a community

repertoire and about defining who has the right to use them under what circumstances” (p. 401). The previous participant’s discourse suggests, similarly, that there are different values in the varieties of French language. The non-native speaker teacher is positioned negatively, in a deficit model, having “watered down” the purity of the FI program were it delivered with a Francophone teacher.

4.3. The Discourses of FI Education

French Immersion education is a form of bilingual education whose purpose is to provide students who do not speak French as their first language to become bilingual in English and French. Participants constructed representations of FI education linked in large part to the political mission, goals and objectives of the FI program. When asked, “What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs,” the focus groups provided a constellation of factors to explain the benefits and purposes of FI education anchored in discourses of symbolic capital, linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991), cognitive benefits, and choice in education. One of the focus groups created the following concept map that constructed a representation of the FI program within the aforementioned discursive resources. This focus group indicated that the most important reason for offering FI in British Columbia was political, referencing the symbolic value of French-English bilingualism in Canada, and that all other reasons for the program were interconnected with the political vision of Canada as a bilingual nation:

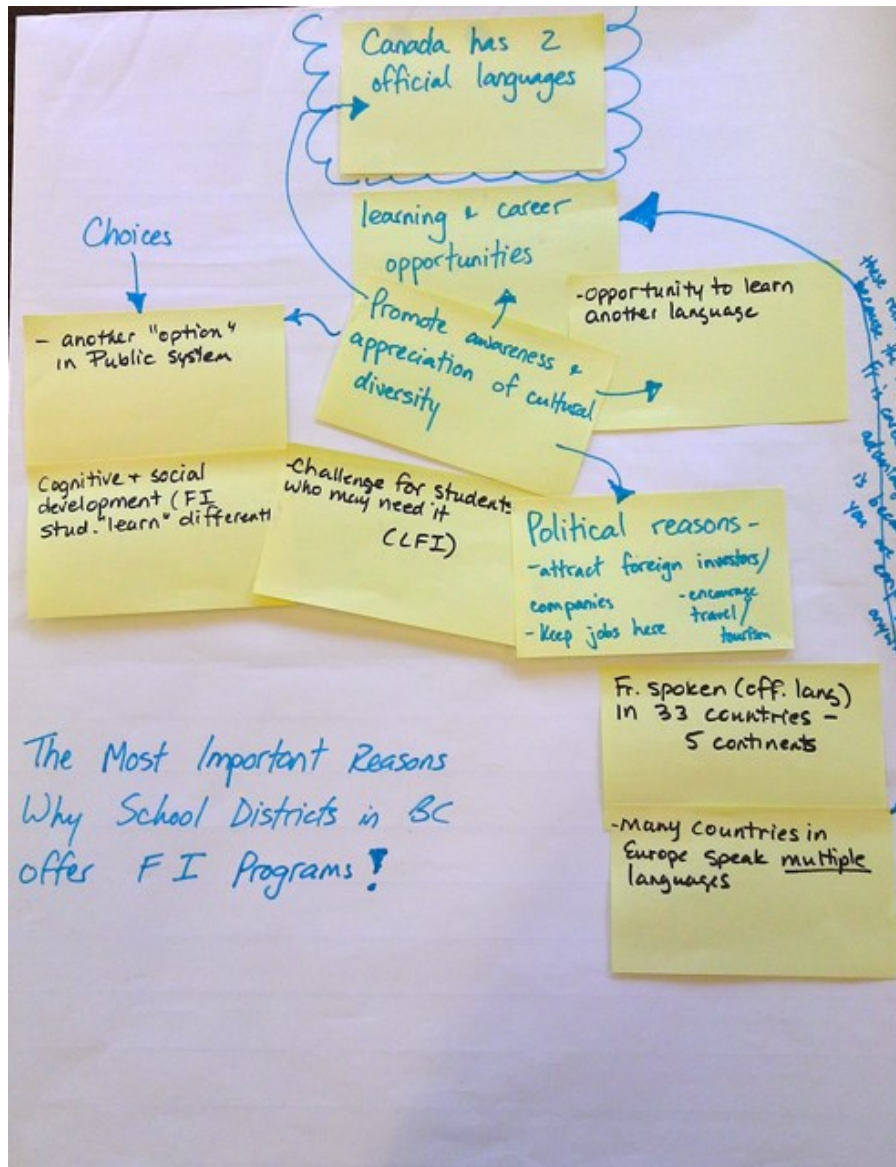
FG-CHR20130424: Well **we started with this at the top** because that seems like/

FG-CY20130424: /**The overall theme**/

FG-CHR20130424: /Yeah, **that’s the obvious answer** we’ve got two languages so of course we’d offer French Immersion programs. Then we started mapping them out and realized that they’re all related but **this one seemed central**, that you know, **the whole goal of the program is to promote awareness and appreciation of cultural diversity**, and by doing that, you give yourself learning and career opportunities because French is spoken in so many different countries...more employable...got a flexibility of thinking...and then we talked about choices in the public school system...

The focus group participants explain that the “obvious answer” or the “overall theme” of the response to the question of offering FI programs in British Columbia is the political reason: “Canada has 2 official languages.” The post-it note with the “obvious answer” is further set apart from the other information by the blue marker border drawn only around this post-it note. However, there is another “central” reason for FI programs written on the post-it note in the middle of the concept map: “promote awareness and appreciation of cultural diversity.” This post-it note is connected to “learning & career opportunities”, “opportunity to learn another language”, “another option in public system”, “political reasons”, and the title post-it “Canada has 2 official languages.” This seems to be something of a contradiction to the “obvious answer” of Federal bilingualism. This concept map appears to justify FI education in British Columbia in its support of both Federal bilingualism and “cultural diversity.” However, this particular vision of cultural diversity includes only French-English bilingualism. Legitimate bilingualism and diversity in this focus group excerpt and concept map appear to reference only English and French. The school reproduces the legitimate (Bourdieu, 1977) languages of English and French and, in that political role, FI finds its purpose.

Figure 4.2. What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?



Note. Focus Group CYCHR20130424.

In this particular concept map, these participants describe several reasons for FI programs. I will take up each of the reasons in more depth in this section and show how other participants in both interviews and focus groups expressed similar responses for offering FI programs in British Columbia. In this map, these reasons include a sense of a collective, national bilingual identity: “we’ve got two languages.” The “we” in this excerpt refers to Canadians and those who embrace a sense of collective identity based

in French-English bilingualism. A defining characteristic of the collective Canadian identity is federally entrenched French-English bilingualism. The purpose of the FI program is represented as culturally, linguistically and economically valuable in an officially French-English bilingual context: “the whole goal of the program is to promote awareness and appreciation of cultural diversity” and “learning and career opportunities.” Building and supporting Canadian national identity and French-English bilingualism appears to require an awareness and appreciation of speakers of both official languages. Additionally learning French in FI provides “learning and career opportunities” or symbolic, linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in an officially bilingual country. The participants project their perceptions of the cognitive benefits of the FI program on their students: “they’ve learned how to learn differently.” “They” are the FI students in their classrooms who appear to be different learners because of participating in the FI program. The participants in this concept map also reference the discourse of choice in education: “choices in the public school system.” Again a political reason for FI education, one of the current trends in British Columbia education system is providing choice programs for parents and students. The participants in individual interviews and other focus groups in the study referenced a combination of these same representations of the French Immersion program across all interviews and focus group data. I will now explore each of these themes in more depth.

4.3.1. *Symbolic Capital*

The participants constructed the FI program as a means of accruing symbolic capital, which reproduces the legitimacy of societal French-English bilingualism in Canada. In Canada, French-English bilingualism is a source of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990):

By virtue of the fact that symbolic capital is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized, when it is acknowledged in accordance with the categories of perception that it imposes, the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations which constitute the structure of the social space. More concretely, the legitimization of the social order is not the product, as certain people believe, of a deliberately biased action of propaganda or symbolic imposition; it results from the fact that agents apply to the objective structures of the social world structures of perception and

appreciation that have emerged from these objective structures and tend therefore to see the world as self-evident. (p. 135)

The participants in this study apply these “structures of perception and appreciation” of French-English bilingualism in their representations of Canadian identity. FI programs are justified by attributing value and purpose to FI in terms of federal bilingualism, the legitimized social and political order in Canada. Learning French is perceived as a means of situating one’s collective Canadian identity as bilingual within the federal government’s official policy of bilingualism. The participants reference French-English bilingualism as a major trait of collective Canadian identity. Interestingly, this collective identity appears to contrast sharply with the participants’ individual identities in terms of individual bilingualism. The participants claim Canadian identity in terms of symbolic bilingualism, but their lived and individual representations of being linguistically bilingual they have difficulty claiming an individual linguistic bilingual identity. Some ways in which the participants reference the FI program as a form of maintaining Canadian identity and French-English bilingualism include:

62. INT-E20120229: ... And um...we’re **a bilingual country...**and it’s free so why the heck would you not learn it?...it’s just...I like being...a French Immersion teacher only because I think that everyone should be able to speak both languages in Canada.
178. INT-L20120213: Uh, well, because well if you wanna talk about Canada, it is **officially** bilingual and uh we should offer those programs.
104. INT-DAI20120124: Is to promote the French language...um...like I said before when I first got into French Immersion teaching I thought no, that’s solely what it was, promoting the French language and making sure that French does not die in Canada because we’re a bilingual country, and we still stress that in French Immersion. **Be proud that we have two official languages, we’re bilingual.**
152. INT-CHE20111017: ... and then I say well **Canada is a bilingual country** so that’s why we learn French...
82. INT-CHR20120311: Yeah, well I mean French is the **second** official language of our country.

Participants represented the FI program as a key instrument in maintaining Canada as a bilingual nation. In excerpt 62, the “bilingual country” implies that the two languages are

French and English only. Learning French is represented as a symbolic resource because the federal government officially recognizes the existence of two legitimate languages: “it is officially bilingual.” To speak of bilingualism in Canada, as the participants do here, “is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit” (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45). The FI program is constructed as a means of accessing both of Canada’s *official* language communities and reproducing the dominance of French-English bilingualism:

Integration into a single ‘linguistic community’, which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination.
(Bourdieu, 1991, p. 46)

The notion of symbolic capital and the power of English/French bilingualism is further reproduced by the participant in excerpt 104 as the “two official languages” establish what qualifies as bilingual in Canada. Canada is said to be a bilingual country, and in this official discourse of symbolic capital, only French and English are authorized for legitimate use in Canada. This representation of French gives the language authority and legitimacy in a province where French is a minority language, yet recognized as an official language. In the recent 2011 Canadian Census, 1.3% of the population in British Columbia reported French as mother tongue, and 0.4% spoke only French at home. In comparison with other languages, this falls behind 15.4% of the population whose language spoken most often at home is a non-official language. In British Columbia, the three most common mother tongues were Panjabi (4.5%), Cantonese (3.2%) and Chinese, n.o.s. (2.9%), in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2012). None of the other languages identified in the 2011 Census in British Columbia is officially recognized with the same political acknowledgement as French and English as the dominant languages. Additionally, the participant in excerpt 82 refers to French as the “second” official language of Canada, legitimizing its authority as an official language, but presumably placing French behind English as the “first” official language.

Bilingualism is a political term in Canada, and in these excerpts, participants refer to French-English bilingualism. Schools are sites of political struggle and domination and here the FI program in schools “reproduces the market in which value of linguistic

competence depends” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.652). By taking up the authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981) of official bilingualism in Canada, these participants are reproducing this particular political notion of a bilingual Canada and they imbue French and English with symbolic capital as the official, legitimate languages in Canada.

4.3.2. Cultural and Linguistic Capital

The participants also constructed the FI program in terms of its cultural and linguistic value. In the context of FI, the participants represent the learning of French as a kind of resource. Bourdieu (1991) describes this type of resource as capital:

The laws of the transmission of linguistic capital are a particular case of the laws of legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may therefore be posited that the linguistic competence measured by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory. ... the two principal factors of production of the legitimate competence, namely, the family and the educational system. (pp.61-62)

The FI program is referenced as providing opportunities for students to “promote awareness and appreciation for cultural diversity” (FG-CHR20130424). However the knowledge and skills learned in FI, the resources of linguistic and cultural capital, only have value depending on the market. In the instance of FI education, the market values French-English bilingualism in particular and therefore the dominant concept in the discursive construction of FI education refers to the legitimacy and authority of French and English only. “Diversity” here refers strictly to French-English only. The participants described the FI program in terms of its purpose to provide not only a linguistic benefit but also increased cultural capital in this construction of a bilingual Canada. The following excerpt best illustrates this idea:

114. INT-DAN20120111: Ah, I’ve always gone with...**I look on my past**, and how it helped me greatly, ... it can make somebody a **more well-rounded** person, um, ‘cause you are looking at a different, um, even when we take our kids to Quebec they’re looking at a different culture, they’re understanding how other people live, they’re understanding how other people speak, how other people act, ‘cause it is, it’s everything, and I find that it can make a child **more well-rounded** and I always say to

graduate with that double Dogwood, especially in Canada, being a **bilingual country**, is, the **opportunities** could be endless. I like to say, even that may be dramatic, but still

In this excerpt, the participant refers to her own experience (“I look on my past, and how it helped me greatly”) and assumes and ascribes her experiences to students (“it can make a child more well-rounded”). Her identity as a bilingual teacher is negotiated in light of the value of French-English bilingualism in Canada and her identity formation as a bilingual is constructed as “well-rounded.” This discourse suggests that individuals, teachers or students, who are not bilingual “especially in Canada” may be lacking the cultural and linguistic capital so valued in this particular market. In the dominant construction of Canada as a “bilingual country”, FI is constructed as an “opportunity”; that is, “graduating with that double Dogwood” provides linguistic and cultural capital.

This excerpt illustrates how the participant makes sense of and constructs her bilingual identity within the dominant discursive construction of Canada as a bilingual nation. The participant, in this excerpt, demonstrates how identity is constructed in interaction and how discursive structures shape identity construction. Hall (2000) describes the discursive identity process:

I use ‘identity’ to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. (p. 19)

The participant articulates her identity as a bilingual in Canada in light of the linguistic and cultural capital afforded bilinguals “especially in Canada.” Performing bilingual identity is sought after, valued, and “well-rounded” in light of the dominant discourse that legitimizes French-English bilingualism.

Bourdieu (1991) refers to fields or markets where various forms of capital and resources are distributed and maintained. Fields allow for different forms of capital, linguistic or cultural capital, to be converted into economic benefits. Several participants represent the FI program in terms of the ability to convert linguistic capital into lucrative

jobs. Bourdieu (1977) describes linguistic competence: “Linguistic competence (like any other cultural competence) functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market” (p. 651). In the “field” of an official bilingual Canada, the teacher-participants identify and reproduce the linguistic capital of the FI program. Participants’ representations of the opportunities associated with learning French included, in several instances, “learning and career opportunities” (FG-CYCHR20130424). In both interview and focus group data, participants reference representations of the FI program as an opportunity to accrue linguistic capital that can be converted into economic capital:

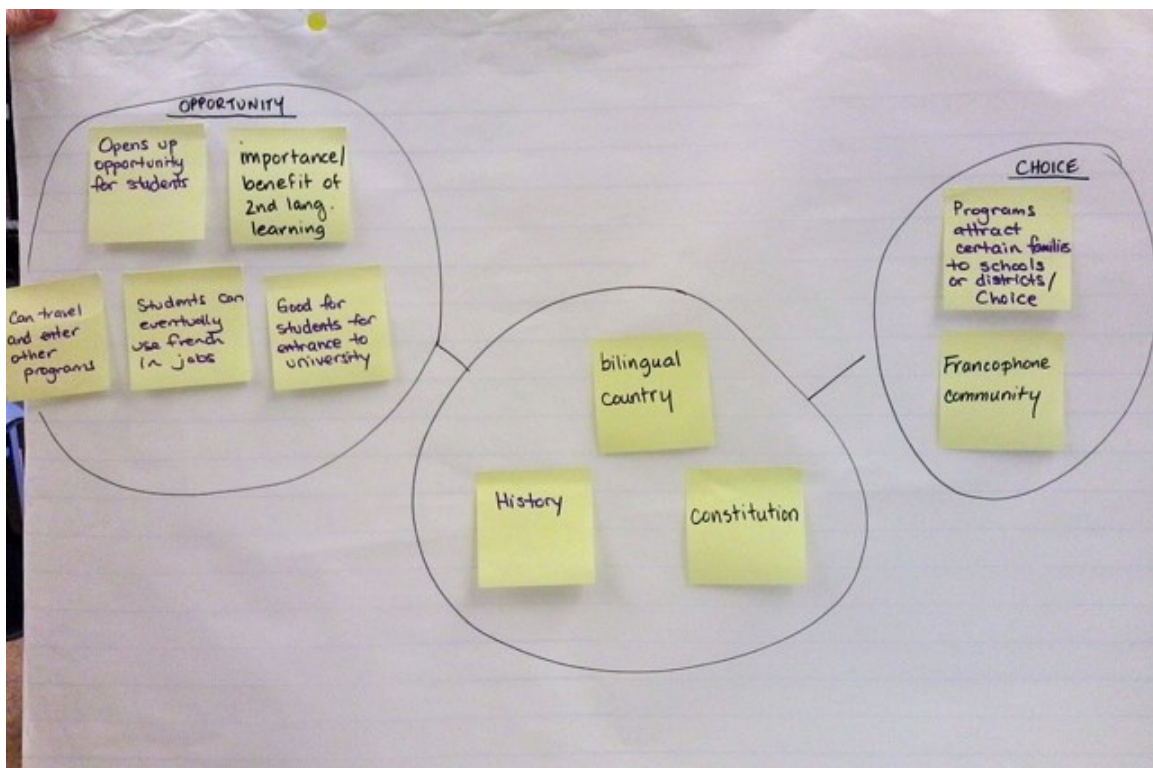
- 84. INT-E20120229: It is. Um...I think it’s relevant because there are still **jobs...that require it** ... especially these kids is gonna be more **competitive** so **the more languages you know the better you can communicate** I think the, the **better options for careers** they have, um, in the future...
- 114. INT-DAN20120111: ...it can **open up so many doors** that um, may not be able to be opened um, without that second language so you’re looking you know, for example, we’re talking about teaching or even just government jobs or there’s **a lot of jobs out there that require a second language.**
- 78. INT-CHR20120311: Um I think it, it opens up opportunities for travel, for **job opportunities**, and just personal enrichment getting to see the perspective of a different culture and a different people and having the second language definitely helps with that.

Bilingualism, in this discursive construction, is commodified (Heller, 2002). The discourse here is not about maintaining a bilingual nation. Rather, French is associated with getting ahead and reaping advantages in the economic world (“competitive”, “better options for careers” and “open up so many doors.”) The FI program is represented as both an instrument to maintain and reproduce Canadian bilingual identity, but also as a means of converting that linguistic and cultural capital into economic advantages: “jobs...that require it.” Heller’s (2002) research, however, shows that the implicit understanding and dominant discourse producing and reproducing the bilingualism-jobs connection is flawed in two ways: most jobs requiring bilingualism are entry-level positions; and secondly, the quality of French, or the language norm, is standardized. Later in the analysis, excerpts will show how the economic value of French is

problematized when participants question the quality and nature of their own identities as bilinguals.

In focus groups the participants re-iterated the value and importance of FI programs in terms of creating opportunities for students, taking up and reproducing the discursive construction of FI as a linguistic and cultural capital, able to be transferred into lucrative opportunities:

Figure 4.3. *What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?*



Note. Focus Group LSA20130515.

In this concept map, the centre of the map includes “history”, “bilingual country” and “constitution”, illuminating the political and historical reasons for offering FI in British Columbia. On the right hand side, the organizer “choice” refers to the FI program as a choice program that could “attract certain families to schools or district”. This school district has a history of declining enrolment and FI is seen as one way to attract students to cross-boundary and attend schools in the district. FI is also identified as a choice

program for the “Francophone community” in an attempt to offer a program of choice instead of having to attending a separate French-language school in the Conseil Scolaire Francophone. Both of these reasons offer choice, but ultimately speak to the district’s needs to increase its student population.

The greatest number of post-it notes are in the left-hand organizer titled “Opportunity.” This is where the participants have enumerated the linguistic, cultural and economic capital benefits of FI programs in British Columbia. Despite the statistics presented earlier in this chapter regarding the numbers of French-language speakers and households that use French in British Columbia, French is identified as “open[ing] up opportunity”, “benefit”, “travel”, “jobs”, and “university”. Participants constructed the FI program as a vehicle for opportunities for work, travel and study as it offers access to linguistic capital. As French is one of the official languages, legitimized in political and in authoritative discourse, FI finds purpose in its official role to maintain Canadian nationhood and its commodification and economic purpose is upheld in the participants’ discourse as well.

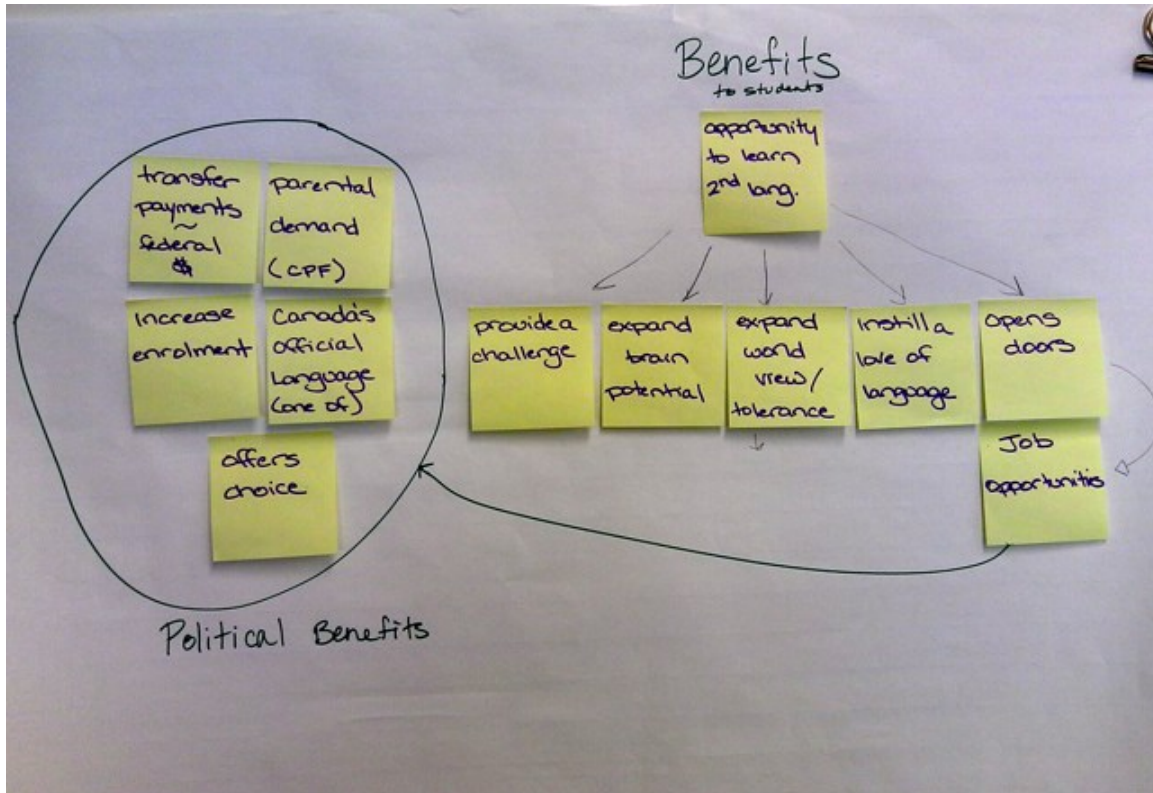
4.3.3. Cognitive Benefits

Participants also construct the FI programs in terms of the cognitive benefits for students:

108. INT-SU20120130: ... And learning one language in that depth, gives them the skills innately **the skills to learn other languages** after that so I just really see it...
178. INT-L20120213: ... But I also believe that learning another language um...just **expands...a child’s mind** and makes it easier for other subjects, it **makes them more...able to read properly in their own language** and I don’t have the statistics or anything like you know but just from my own experience
38. INT-JO20111117: Okay. @@ Um, for the students, it’s just, it challenges them. I think **it opens up more of their brain.** Um, I think it opens up, to me it makes them more um, open-minded in general which is something
78. INT-CHR20120311: I would say absolutely try it out. I think it’s a wonderful opportunity, I think that **it helps children to learn.** Um, French Immersion students tend to be much more

um able to pick up um secondary cues so things like body language and tone of voice and contextual clues because they're used to not knowing what's going on@ and so they learn coping strategies and um you know so having ability I think serves them well you know in whatever they choose to pursue later on

Figure 4.4. What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?



Note. Focus Group CHE20130430.

The participants, both in individual interview and in focus groups, create a representation of the FI program as academically and intellectually stimulating. Learning French, they suggest, provides a means of support and teaches skills for learning in general and learning other languages in addition to French: “the skills to learn other languages”, “able to read properly in their own language”, and “it helps children to learn”. These participants also reference the cognitive power of the bilingual brain in general: “expands a child’s mind” and “opens up more of their brain.” In terms of the cognitive benefits, FI is constructed as a means of accruing cultural capital, the skills and

knowledge that can be converted for other forms of linguistic and social capital. A Canadian report on literacy achievement for French Immersion students across Canada is inconsistent with the dominant discourse on the unbridled advantages of FI programs:

In summary, evaluations of literacy outcomes of immersion students in general have revealed that students in all types of immersion (early, middle, late and partial or total) demonstrate the same levels of achievement in English reading and writing as English control students in the long run. (Genesee, 2007, p.16)

Focus Group CHE20130430 indicates in its concept map that a benefit of FI is to “provide a challenge.” This idea that FI provides the benefit of a challenge for students is also suggested in the following individual interviews:

84. INT-CY20111030: especially in French Immersion is for the child, gives that child an extra one up in French Immersion, that **extra challenge**, let’s say, also as well, for kids that you know, we identify as kids in education that, um, ... maybe **it’s a little bit too easy for them**, or whatever
46. INT-DAN20120111: I’m not saying that I’ve always had kids who were **above average** and they could do this and no behaviours and nothing like this, I don’t mean that, but I find that I enjoy teaching the children that seem to have more of a, of a...**academic drive**. So they’re a little more um...inclined to, you know, do work that will **challenge** them.
62. INT-E20120229: ... they seem **more motivated to learn** and ... it is easier in the sense of behaviour, not saying that there are not behaviour kids but you do have **less behaviour kids**, you do have less um...uh...behaviour, less IEPs, and individual you know education program, because there is a **certain level of success** that’s expected from these kids because they’re having to learn a second language... I like the fact that...it’s...a class that, or a **program that has challenges, that challenges kids and not just kind of expects not minimum**, is now what I think but that requires a challenge and I really like that.

In these excerpts, the participants are building the institution of FI education and creating connections between the program and the individuals that populate the classrooms and shaping the context of FI. The participants’ discourse suggests that FI programs are best suited to those students who require “extra challenge”, or for whom school is a “little bit too easy for them.” Many students in FI, from middle class educated families who are

invested in education, are ascribed the following qualities: “above average”, “more motivated to learn”, “less behaviour kids” and possessing “academic drive”. All three participants represent FI in terms of the challenge, “a certain level of success” it requires and provides for students.

Absent from these excerpts are the students for whom school may be challenging, or students who have particular learning difficulties. Students with potential difficulties in FI are described in the following three excerpts:

112. INT-JA20111109: Well, they often ask if there’s some way to tell if their child would be okay in French Immersion. And usually what we try to say to them is um...it’s important that you be committed to the possibility of French Immersion and to be committed to the experience because um, **it won’t be for every child**. And I think that’s something that maybe some **people have misunderstood** over the years ‘cause they’ve felt, ah well you know if I want it, then we should just do it but **there are some children for whom it may not be a very good experience** and those are the ones that are really, really shy and introverted and who are not ready to take a risk. Um, the ones who maybe have, um, a **language difficulty** in their own language. Like if they’re having trouble with English then it’s quite likely that they’ll also have trouble acquiring French.
50. INT-JO20111117: Again that goes back to my one concern about Immersion is, you know, are, there are the odd, there, not a lot of them, but **there are some children that really just should not be in there. Not to make it an elitist program**, but there’s a few that it’s just, given whatever their inherent **disabilities** are.
80. INT-SA20111201: /It depends on your child. ...But I think it needs to be a really, um ... a decision that’s not made lightly or just oh, everybody else is doing it you know, we’ve heard that before too. Oh the neighbours were going in French Immersion so we decided we’re going in French Immersion too. No, you need to know your child and you know I tend to say children that **speak very well in their first language**, you know, had a **good grasp of their first language**, that um, children that are outgoing, they’re not afraid to make mistakes, or to try new things, tend to, **tend to do better in French Immersion**.

Given the descriptions ascribed to some FI students and students in general, these participants’ discourse suggests that FI “won’t be for every child.” In fact, “people have misunderstood” that FI programs are an equal opportunity for all students. Students who have a “language difficulty” or “disabilities” “really just should not be in there.” Children

who “speak very well in their first language” and have a “good grasp of their first language” “tend to do better in French Immersion.” Taking these six excerpts together, they create a context of FI in which the program best suits students who have “academic drive” and is not suited for “every child”. Therefore the cultural capital and linguistic capital of FI is really only an option for students who can cope with the “certain level of success” that is expected of them.

In his review of the research, Genesee (2007) found that, in the long run, students in FI programs demonstrate the same levels of achievement as students in English programs. In this same report, Genesee summarizes the research findings for at-risk and learning impaired students:

Virtually all studies that examined the reading outcomes of French immersion students who are at-risk for literacy difficulties owing to non-clinical reasons (low academic ability, disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, or members of ethnic minority groups) found that they are not at greater risk for reading and writing difficulties in immersion than similar students in English programs. (Genesee, 2007, p.6)

Genesee’s findings suggest that FI programs are no more or less suited to students with difficulties. Given the same levels of support, studies in Canada and the United States show that FI programs are able to support students, with a broad range of abilities, with both their academic development and their development of bilingualism (Fortune, 2011). The participants’ discourse suggests that FI programs are suited for some students, not all students. Their discursive construction of FI reproduces and creates a specific vision of the FI program. There are contradictions in what the participants say (“not to make it an elitist program” and “I’m not saying that I’ve always had kids who were above average”) and in what their discourse actually suggests. They create a cultural model of FI program that reproduces the dominant discourse of FI programs being cognitively challenging and best suited to students who do not have learning difficulties. The cultural capital of FI programs are rewarded and sustained for those students who are “more motivated.”

4.3.4. Providing Choice

Participants, when responding in focus groups only, also constructed the FI program as a choice program for parents. All four focus groups referenced the word “choice” in their concept maps, and included further description of choice in the following ways: “if there’s an interest in it, you have a choice to do it” (FG-DAI20130418); “it provides students and families with different choices of programs, so the school district will offer French Immersion to attract certain families to their school district (FG-LSA20130515). Some of the participants referenced choice and French Immersion in response to “parental demands (CPF)” (FG-CHE20130430) or “parental pressure” (FG-DAI20130418). One group also referenced choice in terms of student needs: “having a different program allows students who learn differently to, um, to ... pursue those other options” (FG-CYCHR20130424). The participants’ discourse is aligned with a broader discourse on choice in educational programs that is prevalent in both the school district and in the British Columbia Ministry of Education. The market (schools and school districts) provides options or choices for families and schools compete for students. Choice in schools perpetuates the notion that competition strengthens society in a “culture of choice” where parents can “shop” for schools (Davies & Aurini, 2011). Parents are not bound by school boundaries and may select a school for their child from a variety of options.

4.4. Representations of the French Immersion Teacher

The prior categories of findings demonstrated how and why the participants construct their professional identities within dominant discursive representations of French language and bilingualism. The final overlapping theme explores the discursive resources the participants use to represent their professional identities and their right to teach French Immersion. The participants accord authority and ownership to native-speaker, Francophone, monolinguals in their discourse. However, despite the participants’ hegemonic discursive practices, such as essentialist models of language and identity and monoglossic language ideologies, they indicate that they feel qualified to teach French Immersion. First, some participants indicate that having learned French as a second language themselves prepared them to teach in French Immersion:

72. INT-SU20120130: ...**I'm able to understand where the issues are coming from.** For example, with <L2> ça regarde comme <L2> ahhhh like I know why that's happening and I'm just gonna use my cattle prod...but so I can see where the anglicisms are to help the kids avoid them in the future and I think just um...well that was **my Masters was in was the second language acquisition** but I think as a person who's learned it as a second language it uh it helps in a lot of ways to understand what their errors are like I said and what to hopefully avoid. ... Now the <L2> Conseil Scolaire Francophone <L2> would say no, no this is what we want a cultural... we want a representative of that culture but in French Immersion in B.C. is that what we really need in these classrooms? Or do we need more of um...a person that, that understands, that who has a really good high level of French but is able to anticipate the second language errors you know or anglicisms I suppose more so and, and really be...do we need here in these classrooms where it's mainly Anglophones here, um, **a person who's able to deliver to help these kids in their second language acquisition** and their curricular acquisition.

This excerpt reveals the multi-layered nature of identity and the complex process of identity construction. This participant says, earlier in the interview, that "it would be ideal if I were Francophone." However, her professional identity as a FI teacher is not fixed by her linguistic identity alone. Different discourses allow for a variety of subject positions. Here the discursive construction of the FI teachers shapes her identity as a competent teacher: "a person who's able to deliver." Her discourse suggests that a person who has had to learn a second language is better able to teach a second language: "I'm able to understand where the issues are coming from." Additionally she claims legitimacy as a teacher in her qualifications: "my Masters was in the second language acquisition." The next excerpts also suggest a sense of legitimacy derives from having learned French as a second language:

46. INT-SA20111201: ... And I think on the flip side, an **advantage** of it is you know what it's like to have to learn a second language so you know what it's like for the kids to be learning French as a second language and I think that brings kind of a **unique**, um, or a **bonus** to it as well, to teaching 'cause you kind of understand that. Like I say I can make the connection for them with the English and the French which I think is really **helpful**.

As suggested by Widdowson (1994), this participant's discourse shapes her legitimacy as having an "advantage" over native-speakers, or a "unique bonus" to her teaching in

being able to understand the students' perspective. The following participant echoes a similar feeling:

36. INT-JA20111109: ... And so I felt...pretty good about my French, but ... a high-school principal, and he used to be the French as a second language teacher, but he could speak French. And so he, he felt that um, perhaps because the parents might, uh, have that expectation, that <L2> programme Cadre <L2> needs to be taught by a Francophone, uh, that once we opened up the Immersion classes, when there was a grade two classroom, uh, he, he suggested that **I would be better suited for Immersion because I knew, um, I really understood where the kids were coming from.** Like, I had been there. And I understood the mistakes they would make, I understood how hard it was, I understood the motivation, and so he thought that I would be a better person, um, better teacher in the Immersion program. And I've been in Immersion ever since.

This participant's claims legitimacy in her role as a FI teacher, indeed being "better suited for Immersion" than a Francophone because she understands the unique context for teaching FI in a minority setting. The next excerpt suggests the complexity of identity construction:

76. INT-E20120229: So for me it is **harder**. I have to, I have to constantly, I do, I think in French, but there is vocabulary that I'm missing but I do find that that makes it so kids are probably less afraid of making mistakes. And say I don't understand because I know and I understand when they don't understand because like I would have known that word. So I think **sometimes it's easier** um as far as I know what level they can understand cause I remember and I remember what texts we were reading in science and I'm like I have no idea **I was lost** in Science and Socials for a lot of my elementary school years because **it was just too hard for me to understand** so I think it's um...it benefits them in that way but I think yeah, um, I don't necessarily know all the, the vocabulary that a **Francophone** has and I probably make grammar mistakes when I speak as well which they probably pick up on and copy but ah, whatever, that's okay @

The participant recalls her own experiences as a former FI student, times when she was "lost" and when "It was just too hard for me to understand." Having been through this experience, she believes "sometimes it's easier" for her to work with students who are in a FI program. However, at the same time, she struggles with her work being "harder"

because she does not know all of the vocabulary that a “Francophone” would know. She appears to cross boundaries of (il)legitimacy when making sense of her own identity as FI teacher.

These participants reference representations of the French Immersion teacher in terms of specific advantages having learned French themselves. SU20120130 explains one advantage in terms of understanding students’ errors and helping them avoid errors: “I can see where the anglicisms are.” SA20111201 identifies the “bonus” of being able to help students make the connection between L1 and L2 in their learning: “I can make the connection for them with the English and the French.” JA20111109 frames this advantage as being “better suited for French Immersion” because she understands the motivation required to learn French. E20120229 suggests that being a former French Immersion student herself helps her create a learning environment that encourages risk-taking.

Secondly, two of the participants describe their legitimacy in terms of not only language ability, but also an understanding and practice of “good teaching pedagogy”:

87. INT-SU20120130: ... I understand the cultural component of that but, but realistically in a B.C. French Immersion classroom, what is our goal? Um and I see, and **maybe this is just me rationalizing my own identity**, right? Uh it is less of a representative of the culture as a person who’s gonna be able to facilitate that learning in a second language for them, and then bring in the cultural aspect sort of almost a like a bouquet I’m trying to think of a quick metaphor in my mind but um, but so it’s the reality within the classroom which I think is well I shouldn’t say more important, I’m prioritizing in my own mind the importance of what I’m doing and so, um...**I think I’m authentic as a French Immersion teacher even though I’m not Francophone um because of one, you know a competent level of French, fluency in French and also the understanding of really good teaching, pedagogy**, right?

Again, the negotiation of identity and legitimacy as a FI teacher is evident as the participant suggests she is “rationalizing [her] own identity.” Different discursive constructions of the “authentic French Immersion teacher” offer different possibilities for identity. She feels that she needs to justify her legitimacy and authenticity “even though [she is] not Francophone.” Her use of the word “even” suggests the element of surprise

at her competency as a teacher “even” though she has learned French as a second language.

The next participant explores her sense of legitimacy and in doing so, weaves a sense of self as a French Immersion teacher:

207. RES: ... where do you think your sense of legitimacy comes from then?
208. INT-CHE20111017: Well I think it comes in **over time**, right? Like I think, although, I...I felt really ... confident, I mean ... not necessarily confident but I felt competent. I felt like I was well-trained, and I had a vice-principal who came in and video-taped me 'cause I had SFU and remember? Back in the day in PDP you had to be video-taped, and he said to me afterwards, he goes, you know, I know you're new but if my kid was in Kindergarten I'd want you to be their teacher. And I thought ... I must be doing something right. @You know? Like it was, that to me, made a big difference. And, um ... so I always felt like I was doing the right thing as a teacher. I have the right, you know, **I'm compassionate**, and **I'm kind** and you know I have all those teacher qualities/
209. RES: /Yes
210. INT-CHE20111017: And then the language ... came on top of that, and because **I loved the language and it came easily to me**, it was, it just all mixed together, it was okay. But I mean it doesn't mean that I wasn't frustrated sometimes when I was trying to say something and ... but I mean now, what is it? Almost twenty-four years later, I feel confident as a teacher and I think that that's ... that's probably where I feel... I can't remember what the question was @
211. RES: About how, where your sense of legitimacy as a teacher, say French Immersion/
212. INT-CHE20111017: /I think if I felt like a crappy teacher, and I didn't feel like I was a **good linguistic model** at this, I would, that would just be too much.
213. RES: Okay.
214. INT-CHE20111017: But I think that **because I feel like I'm a good teacher and I feel like I'm a good linguistic model**, that they come together and it you know, that just built up over time and confidence and you know, **people telling you you're doing a good job** and ... the rapport you have with kids and families and then ... so ... that ... I guess makes me feel legit.

CHE20111017 is able to pinpoint the many complex elements that contribute to her sense of self as a FI teacher. “Over time” suggests that good teaching comes with experience. She identifies two personality traits, “compassionate” and “kind” that are important “teacher qualities.” Additionally she cites both being “a good teacher” and a “good linguistic model” as elements of being a successful FI teacher. She also identifies the importance of being recognized by others as a good teacher: “people telling you you’re doing a good job.” Similar to the teachers in Phan’s (2008) study of Vietnamese teachers of English, this participant has created a unique identity category that shapes her sense of legitimacy.

SU20120130 describes her authenticity as a French Immersion teacher in terms of language fluency and good pedagogy. The combination of language and pedagogy counts as legitimate performance as a FI teacher. The same can be said of CHE2011017, who references being “a good teacher and ...a good linguistic model.” However, in both cases, their sense of legitimacy is tempered, as CHE20111017 states, “I guess makes me feel legit,” in which the use of the word “guess” suggests some uncertainty in her professional identity. Likewise, SU20120130 tempers her sense of authenticity when she says: “maybe this is just me rationalizing my own identity?”

Other participants draw on similar representations of the qualified French Immersion teacher in the focus groups, when they indicate that a successful French Immersion teacher possesses “teaching competency in all subject areas” and “knowledge of strategies for second-language learning” (FG-CHE20130430) and “different learning methods – varied activities” (FG-LSA20130515).

Third, several of the teachers express an affinity or an emotional attachment to the French language. In the focus groups, “love of language” (FG-CYCHR20130424) and “passion for the French language and culture” (FG-CHE20130430) are referenced in the concept maps in their representations of a successful FI teacher. The following participants express their enjoyment of their work as an opportunity to use a language they love:

40. INT-JO20111117: I love speaking French. I think it’s, it’s **a treat to speak French**. I think wow, **am I ever privileged to get to use this language** that I love in my job. I do think that’s how I feel about it.

The French language is accorded a high value when the participant says: “am I ever privileged to get to use this language.” The participant’s ideological construction of the French language is idealized, indeed she accords more value and prestige to French than English: “it’s a treat to speak French.” French is constructed as a prestige language and a high degree of cultural capital is associated with the language (Coffey, 2010). The following excerpt suggests the special qualities associated with a prestige language:

92. INT-DAI20120124: ... but I honestly love being able to speak French whether it’s in school or outside, I just love knowing that I can do it...and so this my opportunity to keep practicing to keep using it so I’ll never forget it...and also there is **pride** there as well that hey, you know, I can teach something **special**, I know another language, I’m good enough in another language that I could use it and you know **it just does make me feel special, to have that ability...**and to be teaching in something different, you know, I love telling people oh I was lucky to get a job but it was because I had a specialty @@@ I just wasn’t a, in a regular program, not that there’s anything wrong with it, it’s just I have to admit it made me feel proud or it makes me feel proud to say that I’m a **specialty** teacher.

DAI20120124 constructs the French language as “special.” Because of this “speciality,” her social attitude towards the French language shapes her identity in a positive way. She feels a sense of “pride” being able to use this language in her daily work. This affinity to and for the language appears to allow her to claim some sense of ownership of the language: “it just does make me feel special, to have that ability.” This sense of pride makes sense in light of the value of French as a linguistic resource in Canada (Bourdieu, 1991). The next participant echoes the affinity for the French language and a suggests the value in French:

144. INT-L20120213: Um, oh I really just do love the language, like teaching in French. Um...I love French, the language, so, **I feel like it has a lot to offer**, and just the vocabulary, the culture, the accent and the different, Quebec French versus French French, and I guess, yeah, I’ve always had a love for, **I’m a Francophile**, right? So I like to, I like to bring that to the classroom, to the students, and um, see how they respond to it, and yeah I enjoy, I enjoy that. Um sometimes I think, maybe, because it’s not easy teaching in your second language all day, right? Um sometimes I think maybe I do wanna change one day but then I think, you know what, I really do enjoy it. And every year I also get better because I have that,

you forget vocabulary and then it comes back to you and then it just sort of becomes easier every year, right?

She recognizes the symbolic value of French when she says: “I feel like it has a lot to offer.” She appears to construct her identity as a Francophile when she states: “I’m a Francophile.” She enacts an identity as a Francophile through her love of “French, the language.”

Finally, focus groups also reference the construct “life long learner” (FG-CHE20130430) in their representations of the successful FI teacher. The successful FI teacher demonstrates a “willingness to learn” (FG-LSA20130515), is “constantly developing” (FG-DAI201304018), and receives “continual support for in-service/training/how to teach essentially 2 lang” (FG-CYCHR20130424). The following participants’ discourse conveys their beliefs in these values of the educational community, and how they negotiate these values in constructing their identities as legitimate FI teachers:

157. RES: Yeah. Do you think being a person who’s learned French as a second language yourself, that presents um, additional challenges to being a French Immersion teacher? ...
162. INT-L20120213: **I don’t think that’s a challenge, I think that that’s just learning**, right? Um I don’t know everything and I...we need to look things up. I sometimes spell things wrong in English, you know? And that’s just ... we’re all human and nobody’s perfect and **teachers don’t know everything@@@** and I think that yeah, I just try to think that **we’re all learning together and the students um, inform me of things and I learn from them and they learn from me, right?** That’s how it is in my classroom.

This participant creates a representation of herself as a FI teacher in her discourse and uses specific words to build up certain things in her practice and lessen the significance of others (Gee, 2010). In her discursive construction, she actively creates and sustains her identity as a FI teacher. She lessens the significance of being a native-speaker teacher when she says: “I don’t think that’s a challenge” and “teachers don’t know everything.” She builds up the importance of being a learner with “I think that’s just learning” and “we’re all learning together.” She makes the value associated with being a learner and willing to learn more important than being a native-speaker. The next participant creates a similar representation of her identity as a FI teacher:

76. INT-CHR20120311: ... **I do still have to look stuff up in the dictionary** but at the same time **I think that it's helpful for my students to see that it's a continual learning process**, that there is stuff that I don't know and **there are ways to deal with that**. We do use the dictionary, we do ask you know the native speakers and to try to constantly improve our vocabulary.

CHR20120311 downplays the significance of being a native-speaker teacher when she says: "I think that it's helpful for my students to see that it's a continual learning process" and "there are ways to deal with that." This indicates that she considers modeling the learning process is as valuable, or more valuable, for her skill set at a FI teacher. After she states: "I do still have to look stuff up in the dictionary," she uses the word "but" to indicate that she believes any linguistic differences or issues between herself and a native-speaker teacher are mitigated by her strength as a model for the learning process. Both participants build up the importance and significance of being a life long learner and this social construction shapes their identities as legitimate FI teachers.

4.5. Chapter Summary

Authoritative discourses construct FI education as a way of gaining symbolic, linguistic, and cultural capital in Canadian society. Learning French is recommended as a way of improving one's life, economically, socially and culturally. Both the participants' and the official institutional discourses produce and reproduce the belief that learning French contributes to personal and societal betterment and growth in Canada. Additionally, FI education is constructed in terms of promoting cultural understanding among Canada's English and French speaking populations. The discourse of cultural understanding conveys an essential link between language and culture and creates linguistic and cultural categories, thereby authorizing or delegitimizing certain speakers of French. It is important to examine authoritative discourses around French second language education and official bilingualism in Canada in order to understand the consequences of these discourses for FI teacher identity. Institutional discourses of French language and culture, and bilingualism as dual monolingualisms, are evident in the participants' discursive construction of their professional identities. The authoritative discourses of federal, provincial and national policies play a significant role in social identity

construction. The findings suggest that the participants have internalized official discourse, which informs representations of their professional identities as agents who serve a bilingual Canada. Additionally the internalized official discourses appear to bring about a tension between the participants' identities as teachers of French language and culture. The official discourses of monoglossic language ideologies and essentialist models of language and identity support the construction of social categories where language is a marker of identity. Drawing on these official discourses, participants construct their professional identities by making deficit-model value judgments about their own cultural and linguistic backgrounds, thereby legitimizing native-speakers and questioning their own authority as authentic FI teachers.

In this chapter, I have provided an analysis of institutional discourses on bilingualism and FI education. Specifically I examined the ways in which these official discourses are reproduced in the participants' discourse and how their professional identities are constructed in particular social and institutional contexts. The collection of documents, taken as a group, is compelling in the way that the participants echoed the official discourses, taken from federal, provincial and national policies, in their own representations of their professional identities, and how authoritative discourses inform the ways in which FI teachers make sense of themselves and position themselves as (il)legitimate French speakers and teachers.

Chapter 5.

Collusion and Contestation of Official Discourses

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine with bilingual FI teachers how they articulated representations of their professional identities. This chapter presents a discussion and analysis of the data pertaining to the ways in which participants colluded with and contested authoritative discourses of bilingualism and bilingual education in Canada. Participants articulated representations of their professional identities in the ways they used language to discursively construct their professional identities. The participants' identities as FI teachers are socially constructed by way of discourses of bilingual education, language and culture. The participants' discourse produces and reproduces dominant representations of FI education in Canada that in turn shapes their representations of their identities as bilingual educators. The participants' discourse draws on ideologies of language and representations of French language and culture, Canadian-ness and bilingualism. Their discourse suggests an essential link between language, ownership and identity, and language and nation and state. Participants constructed their identities by positioning themselves and others as insiders or outsiders in relation to the discursively constructed identity categories.

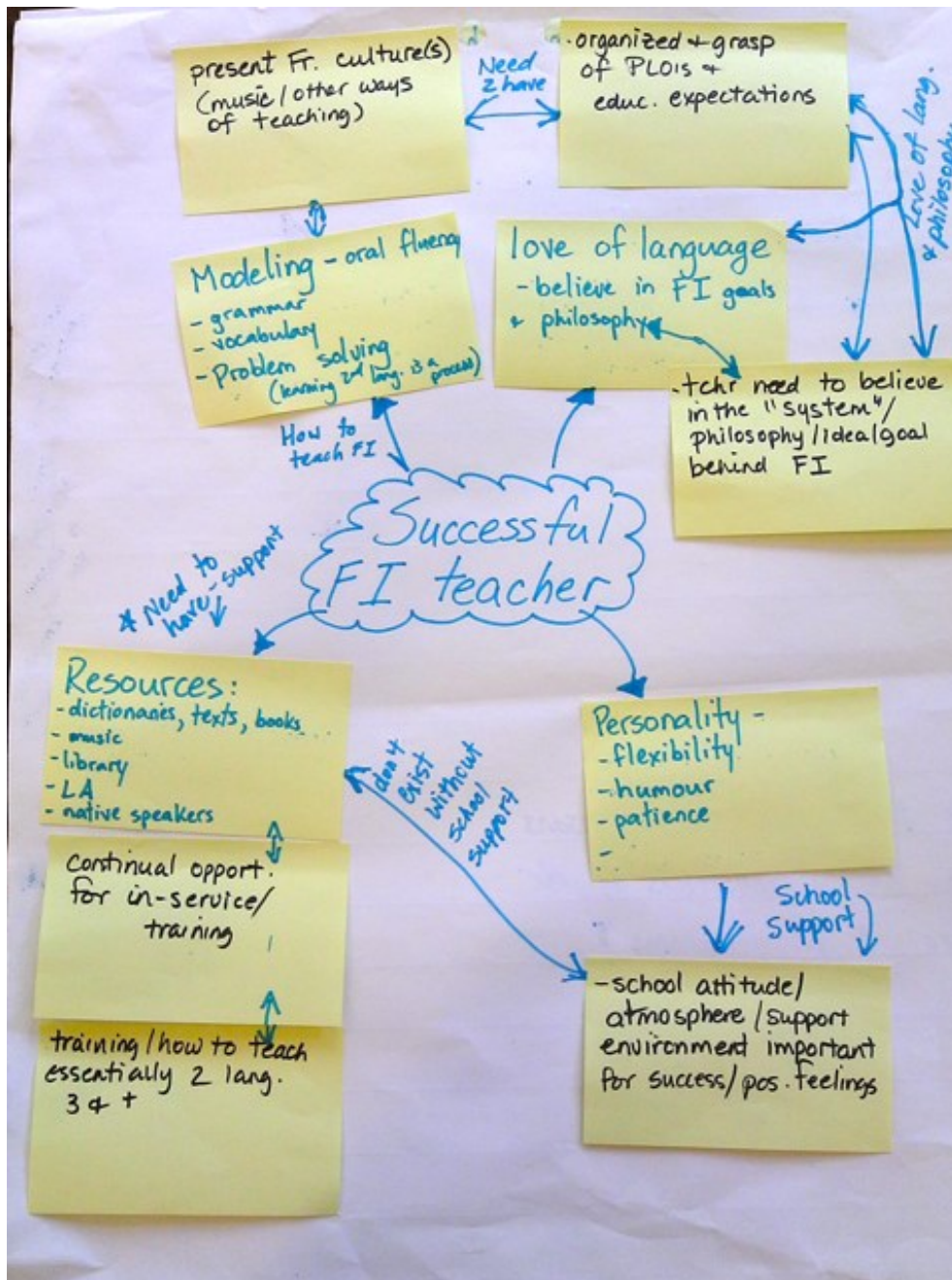
In this chapter I will present and analyze the discursive construction of identity using illustrative examples from the interview and focus group transcripts and the concept maps. In presenting the data, I will interweave excerpts from the individual interviews and the focus group transcripts and concept maps rather than presenting each data source independently. This integrated approach to presenting and analyzing the corpus of data permits a more refined examination of the individual and group discourse by

allowing a comparison and cross-checking of similarities and discrepancies between individual and collective responses to the research questions.

I will present the data from interviews and focus groups to show how the participants draw upon discursive resources to reproduce FI education as a form of symbolic capital which in turn shapes their professional role and sense of purpose in terms of the collective Canadian identity. However, the participants' construction of individual identity as legitimate, bilingual FI teachers is additionally shaped by essentialized ideologies of language and culture, and monolingual representations of bilingualism. As a result, the participants negotiate representations of their professional identities as FI teachers at the intersection of collective Canadian and individual bilingual identities. My intent is to use the data to show the ways in which discourses dictate how the participants negotiate their professional identities and for these participants, what it means to be a legitimate FI teacher.

Dominant representations of language, bilingualism and FI education are largely reproduced in the individual participants' discourse. However, some of the participants challenge notions of the official discourses of FI education and bilingualism in constructing legitimate professional identities, as suggested in the following concept map:

Figure 5.1. What are the most important factors in being a successful French Immersion teacher?



Note. Focus Group CYCHR20130424.

This focus group represented FI teacher professional identity as a constellation of factors, not based solely in linguistic and cultural representations of identity. The essentialist connection between language and culture and the valorization of native

speakers are part of this constellation. The nativeness paradigm and ideologies of language ownership are still evident in the concept map. Oral fluency and the presentation of French culture(s) are named as important factors in being a successful FI teacher. Additionally this focus group names “native speakers” as a “need to have support/resource” for being a successful teacher. This appears to again privilege the status of the native-speaker. When asked to elaborate on the point “tchr [teacher] need to believe in the ‘system’/philosophy/idea/goal behind FI,” one participant explains:

FG-CYCHR20130424: For me it’s just the opportunity to learn another language, and to be able to be um...what they call functionally bilingual. **You never, I don’t think it’d be, it can’t be first language, native-speaker bilingual French Immersion because the kids don’t have that and I don’t have that, but be functionally bilingual.**

The nativeness paradigm is evident in the construction of difference, being “first language, native-speaker bilingual” and “functionally bilingual.” The construction of linguistic ownership is also manifested in the phrase “I don’t have that.” This participant negotiates her identity within the nativist paradigm and therefore she does not claim legitimate ownership of the language, thereby positioning herself as an imposter.

The focus group also identifies pedagogical, environmental and personal traits that also contribute to the successful FI teacher identity. In the following ways these participants articulate their professional identities as legitimate FI teachers. These are the elements that contribute to their professional sense of legitimacy. With the point on “organized + grasp of PLO’s + [educational] expectations,” the focus group refers to the importance of knowing and understanding the learning outcomes of the provincial curriculum and expectations for the students’ learning. Both “continual opport. [opportunities] for in-service/training” and “training/how to teach essentially 2nd lang.” refers to the pedagogical legitimacy of these participants. Knowing and understanding the pedagogy and practice for teaching a language to students is an additional quality and component of professional legitimacy. This focus group also identified a supportive environment for successful FI teachers. This included the school culture and physical and human resources that would support second language learning and the FI teacher: dictionaries, texts, books, music, library, LA (learning assistance) and native speakers. Finally the focus group references personal characteristics, such as flexibility, humour

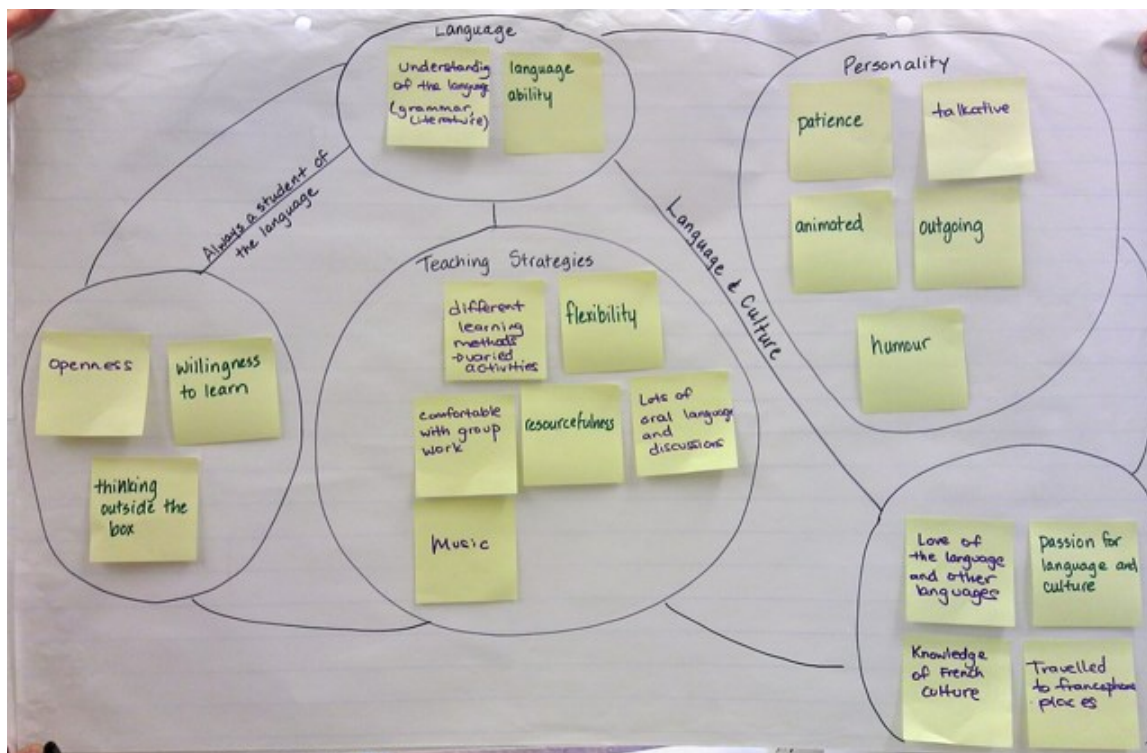
and patience, as factors for successful FI teachers. In this instance, the participants' discourse appears to challenge giving "authenticity primacy as pedagogic principle" (Widdowson, 1994, p. 387). That is, this concept map suggests that although they defer to native speakers "in respect to competence in the language." they do not defer "in respect to competence in language teaching" (Widdowson, 1994, p.387).

Some of the factors in this concept map for successful teaching can be categorized as factors for begin a successful teacher in general, such as personality characteristics, organizational skills, knowing the curriculum and having teaching resources to draw from. It appears that these participants draw a sense of their professional legitimacy from their sense of professional identities as qualified and competent classroom teachers. When faced with being successful FI teachers, however, authoritative discourses of essentialism and monoglossic language ideology, language ownership and nativist ideology appear to create a tension in the construction of FI teacher identity.

5.2. Essentializing Ideologies of Language

A key component in the work of being a FI teacher is providing a linguistic model of French for FI students. In the focus groups I asked, "What are the most important factors in being a successful FI teacher?" In each of the four concept maps, participants referenced the importance of being a linguistic model in and of the French language. One focus group indicated this factor in their concept map in the following way:

Figure 5.2. What are the most important factors in being a successful French Immersion teacher?



Note. Focus Group LSA20130515.

This focus group identified, in the top centre circle of their concept map, the category organizer “language” and within this category they identified two factors: “understanding of the language (grammar, literature)” and “language ability.” All other category organizers in their concept map link directly to the language organizer, suggesting that language is the most important factor in being a successful French Immersion teacher. They also included the phrase “Always a student of the language” to connect “willingness to learn” to the language organizer, suggesting that language learning is a lifelong process. They used the phrase “Language & Culture” to connect the lower right hand organizer that appears to suggest a successful FI teacher has a passion and knowledge of French language and culture, directly linked to her ability and understanding of the French language. When asked to describe their concept map, the participants described the importance of language as the “umbrella” that groups together the concepts in their map:

INT-FGLSA20130515: So **first we started with language, the big umbrella of language** and we talked about the importance of having an understanding of the language, for example, **grammar and literature**, as well as a general **language ability**.

By starting “first ...with language” suggests that the importance of “grammar and literature, as well as a general language ability” is the most important factor in being a successful FI teacher. Not only did they identify this as the most important factor, but they also explicitly connected this factor to all other identifiers of the successful FI teacher.

Each of the other three focus groups referred to similar factors of the successful FI teacher. The focus groups organized their concept maps in unique and different ways and in the other three groups, the notion of language being the “umbrella” term was not evident, although the factor figured prominently in each concept map. DAI20130418 placed “bilingual” in the category of “essential qualities.” For the focus group CYCHR20130424, “modeling oral fluency” was one of four key organizers that categorized the factors of a successful FI teacher. The focus group CHE20130430 included “mastery of the French language/bilingual” within the organizer “knowledge & skills/competencies” in their concept map. This last excerpt from the focus group CHE20130430 makes an explicit connection between “mastery” and “bilingualism”, suggesting not only that a successful FI teacher masters the French language, but also associates “mastery” and “bilingualism” in general. Using these terms together is rooted in a theory of bilingualism as a native-like mastery of two languages (Bloomfield, 1966). This “Discourse model” (Gee, 1999) of bilingualism includes and excludes individuals from bilingualism based on a perceived mastery of the language. This “cultural model” (Gee, 1999) of bilingualism then becomes problematic when the participants attempt to recognize themselves and others as bilingual. I will explore this notion with further analysis in this chapter.

5.2.1. Language Ownership and the Nativeness Paradigm

Language ownership has been theorized and researched in a variety of contexts and with a variety of languages (Azimova & Johnston, 2012; Higgins, 2003; Jaffe, 2008; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). The concept of language ownership is a construct

used to describe speakers' proficiency and legitimacy as a language user. Ownership refers to an idea that a language belongs to a group of speakers, whether native-speakers or others who have learned a language in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes. The notion of language ownership endows native speakers as authentic speakers of the language, or linguistic insiders (Widdowson, 1994). A consequence of such a construct is that native speaker teachers of the language in question are the custodians of the language and arbiters of proper usage. This ideological construction of ownership is a key element in the identity construction of the bilingual teacher participants in this study. The construct of language ownership is strikingly evident in the participants' construction of the French language. In the interview data, the participants' linguistic cues and expressions of ownership create an essentialized representation of the French language in the ways they appropriated discourses about language ownership and language use. An analysis of the participants' discourse also reveals a deeply held, unquestioned socially constructed notion of the native speaker: "the idea that the language belongs to those who speak it natively, or to those nations where it is spoken natively" (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001, p.103). Orienting the ownership of the language to native-speakers essentializes language boundaries; the language is linked with a collective people (Jaffe, 2008). I will show how the participants articulated these discourses and how they located themselves and others within these discourses in shaping their identities and the identities of others.

T20120307 orients the ownership of the French language in the following recollection of applying for work as a FI teacher in the beginning of her career:

8. INT-T20120307: ... I had to have a full time job. So I just went ahead and you'd go to these interviews somewhere in Vancouver at some hotel ...And I remember being in the washroom, and there were all of these, you know, cute young chickies **from Quebec** and I'm thinking, **oh I'll never get a job, I'll never get a job, I'll never get a job, because they were flying in for interviews.** And I'm thinking **well I can't compete with them,** what is that? You know. So I didn't leave very happy about it and then I got a job. And then after I accepted that job two weeks later Coquitlam said you know we do have a full time job but I'd already accepted.

Her mention of the applicants from Quebec suggests the ideal native speaker, and she grants privileged status to the native speaker. As explained by Widdowson (1994):

The native speaker teachers of the language ... have acquired the language and culture as an integrated experience and have a feel for its nuances and identity which the non-native speaker cannot claim to have. Indeed, native speakers alone can be the arbiters of what is authentic since authenticity can only be determined by insiders. (p.387)

The participant echoes this cultural model of authenticity in her feeling “I’ll never get a job” because she does not feel that is an authentic insider of the French language. Her discourse suggests that the French language is owned by speakers “from Quebec” and she positions herself as an outsider and those from Quebec as insiders. She simply “can’t compete with them”. Her representation of the ideal native speaker from Quebec shapes her identity as a French language speaker and as an outsider. Later in the interview, her imposter identity surfaces again:

89. RES: Do you think you face any unique challenges...being a French Immersion teacher, having learned French as a second language yourself?
90. INT-T20120307: Oh yes, yes.
91. RES: Can you tell me about that.
92. INT-T20120307: Oh it’s the constant, **constant...self-doubt**, I think. Um and **I feel it especially when I go to ACPI** and I’m at the dinner table with all those...**wonderful @Francophones@** and I do my very bestest and everything. So there’s always this, this self-doubt about you know, **is it enough** and is it you know **am I doing enough**. Is it enough for those students that they’re listening to me. So that’s number one, that is always there.

In this excerpt, she explains her “constant self-doubt” that she continues to feel after thirty-two years of experience teaching FI. Again she references “wonderful Francophones” as the owners of the French language. She feels the self-doubt most when she attends the annual conference for “ACPI” (Association canadienne des professeurs d’immersion) and is speaking with native speakers. This scenario speaks to her belief in the degree of ownership of the French language. Those who are native speakers are more authentic and have more right to the language than she does, having learned French as a second language. Additionally, this experience raises questions for her competence and ability as a classroom teacher: “am I doing enough?” As a lesser owner of the French language, her discourse suggests that she is the inferior teacher of

French (again, despite thirty-two years of classroom teaching experience in FI). Her discourse elevates the native speaker of French, “the implicit and explicit model for competence” (Train, 2007a, p.257). The following excerpt also suggests the native speaker as the ideal model speaker:

128. INT-JA20111109: ... it’s been very useful in my career because if, **if parents assume that I am Francophone then perhaps they will have more confidence in my ability to teach their child.** And when I first started teaching that was the case. Now it’s less so.

The “Francophone” is flagged as the owner of the French language in this excerpt and this turn of phrase suggests a direct link to her competence as a FI teacher. This participant also has thirty-two years of experience as FI teacher. She ascribes a privileged status to the Francophone teacher by suggestion that parents “will have more confidence in my ability to teach their child” if she is perceived as a native speaker. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) point out the usefulness of the nativeness paradigm:

When employers – both in mother tongue and foreign language settings – search out teachers of English who come from the mother tongue English language nations, they do so in accordance with their experience that these make the best teachers of second language learners. (p.99)

In the previous excerpt, substitute “employers” for “parents” and “English” for “French.” The participant’s construction of the ideal Francophone speaker and teacher shapes her competence and identity as a FI teacher.

The following two participants represent degrees of ownership of the French language by referencing their own and others’ French language use:

110. INT-CHR20120311: Yeah. I was very, very lucky. I was quite nervous about it, um, particularly cause there were **several Francophone teachers at that school that I felt a little intimidated like oh my goodness and I gonna look like a fool?** Um...but no, it was fine and it was such a treat to ... be able to share that and to **have access to those Francophone teachers too, you know, that could help me with my personal French.**
123. INT-CY20111030: Yeah. So before we had the district with Francophone schools, um, we had Francophone students in our classrooms. And that’s always a wee bit intimidating as the

@second language learner when the parents are French. It's always, it's always interesting. That's an interesting part, but ...

124. RES: Yeah?
125. INT-CY20111030: Yeah.
126. RES: Tell me more about that.
127. INT-CY20111030: It's intimidating. It's very intimidating because **I feel confident in myself if I am the one, but when you add the Francophone into the picture, the person, then I feel intimidated, then I start second-guessing my language.** You know, when you start second-guessing your language a little bit ... until you, get speaking more comfortable and depending on who they are and how they make you feel, right?

In these excerpts, the participants project ownership of the French language on native-speakers, and a lesser degree of ownership for themselves as non-native speakers. CHR20120311 felt "intimidated" and wondered if she would "look like a fool" in comparison to the authentic owners of French, the "several Francophone teachers at that school." Her construct of native/non-native binary on her own school staff positions other teachers as insiders and herself as an outsider. CY20111030 expressed the same feeling of intimidation "when you add the Francophone in the picture." She "start[s] second-guessing [her] language" in this binary representation of insiders and outsiders. Her attitude towards French language ownership and native speakers shapes her identity as a French speaker and as a FI teacher.

These excerpts reveal the participants' deeply held beliefs about language ownership, the native/non-native binary, and how (in)authenticity informs their own identity construction as FI teachers. These participants expressed feelings of "self-doubt", or being "intimidated" and "nervous", feeling "like a fool", and that they "can't compete" with the native-speaker. Their feelings of inadequacy are not rooted in their actual linguistic competency but in a socially constructed notion of native speaker in which they position themselves, their identity and legitimacy as French speakers in comparison to native-speakers. When these teachers located themselves as French speakers in comparison to native-speakers, they positioned themselves as outsiders. INT-CY2011103 admitted to "second-guessing my language" in the presence of the native-speaker. In comparison to the native-speaker, INT-T20120307 wondered "is it

enough for these students?” Feeling more legitimacy as a French speaker is connected to feelings of legitimacy as a teacher for INT-JA20111109: “if parents assume that I am Francophone then perhaps they will have more confidence in my ability to teach their child.” Here, she felt she had more authority as a bilingual teacher in constructing herself as a legitimate speaker of French, the native-speaker.

Three of the twelve participants also located themselves as French language users in relation to the construct of language ownership and the nativeness paradigm, but they positioned themselves differently and contested the discourse that the French language belongs to the native-speaker:

90. INT-SU20120130: ...I think **I’m authentic as a French Immersion teacher even though I’m not Francophone** um because of one, you know **a competent level of French, fluency in French and also the understanding of really good teaching**, pedagogy, right? ... yes, **it would be ideal if I were Francophone** but the reality of this in B.C. is how many of us French Immersion teachers are Francophone? The <L2> Conseil Scolaire Francophone<L2> scoops `em up pretty quickly.

There is a nuance of difference in this participant’s construction of language ownership and how her representation shapes her identity. She contests the authoritative legitimacy of the native-speaker language teacher (Widdowson, 1994; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) with a justification of her “competent level of French, fluency in French and also the understanding of really good teaching.” However, this is in comparison to the ideal, “even though I’m not Francophone.” Her use of the words “even though” betrays her belief in her competency as a teacher because this suggests that native-speaker is of primordial importance for the FI teacher. Further, she states: “it would be ideal if I were Francophone.” She equates the “ideal” speaker and teacher with the “Francophone” native speaker. In this way she positions herself as an outsider, despite her qualifications. The following excerpt also suggests a matter of nuance in language ownership:

46. INT-SA20111201: I would think, um, just maybe you wouldn’t have the words, not necessarily words, vocabulary maybe, even though your vocabulary is, **I would say my vocabulary is fairly extensive.** But then, you know and I, I tell the children this as well. **Nobody knows all the words in a language.**

Like I'll go to ~Jeanette or ~Émilie ((French first-language teachers)) and I'll ask how do you say this, what is this in French? They'll go, I don't know. And I mean they'll be getting the dictionary and looking it up or they'll go, I don't know. You know, and even with um, you know sometimes with masculine and feminine, ~Jeanette'll go ahhh, I never know that one and I have to look. So you know you think, okay, @**maybe I'm not at such a disadvantage.**

This participant states that her “vocabulary is fairly extensive” and she’s “not at such a disadvantage.” However, these two particular qualifiers of her identity and legitimacy as a FI teacher are in comparison to the Francophone teachers she works with. The fact that she compares herself and her language competency to the owners of the language, her Francophone colleagues, suggests that she maintains a representation of the French language as owned by Francophones, and to a lesser degree, owned by those who have learned French as an additional language. The following participant’s discourse suggests a similar representation of language ownership:

98. INT-E20120229: Okay, um being bilingual, especially for me and what I tell the kids too is that it’s not speaking French perfectly because **no one actually speaks perfectly** no one’s a dictionary or computer so **even Francophones make mistakes when they speak.** But um it’s being able to communicate um with someone in the language that you’re speaking, so if I can communicate and we can understand each other ... um, if I’m speaking to a Francophone and even if I’m making mistakes we can have a conversation back and forth that’s being bilingual to me.

She also draws upon a social construction of the French language as the property of the native-speaker when positioning herself as a French speaker. However, she challenges the discourse of language ownership and Francophones as the only legitimate speakers of the French language: “even Francophones make mistakes when they speak.” Even though she thinks “it would be ideal if I were Francophone,” INT-SU20120130 thought “I’m authentic as a French Immersion teacher even though I’m not Francophone um because of one, you know a competent level of French, fluency in French.” Although she constructs the native-speaker as the “ideal,” she recognizes her legitimacy as a French speaker in light of her linguistic competency and fluency. Both INT-E20120229 and INT-SA20111201 contest the essential native-speaker when they say, “no one actually speaks perfectly” and “nobody knows all the words in a language.” They

position themselves as French language users vis-à-vis native speakers, yet they contest the authority of the native-speaker when they state that both native and non-native speakers don't know all the vocabulary or speak perfectly. This small contestation of the representation of ownership and the native speaker paradigm suggests Cook's (1999) theory of a "multicompetent language user." Pavlenko (2003) found that contemporary theories of bilingualism and multicompetent language use helped teachers to reimagine their identities as competent language users, rather than failed target language speakers. The discourse of the final three participants suggests that, despite their representations of language ownership and the nativeness paradigm, they shape their identities as FI teachers in a slightly more positive light. Although they position themselves in comparison to the native speaker ideal, they present a small challenge to the dominant discourse of the native-speaker teacher ideal.

Throughout the interview data, there is evidence to suggest that the participants' ideological construction of the native speaker informs their identity as French speakers. DAI20120124 positions herself as a French language user in terms of her ability to use French with native-speakers: "I could go out, well now I feel comfortable going to Quebec and just going around on my own and, well I shouldn't say Quebec, any Francophone country." Her measure of success for her level of comfort and ability in the language is in the way she can use the language with native speakers. L20120213 refers to her French language ability in terms of being mistaken for a Francophone when she was working in France: "people would **even** say <L2> est-ce que tu es française? vous êtes française? <L2>". Her use of the word "even" suggests shock or surprise that she would be taken for a native speaker. The dominant norm of identity is passing as a native speaker. CHE20111017 does not call herself Francophone because "to me if you're a phone you were born that way." This discourse again suggests that this participant does not claim rightful ownership of French, not having been born in a place where French people live. JO20111117 shapes her identity within the native-speaker discourse as well: "bilingual, but not Francophone. No, no and there's a difference. Yeah, there's always that little something that we just don't quite have." The idea of ownership and identity is clear when she says "bilingual, but not Francophone" and "there's a difference." A bilingual, such as herself, has a lesser claim of ownership to the French language than a Francophone, despite having completed a Masters degree in

French Literature at a French language university in France. The “little something we don’t quite have” refers to the nativeness paradigm as suggested by Widdowson (1994), the authentic language and culture that outsiders cannot lay claim to. Finally, DAN20120111 refers to the discourse of native-speaker when she references French language speakers who use French at home: “what I know a Francophone to be is that um, it’s spoken at home, um, you’re parents are probably Québécois, or French, so to me, Francophone it’s kind of even the more dominant language than um, English.” Her discourse reveals ownership of French as the exclusive claim of French speakers, from Quebec or from France.

All of the participants positioned themselves as French language users in relation to a native speaker community, most often citing Quebec and France. For some participants, they were located negatively in the discourse (“self doubt”), other participants’ identity representations were more positively located in the discourse (“I’m authentic”). However, as the participants took up their subject positions as French speakers, they all positioned themselves in relation to native speakers. These perspectives on language ownership serve to delegitimize language use of some speakers because bilinguals are positioned as outsiders. Their discursive construction of linguistic essentialism “ties particular language varieties to authentic cultural practices and socio-cultural groups” (Patrick, 2008, p.37). Authenticity drives the ideological construction of degrees of ownership and the right to speak. Despite one participant stating that she is “authentic”, the discourse of all participants suggests that their identities as French speakers are less authentic than those who own the language, the Francophones of Quebec and France.

A further analysis of the data reveals that participants’ identity is shaped by representations of legitimacy and authenticity in language use. Drawing on the discourse of linguistic essentialism, participants positioned themselves and others in the discourse, marking insiders and outsiders. For example, when T20120307 recalls a job interview where native-speakers were present: “I can’t compete with *them*.” As a non-native speaker, she does not attribute membership to herself. Additionally, JO20111117 drew a clear boundary and gave authority to the native-speakers: “There’s always that little something that we just don’t quite have.” She positioned bilinguals, myself included

in the use of the pronoun 'we', as outsiders who are lacking an essential quality to be part of the in-group of native-speakers.

The participants' discourse suggests that they do not claim legitimate identities as French speakers. Bourdieu (1977) describes the social conditions of legitimacy:

the science of discourse must take into account not only the symbolic power relations within the group concerned, which mean that **some persons are not in a position to speak** (e.g. women) or must win their audience, whereas **others effortlessly command attention**, but also the laws of production of the group itself, which cause certain categories to be absent (or represented only by a spokesman). ... Thus we can state the characteristics which legitimate discourse must fulfil, the tacit presuppositions of its efficacy: **it is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the imposter.** (p. 650)

The participants shape their identities as French speakers in a lesser "position to speak", whereas the native speaker can "effortlessly command attention." The following participant positions herself as an "imposter":

156. INT-CY20111030: ...I've an idea, but my idea is the term for Francophone for me is the, um ... the first language is French. That is their first language. They were raised, born, maybe they learned English later on, that's their first language is French, whereas Francophonie to me is the person to me, is the second language learner. So I was born and raised in the English environment but I'm fluent in French, I learned French. **It always sounds funny when you say Francophonie, it's like phony.** @@Do you know what I mean? That's what I always, that's how I sort of separate the @@two@@ But, um, to me that's the difference. Is the first language that you were raised in means you're the French Francophone. I am raised as, it's my second language so I'm a 'Franco-phonie'. Sort of the acquisition of the language afterwards.
157. RES: Right. Although you said now earlier when you were in Montréal, you said you felt/
158. INT-CY20111030: /I felt. Now I could iden- I felt, I identified because I'm surrounded by the language but it's still only makes me a '**Franco-phonie**', **not a Francophone, 'cause I'm still not born into the language, or it wasn't my first language.**

This participant's representation of the native/non-native dichotomy shapes her identity as a "phony." The legitimate speaker is Francophone, "born into the language...first language." As a "phony", she does not claim the right to speak to the same degree as the Francophone. She has constructed her identity as a perpetual outsider, and she sustains the myth of the native speaker. She delegitimizes herself as a "phony."

CHE20111017 shapes her identity in the way she positions herself and her linguistic identities. Her discourse shows how her attitude towards legitimacy and bilingualism inform her sense of self:

206. INT-CHE20111017: So there's **the French me and the English me**. Well, I mean obviously, I feel sometimes a bit stunted because the English me might...English me is @funnier@than@the@French@me@@@ And it's just, it's just like sharing more of who you are. And then there's also the kind of ... you deal a lot with the whole **I'm a fraud** business. @ **Like what the hell am I doing up here teaching French? Who am I to be up here teaching French? Who do I think I am?** You know? And I think that that also that has a lot to do with ... maybe your own confidence level or whatever. Although I have to say when I'm up and speaking in front of a class, I'm fine. Like I'm not nervous or you know, even if there's somebody else in the room. I mean I'm sure I make the odd mistake but ... I'm not nervous. It doesn't, it doesn't bother me. But there's just ... **there is a bit of a ... a gap between the English me and the French me**. That, that I feel sometimes **this is the real me**, and this is the ... the other ... **the accomplished me** @@but I'm still not that me. Like **I'm funnier in English and more natural in English**, and ... you know?

This excerpt is telling in two different ways regarding the identities of the participant. The first theme she explores is the "French me and the English me." She feels more accomplished, "funnier" and "more natural" in English. Grosjean (2010) suggests that:

bilinguals use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages. Context and domains trigger different attitudes, impressions, and behaviors, and what is seen as a personality change due to language shift may have nothing to do with the language itself. (pp. 125-126)

She uses French almost exclusively for teaching only, whereas she uses English as her primary language for socializing and family life. This feeling of difference could in part

be attributed to her use of language at work and at home. The second construct evident in her discourse is the idea of the imposter (Bourdieu, 1977). When she says “I’m a fraud,” and she questions her legitimacy (“Who do I think I am?”) she is shaping her identity as a French speaker and FI teacher in terms of the nativeness paradigm and she revokes her status as a legitimate French speaker and FI teacher.

Both CY20111030 and CHE20111017 draw upon discourses of legitimacy and language ownership, and in doing so they position themselves as “phony” and “fraud.” Because their discourse links the ownership of the French language with native-speakers, they position themselves as imposters. CY20111030 privileges the native-speaker in her discourse, and in doing so, positions herself as an imposter, calling herself a “phony.” In these excerpts, the participants articulate a representation of their identities as French speakers, identified in the concept maps as an “essential quality” of the FI teacher. They construct language ownership, drawing on representations of native-speakers as the legitimate owners and speakers of French. By performing and sustaining their professional identities in essentialized language categories, they reproduce hegemonic discourse that suggests the only true and authentic language users are native-speakers. This discursive construction of “ownership” is also evident in their participants’ constructions of French culture. I will take up this point further later in the chapter.

5.2.2. *Language Use*

Participants also appropriated essentialized discourses of language use in their representations of the French language, the standard norm and native speakerism. Train (2003) describes the standardization of languages as:

involving evaluative judgments and affective stances toward language (e.g., clear/unclear, good/bad, correct/incorrect, acceptable/unacceptable, appropriate/inappropriate). This idealized and authoritative (see Bakhtin 1981) state of “the language” (e.g., le français, le bon français, el castellano, el espanol, la norma culta) implies the imposition of an idealized native speaker norm (e.g., the bon usage/buen uso of the educated speaker) as the normative center and the internalization or nativization by speakers of the social attitudes and affective stances attached to this norm. (p.7)

JO20111117 constructs the linguistic norm in the following excerpt:

71. RES: ... When we say someone's a Francophone...
72. INT-JO20111117: Mm-hmm. Well, I guess first and foremost their first language would be French. And so I would think they were very lucky because they would have such **perfect French** @@@.

Her discourse legitimates the ideological construction of the linguistic norm and she attributes ownership of "perfect French" to Francophones. The nativeness construct shapes her ideology of language, and in particular, the notion that native speakers are "perfect." DAI20120124 represents the "normative center" (Train, 2003) in the following way:

60. INT-DAI20120124: it bothers me because of my French major, my BA training in French language, **I can hear the grammar mistakes I make or the vocabulary mistakes I make and I cringe**, but I know that that's probably the ... well, it's not the best...**I just know that it's not correct French to say it that way**, ...I remember when I took the French language training they talked about <L2> **la langue soignée** <L2> you know and I'm like <L2> ma langue n'est pas soignée @maintenant <L2> @@@

In her French language training, this participant was introduced to the ideological construct of the French language as "la langue soignée." Her representation of the French language as a hyperstandard language (Train, 2003) informs her identity as a French language speaker and as a FI teacher. Her professional identity as a FI teacher is enacted in light of the discursive construction of the French language as "la langue soignée." When she hears mistakes she makes in speaking, she "cringes" as she moves away from the "normative center" as described by Train (2003). Her legitimacy and identity as a FI teacher is compromised when she positions herself further away from the linguistic norm.

In these instances, the participants constructed the linguistic norm in their discourse, a representation of "perfect" language or "la langue soignée." In this construction, individuals are positioned as French speakers vis-à-vis a hyperstandard linguistic norm. By sustaining their professional identities in this discourse of the norm,

these participants located themselves as (in)authentic speakers. This construction is an example of “our basic belief about language” according to Lippi-Green (1997): “if we want to, if we try hard enough, we can acquire a perfect language, one which is clean, pure, free of variation” (p. 45). In observing representations of a linguistic norm, INT-DAI20120124 located herself as a French language user as imperfect: “I can hear...mistakes I make and I cringe”. She expressed concerns about her speaking, “it bothers me” and “I just know that it’s not the correct French”. In taking up this discourse, the participants are positioned in such a way that creates a tension with the aforementioned “essential quality” of being a French Immersion teacher, “mastery of the French language,” in comparison to the legitimate linguistic form. The French language is a code and has a system of norms to regulate its use, and teachers are responsible for producing and reproducing the official, legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1991). In this sense, what counts as a legitimate performance as a FI teacher is speaking as per the linguistic norm. By assigning a normative weight to linguistic performance, many participants positioned themselves as outsiders, unable to ever achieve “la langue soignée” of the idealized native speaker.

5.3. Monolingual Bias in Bilingualism

In the focus group and interview data, participants’ representations of bilingualism are additionally associated with representations of the French language and the monolingual standard norm (Train, 2003). Here I present the data findings that show how participants constructed representations of bilingualism and how they located themselves within these representations. In some individual cases, participants again draw upon discursive constructions of native-speakers, legitimacy, ownership and linguistic norms in their representations of being bilingual. There are discourses and themes that overlap with the previous subsection on representations of the French language in the ways participants locate themselves within their constructions of bilingualism.

The following two participants constructed representations of bilingualism drawing on the view of bilingualism as the sum of two monolingual competencies (Heller, 2001; Moore & Gajo, 2009; Train, 2003), having “an equal and perfect” knowledge of two languages (Grosjean, 2010, p.20). CY20111020 describes her bilingualism in the following excerpt:

136. INT-CY20111030: Because I speak a second language fluently? I can communicate orally. I can understand others orally I can hear it, you know I can understand, communicate. I happen to be able to maybe write better in French than my students obviously, but that’s because as an English as a first language learner, I have been forced to learn the grammar. So that’s, that’s that part of it. But yes because those reasons I consider myself bilingual. Not, I, functionally I identify with the bilingualism, not perfect. **I don’t think there’s perfect bilingualism in that sense.** It’s never gonna be perfect.
137. RES: Okay. What would be the ideal, then?
138. INT-CY20111030: **You have to be Francophone.** @@@

Her discourse references bilingualism and “perfect” bilingualism. She can “speak a second language fluently” and yet her bilingual identity is “never gonna be perfect.” Her perspective on bilingualism refers to a native-speaker ideal. She does not construct her bilingual identity favourably in comparison to the ideal “Francophone.” In this discursive construction of bilingualism, the “perfect” bilingual has an equal and balanced monolingual competency in both English and French. INT-CHE20111017 also constructs social categories of in/authentic bilinguals in the following excerpt:

200. INT-CHE20111017: So... I mean certainly I don’t, I don’t, you know, I’m not under the assumption that I could go to Québec and people are gonna say, “Oh, you’re Francophone@.” And then I’m gonna speak English and they’re gonna say, “Oh, your Anglophone@.” Right? I mean they’re gonna be able to tell the difference. But I certainly could go to Québec and ... run my life and not ... and **I could consider myself bilingual.**
201. RES: Okay.
202. INT-CHE20111017: In English I figure there’s ... there’s ... five ways I can say one thing, and in French, there’s one way I can it, or two ways I could say it, so it’s just I guess the level of proficiency. But I think a truly ... biling- like, **a truly bilingual person** I guess in my mind, is a person who can switch back and forth like when you go to Ottawa and you hear somebody

and you think, “that person’s Francophone.” And then two seconds later you’re like, “no, that person’s Anglophone.” That to me is like the true bilingual.

203. RES: Okay.

204. INT-CHE20111017: But **somebody who’s functionally bilingual** I guess that’s my other kind of definition is somebody who, as I say, can make themselves understood, who can communicate, who can have their basic needs met, in both languages.

Both INT-CY20111030 and INT-CHE20111017 construct the “perfect” bilingual as someone who has native-speaker like competency in both English and French when they refer to “Francophone” competency in French. INT-CY20111030 identifies as bilingual but admits “it’s never gonna be perfect.” This idea of perfection is constructed in relation to a monolingual bias in bilingualism. She identifies as bilingual, but her perception of bilingualism is maintained in a discourse of monolingualism. Likewise, INT-CHE20111017 refers to the “true bilingual” as an individual who switches between two languages fluidly, with native-like competency in English and in French. Being bilingual in English and French is constructed in a discourse of bilingualism as the native-like mastery of two languages: a dual monolingual. According to Bloomfield (1966), true bilinguals possess native-like control and total fluency in L2. This take on bilingualism views ‘true’ bilingualism as a coexistence of two linguistic systems (Heller, 2007). These participants’ discourse privileges monolingual language practices and . The segregation of English and French in their discursive construction of bilingualism suggests an inherent monolingual bias. For example, CHE20111017 grants herself a limited identity as a bilingual (“I could consider myself bilingual”) but she does claim status as a “truly bilingual person” who, her discourse suggests, “moves from one monolingual standard norm to another” (Train, 2003, p.8).

L20120213 questions the “normative center” (Train, 2003) and the monolingual vision of bilingualism when describing her use of the French language:

144. INT-L20120213: ...that was just me **being hard on myself as a probably a teacher, even a language teacher, right, really wanting to be perfect at the language when there is no perfect even in your own language probably,** right?

Here the participant seems to question the construct of bilingualism as a balanced and perfect mastery of two languages. She questions the dominant construct of bilingualism as two monolingual competencies. Instead of positioning herself as an inferior bilingual, she positions herself as a bilingual in practice, who is imbalanced and uses language in a variety of contexts and settings (Grosjean, 2008).

In the previous excerpts, the participants also refer to “functional” bilingualism: “functionally I identify with the bilingualism” and “functionally bilingual.” This representation of bilingualism is linked more closely to a construction of the bilingual individual as one who uses language in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes (Grosjean, 2008). All of the participants construct representations of bilingualism in terms of language use, as per Grosjean (2008). Following are some of the ways that the participants constructed bilingualism in terms of language use:

98. INT-E20120229: Okay, um being bilingual, especially for me and what I tell the kids too ... **it's being able to communicate** um with someone in the language that you're speaking, so if I can communicate and we can understand each other ... um, if I'm speaking to a Francophone and even if I'm making mistakes **we can have a conversation back and forth** that's being bilingual to me. Not necessarily grammatically um, or vocabulary but even if I can throw in some English words um and then they get the gist of what I'm saying, that's okay to me that's **as long as you can communicate that's bilingual.**

E20120229 claims bilingual identity in this excerpt because she can “communicate” and “have a conversation” in the target language. This representation of bilingualism is more in line with bilingualism in reality, which is unbalanced and used in a variety of ways. Unilingual models of bilingualism are further questioned in the following excerpts:

144. NT-L20120213: Yeah, yeah. Uh to be able to communicate well in both languages, right, and have a good understanding of both cultures, or all Francophone and Anglophone cultures, and um yeah...**not to be perfect in the language,** I guess, **just to be able to communicate well in both languages.**
58. INT-JO20111117: Bilingual. Um, it means you could function, **you could carry on a conversation with another person in that language.** ... if I'm thinking specifically of French so I think you need to be able to communicate orally, you need to be able to read it and you need to be able to express yourself in writing in that language.

114. INT-DAN20120111: For me. Okay. I'd say...for me...to be bilingual is to be...fluent in speech, to be able to hold on, you know, carry on a conversation. Um...I don't think it means to be **when I say fluent I don't mean perfect.**

These participants question the monolingual ideal in bilingualism, the idea that a bilingual person has equal and balanced competencies in two languages. Rather, their discourse suggests a representation of bilingual competence in terms of “verbal resources” (Lüdi & Py, 2009). “Verbal resources” are “indefinite and open”; the speaker “activates this repertoire according to his/her need;” resources are “shared” with other speakers (in interaction); and these resources are called upon, used, and created in a variety of contexts (p. 157). This is a fluid, flexible and open construction of bilingualism as languages are used in reality. The participants reference this real use of languages for “communication” and to “carry on a conversation.” This social construction of bilingualism shapes the identities of these participants as bilinguals, not failed native speakers. The final two excerpts contrast the two different visions of bilingualism:

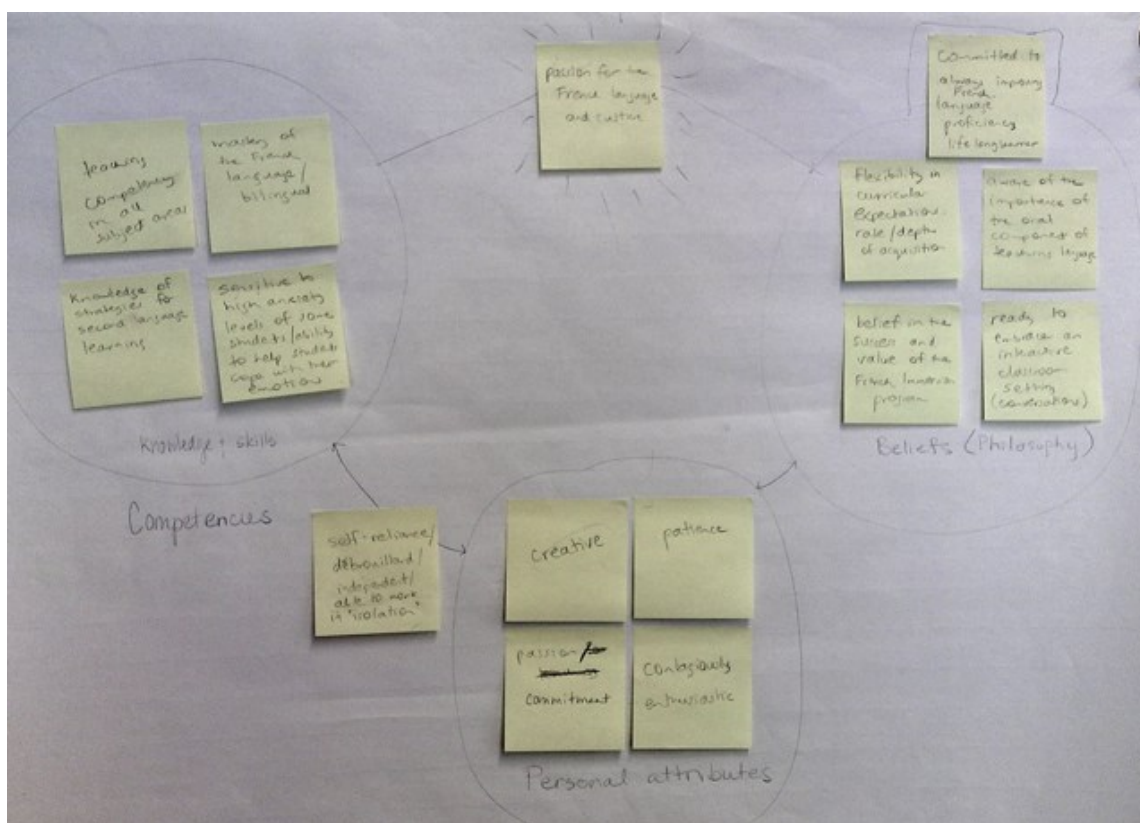
96. INT-CHR20120311: **Bilingual would to me would be someone who is able to communicate in more than one language.** Um I wouldn't even say...**to be truly bilingual I think you would have to be fluent in that other language.** Um...and...I never really ever thought about a definition of that before. ... I would say yeah being able to converse, maybe not necessarily at a sophisticated level but **being able to communicate in another language would be bilingual for me.**
54. INT-SA20111201: ...We talked about that actually in my Masters program too, like what do we think, what does that mean to be bilingual? And to be able to, you know, and some people felt, I think felt like **you had to be completely fluent, or as comfortable in one language as the other language** and I think I come out thinking, well, if you're functioning in your, like **you're teaching in your second language all day, that to me is pretty bilingual.** I would say that would be bilingual, being able to read and write, and you know I was writing essays and reading, like texts. ... So, you know but then I think that's where the common European Framework comes in too because it looks at different places for bilingualism as well, or language use, so are you using it at a university 'cause that's a certain type of language you'll be used to then, or are you using it traveling wherever because that's another type of language you'll be using...

In these instances, the participants recognize one construct of bilingualism as being “completely fluent” in the “other language.” However, they question that construct of bilingualism when they say that “teaching in your second language all day, that to me is pretty bilingual” or “being able to communicate in more than one language.” This discursive construction of bilingualism gives the individuals flexibility in locating themselves as bilinguals. These participants locate themselves as fully competent bilinguals in terms of being “able to communicate.” These participants seem to contest the dominant discourse of bilingualism as compound monolingualisms. Their discourse affirms that bilingualism is not being “completely fluent.” Rather, they construct a representation of bilingualism as functional language use. This discursive construction allows the participants to locate their professional identity, as successful bilingual FI teachers, as expressed by SA20111201: “you’re teaching in your second language all day, that to me is pretty bilingual.”

5.4. Essentialized Representations of French/Francophone Cultures

The participants also articulated representations of culture in their constructions of French language and the FI program. In Figure 5.2, the focus group drew a line connecting “language and culture” and specified the following traits of the successful FI teacher: “passion for language and culture; travelled to francophone places; knowledge of French culture; and love of the language and other languages” (FG-LSA20130515). The following focus group echoed this sentiment in their concept map with the heading “passion for the French language and culture.” All other elements in their concept map were connected to this organizer:

Figure 5.3. What are the most important factors in being a successful French Immersion teacher?



Note. Focus Group CHE20130430.

The use of the phrase and key organizer “passion for the French language and culture” suggests the “ideology of one-nation-one-culture-one-language-one-self” which “presents a view of reality where practices of variation are excluded or marginalized” (Train, 2007a, p.251). The use of “the” singular “language” and “culture” suggest a monolingual identity. The native speaker, the French language and culture are fixed and immutable in this construction.

Additionally, participants represent the purpose of FI education in terms of its cultural mandate. However, this cultural mandate is represented differently among participants. Most of the participants reference the cultural mandate of FI as the importance of learning about French language and culture. JO20111117 ties the French language to different cultural practices and groups in the Francophone world:

62. INT-JO20111117: Well, I mean at the most basic level of course you do the @Quebec, with the <L2> Carnaval <L2> which may be a stereotype but we talk about that and kind of I guess the history goes with that, you know the whole history of <L2> voyageurs <L2> and so on. Um, **France**, I have some neat little books that we look at some of the festivals that they celebrate in different parts of France. And um, the only other, 'cause I don't pretend to zero in on the whole thing but the other area I've zeroed in on is **Africa** with the um, <L2> Côte d'Ivoire <L2> kind of area. And that fits in so well because, you know, **Sierra Leone** is the country we've adopted villages there and built schools and so on, and <L2> **Côte d'Ivoire** <L2> is next door and um, we've had um, drummers and the musicians come from there. So that's, that's kind of, we do Quebec and France and then for me I do that little pocket. I know there's many other places but ... but we do talk about just how many countries in the world speak it because that's part of how we, we talk about how lucky we are that we can speak this language and that you can communicate with people in so many different places.

The notion of cultural ownership is evident in the various geographical examples this participant references in the excerpt. These cultures have the rightful claim to ownership (Widdowson, 1994) of French culture.

In her discussion of FI teachers, JA20111109 constructs teachers as insiders and outsiders vis-à-vis their Francophone roots:

102. INT-JA20111109: ...I think it's also important that not only they become fluent in the language, um, however you define fluent, you know **they need to understand the French culture as well**. They need to understand the French culture as well as just being able to speak French. I think those two go hand in hand and I think those are really important...
106. INT-JA20111109: ... We had, over the years, we had lots and **lots of teachers from Quebec** who, unfortunately many of them ended up going back to Quebec, um, but that was when you could really notice um...you know...**being proud of their culture and being proud enough um, to be able to transmit that and share that with their students** and with the students in the school. We used to do <L2> Carnaval <L2> in such a big way, and, you know, we'd celebrate <L2> St Jean Baptiste <L2> and all those things and now I find that doesn't happen as much and I think that part of the reason it doesn't happen as much is because...a large majority of our teachers in French Immersion are **not Francophone people**. **You know, they are English language learners who love**

French Immersion and love French but they don't have that connection with the culture. Or you know with a heritage.

107. RES: Yeah, that's a challenge.
108. INT-JA20111109: Mmhmm. Yeah it really is a challenge and I think we're really missing out on a piece of the curriculum that is a big, important piece of French Immersion.

This particular excerpt suggests representations of legitimacy and authenticity in terms of language and culture. Francophones, in particular "teachers from Quebec" are privileged as the best suited (legitimate and authentic) teachers for FI programs. Widdowson (1994) argues against this dominant discourse:

Now, on the contrary, it is non-native speaker teachers who come into their own. For the context of learning, contrived within the classroom setting, has to be informed in some degree by the attitudes, beliefs, values and so on of the students' cultural world. (p.387)

For JA20111109, an important part of FI education is learning about Francophone cultures. Her discourse reifies culture and produces Francophone culture as an entity: "they need to understand *the* French culture." She also positions teachers as insiders and outsiders in this discourse: "a large majority of our teachers in French Immersion are not Francophone people. You know, they are English language learners who love French Immersion and love French but they don't have that connection with the culture." Her discourse maintains that language and culture are bound and owned by social groups. In creating essentialized categories, her discourse legitimizes certain FI teachers and delegitimizes others.

Other participants also draw on similar essentialist notions of culture and ownership of culture:

188. INT-CY201111030: Because I'm not Francophone...I guess **I'm Franco-phony**, but I'm an English person teaching French Immersion...where do I fall that? Do I, **am I legitimate?** Is it legitimate for me to be teaching that culture? I can bring in people, I can take them to Quebec, I can do that. But does that make me the legitimate person to do that? Yes and no. So I'm always trying to figure out ... where I fall into that. Like...I do my best, and but I don't always have all that

knowledge of the culture and the history of the Québécois, and I have more on the Acadian history. But, who am I in that, **who am I really to be able to teach that?**

This participant's discourse positions native-speakers at custodians and arbiters of French culture and therefore she does not claim status as a legitimate FI teacher. The dominant discourse of one-people-one-language-one-culture regulates her understanding of her authenticity and legitimacy as a FI teacher. The following participant also positions herself as an outsider:

88. INT-E20120229: ... because **not being a Francophone I feel like it's maybe a bit fake**. Like I feel like maybe um...that's probably not my forte although this year um...um me and two other teachers and I are doing a Carnaval ... but in order to actually have to bring French culture into a classroom... not being in a French community, I think it's really difficult and I think that I definitely try my best but I don't think that if I'm reading the PLOs of whatever it is, I don't I'm not sure that I can cover that properly because ... **it isn't my culture**. And I was never...brought up in that culture even being in a Franco- in a French Immersion classroom...that's not a culture that was ever even really ...not explained, but it was never really lived besides Carnaval and songs and um and texts. Besides that, I'm kind of stuck.

Her use of the word "fake" suggests that a real French culture exists, but that is the domain of the Francophone. "It isn't my culture" suggests that the French culture is one entity to which she cannot lay claim. Her attitude towards cultural ownership shapes her identity as a FI teacher, on the outside, as a "fake." The next participant also demarcates cultural ownership in this excerpt:

114. INT-DAN20120111: It can be challenging to get across to the kids because it's not my, **it's not my...background** either so I would say that would be the most challenging to try and come across and that's one, I love when we have our um...oh...you know our **Quebec**
115. RES: <L2>moniteur?<L2>
116. INT-DAN20120111: Our <L2>moniteur<L2>, they come and it's just like okay, **here is a <L2>Québécois<L2>** so let's, you know, hear what they have to say and some of the lesson plans and stuff I love when you can get it from somebody else because I can give so much to them but then ... that's all I know even, or I've experienced...

DAN20120111 positions herself as a cultural outsider (“it’s not my background”). Her discourse suggests an essentialized connection between language, culture and identity: “here is a Québécois” that can lay claim to authentic membership in the Francophone community.

The next excerpt demonstrates how social constructions of identity are closely linked to the participant’s professional identity as a FI teacher:

207. INT-CHE20111017: [Speaking for] myself, you know, that, that would be probably the area in which **I was the least ... um ... competent in my teaching** in terms of ... um ... I mean I certainly shared lots of things from **Québec** that, because I’d been there and my experiences and some things from **France**, but ... you know, if I’m gonna be honest, we didn’t spend a whole bunch of time, you know, learning about **African** countries where they spoke French, and that kind of thing. Although I did always try and incorporate like, folk tales and things like that so maybe more traditional stuff. Um, just to make them understand that French isn’t only spoken in Canada and France.
208. RES: Mm-hmm.
209. INT-CHE20111017: Um ... but I wouldn’t say that, and I like the music so I’d play and music and stuff, but **I wouldn’t say it was a real strength of mine?**

Her identity and competency as a FI teacher is based, in part, on her ability to teach elements of culture from Quebec, France and Africa, to whom she has accorded ownership of French culture. Her discourse reproduces the notion that nation-language-culture are linked, fixed and unitary. In this essentialized representation of language and culture, she positions herself as a less competent teacher. The next participant also grants legitimacy and authenticity to the Francophone teachers on her staff:

58. INT-SA20111201: Yes. I find that quite difficult, but through books, music, and again, I think that’s **where it’s an advantage having some Francophone teachers in the school because I think that brings a sense of French culture**

This dominant essentializing discourse tends to construct an understanding of culture that reifies French culture. The discourse bounds, limits and defines French culture as a particular whole. These participants’ discourse represents the cultural component of the

FI program in terms of teaching and learning about French culture as an entity unto itself. In these representations of culture, individuals are positioned as either insiders or outsiders. In this discursive construction of culture, these teachers' are positioned as outsiders. This suggests a tension in their perceived professional role to produce and reproduce French culture. They express this tension as the "challenges," "difficulties" in their work, or "being stuck" in their teaching. Three of the participants indicate this tension has brought them to question their competency or legitimacy as FI teachers, feeling "fake" or "phony."

Two of the participants represent the cultural component of FI education in terms of teaching French culture and general cultural appreciation, tolerance or open-mindedness. One described teaching culture in the following ways, first from an essentialist representation of French culture:

76. INT-SU20120130: ... I think that would be the downfall and the cultural side of it I mean I spent three years in **Quebec** so I kinda can talk from that and I've spent a lot of time in **France** on trips...and ah, also fun stuff like the the uh..the slang and what not you know make it come alive a bit or well you know in France they kiss so you know some of the little c culture things are fun, um, and the vocab, so but I like yeah, I mean **it's not my culture really so it's hard**. I tell them well this is what it's like but it certainly can't come from...like when um, Marcel was talking today, the French monitor, and he's saying well this is my life and it was such a neat cultural viewpoint for them to see from within the culture...

She grants ownership of French culture to Quebec and France, and excludes herself: "it's not my culture." Later in the same interview however, she constructs culture differently when describing her teaching practice:

110. INT-SU20120130: I hope to create the context in which the **students learn to appreciate other cultures, specific- well not just French culture, but other cultures**, uh, cause we're also doing we're painting a canoe, so native culture as well, so I think cultures in general

Rather than objectifying culture as a discrete body of knowledge to be taught and learned, she describes teaching and culture as a process of understanding and appreciation. Another participant references culture in a similar way:

186. INT-L20120213: I think understanding a different culture. Having experienced that culture in some way, um...yeah, **opening their minds, towards other cultures, not just French...other, different cultures as well** and um...

The cultural element of FI is referenced as a process of learning to be open-minded about different cultures in general. In this discursive construction, the participants legitimize themselves as FI teachers in re-framing the cultural mandate in terms of “opening their minds” and to “appreciate other cultures.” These participants claim their position as legitimate FI teachers by contesting notions of essentialized culture.

The following participant references a representation of culture linked to the local context of FI education in British Columbia. In contrast with the previous examples, the following excerpt appears to suggest alignment with Widdowson’s (1994) suggestion to “shift the emphasis away from contexts of use to contexts of learning, and consider how the language is to be specially designed to engage the student’s reality and activate the learning process” (p. 387).

114. INT-CHR20120311: I think it’s authentic to itself. Um, I do think that it’s distinct from, um, as I said from a Francophone culture, and **I don’t think that makes it better or worse than anything else I just think it makes it different.** And as far as being **authentic** well it is because **it’s based on our experiences and our needs** and so like the materials that we’re creating in our classrooms it’s based on the needs of our students. And so same as the material being created in Quebec, it’s for their students and so it’s relevant to the things that they’re doing that they’re interested in and their culture. And that’s why when we bring it over here it’s not as appropriate because it doesn’t mean as much. You know, the jokes are out of context and the things that the kids are doing in the stories are not meaningful to our students so we are creating things that are appropriate for our kids, **we are creating our own French Immersion culture here.** And, so I think it’s ... **I wouldn’t say that it is a Francophone culture, I wouldn’t say it’s a Quebec culture I would say it is a French culture but it is distinct from other French cultures...** when I went through French Immersion most of my teachers were Francophone. And so the kind of culture they were exposing me to was their own. Whereas now I think a lot more of the French Immersion teachers are second language French speakers rather than Francophone, and so I think it’s changed the culture that we’re giving our students a little bit.

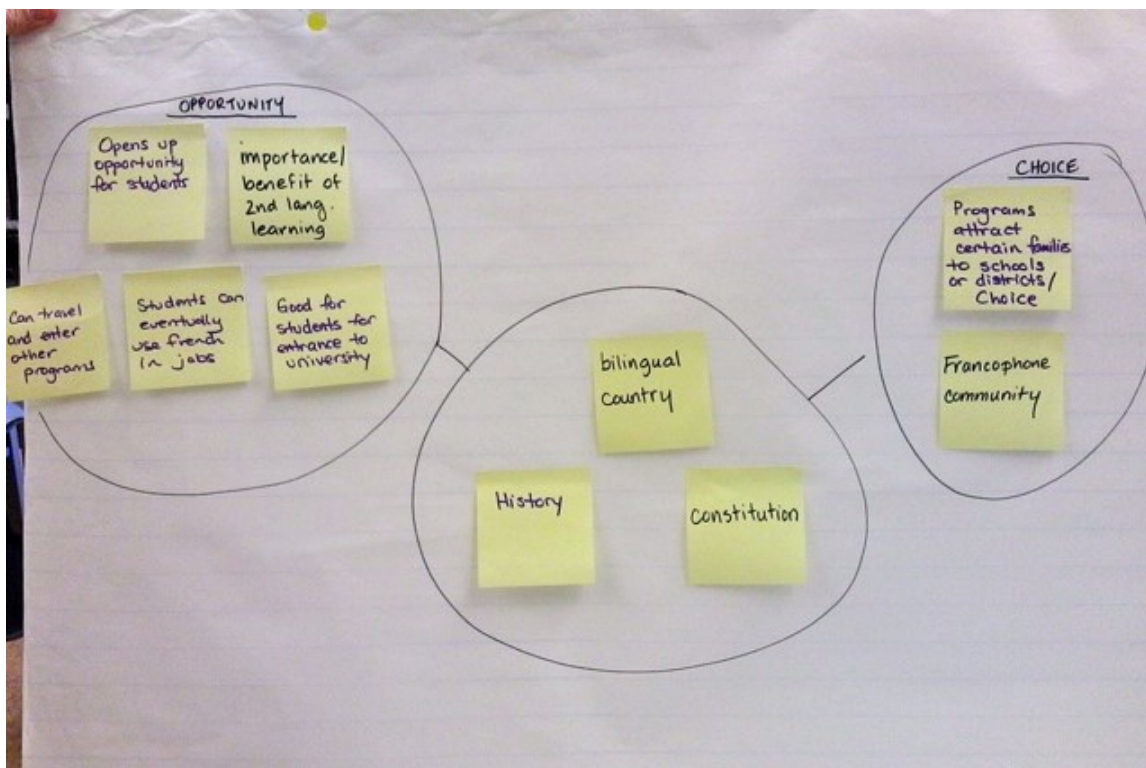
This participant articulates a unique position as a FI teacher in light of “creating our own French Immersion culture here.” She negotiates her professional identity as a French speaker and FI teacher in a specific cultural context where English is the dominant language, having learned French in British Columbia and now teaching in FI in the same context. She takes up a professional identity as a legitimate FI teacher and expresses a feeling of belonging to a unique French culture: “I would say it is a French culture but it is distinct from other French cultures.” She recognizes her unique identity between two cultures (Cook, 1999) and she claims authenticity in her position based on “our experiences and our needs.” She does not appear to defer authenticity or ownership to “French culture” or “Quebec.”

Most participants privilege an essentialist take on French culture in their discourse. “Being an English person teaching French Immersion” and its challenges in terms of the cultural mandate of the program is based on a construction of the ideal FI teacher in light of the nativeness paradigm. French culture is constructed as stable and fixed through time. Cultures, however, are “in a constant state of flux and ongoing change as they both assimilate the incoming while accommodating the existent” (Block, 2007, p.73). The discursive move of drawing boundaries around French culture positions the participants as outsiders and delegitimizes their professional identities in their professional and social roles as FI teachers. CHR20120311, on the other hand, contested the essentialized representations of culture, and positioned herself as an insider in “French Immersion” culture, unique to her context.

5.5. Representing Canadian-ness

In both interview data and the focus groups, participants construct representations of Canadian identity vis-à-vis the purposes of FI education. In both the interview and focus group data, a construction of national identity frames the overarching purpose of FI education. The participants assign value to the French language and to FI education in terms of French-English bilingualism as a marker of Canadian national identity. They represent a collective Canadian identity based on bilingualism as a key marker of being Canadian. One focus group expresses this connection in the following way:

Figure 5.4. What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?



Note. Focus Group LSA20130515.

INT-FGLSA20130515: Well we started out with the **major point** we felt was that we're a **bilingual country** and you know that is related to the **history** of our country and also the **constitution** that everyone has the right to be educated in both languages. So that was the main, uh, I guess response for why would you have French Immersion in British Columbia...I think for me, importance because we are a bilingual country so I feel it is important to have a knowledge of both languages, and I was saying earlier, I would love it if French was in B.C. right from kindergarten up that a part of the day was spent in French...

Canada is represented as a bilingual country, with a history of French-English bilingualism and a political structure to support the maintenance of the bilingual country. These participants' concept map suggests that the reasons for offering FI programs are linked to the maintenance of the French-English bilingual Canadian identity. The participants' discourse is aligned with a broader discourse of Canadian identity as an essentialized construct of language, nation, and state. Several participants reference

essentialized representations of Canadian identity in their constructions of French Immersion education:

94. INT-SU20120130: ... where I live there's Mandarin Immersion. And uh, but also, too, **I would prefer that it all be French Immersion because we're Canadian citizens** so the, the **Canadian identity for me is a really big reason for having a French Immersion program**. I am a, perhaps I would have been a Trudeau-ite, had I been a little bit older perhaps. Oh Pierre! But so um, I believe in that as a Canadian identity as well, I don't think that just because I've grown up in B.C. and I live in B.C., that I'm not, that French...facet of the Canadian identity is not part of me. Yes it is.

This participant privileges the French language in her description of legitimate immersion education programs because of its importance in defining "Canadian identity." She reproduces the dominant discourse of a French-English bilingual nation and identifies the role of the school in perpetuating the legitimate languages. Her representation of the official languages suggests "the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.46). She continues:

98. INT-SU20120130: Uh...well I think it's the true north strong and free, right? It's ah...it's the closer you get to bilingualism, the closer you get to that **true** ... combination of the two cultures, two founding cultures, I think that and culturally, you can't, I mean even learning, doesn't matter what language you learn, the culture's always woven in there, you always pick up on the culture. You can't separate it out of the language, so I think it helps in understanding the Quebecois slash French culture by learning the French language and how important it is in Canada. ..., in the Canadian education context I think that second language learning whether, whether you know, whether it's minimal like Core French for just a few years, or as full as French Immersion is, it's just part of our, we have Medicare, we have uh...what else do we have? We have no guns. And we have French at school.
99. RES: Right. Part of what it means to be Canadian.
100. INT-SU20120130: I think so, yeah.

Her use of the word "true" suggests that authentic Canadians speak French and English. Her social representation of Canadian identity shapes her identity as a FI teacher in

terms of her role in reproducing this construction of Canadian identity. The next participant's discourse maintains a similar representation of Canadian identity:

84. INT-T20120307: Yeah...we're so used to it, we're just so used to it that that should be an option, you know. ... As opposed to any other language cause I've heard the argument about you know we should be doing **the Mandarin thing** or **the Japanese thing** or **the whatever thing** those should that, that, marketing, and **you could make a lot more money doing that...** Part of it is I identify it is as part of the Canadian experience even though I am on the west coast. But I do have access, and I do have access to CBC in French and I do have access to watching television in French so, if this wasn't Canada, if this was west coast U.S.A. ... **But I think part of it is because this is Canada.** And I guess I still believe in that thing.

T20120307 suggests that "because this is Canada," immersion programs should be French "as opposed to any other language." Clearly what it means to be Canadian is to speak French and/or English. She recognizes the linguistic capital in learning different languages ("the Mandarin thing" and "the Japanese thing") but in the end, she assigns the greatest social value to the official languages. The following participant also legitimates the official languages in the next excerpt:

150. INT-DAI20120124: ... We are Canadian and for me like I said Canada has two official languages French and English, French should be made more prominent. And yes I also understand being Canadian means multiculturalism, but when it comes down to it, **officially, our language is French and English.** And that's a very big thing I find, I mean this would get me stoned, if I said it and I do say it outside and I don't care...but I said you know what, um...**this is Canada, you speak English or you speak French, that's fine, it's great if you can speak another language but ... officially these are our languages.**

Her repeated use of the word "official" when referencing English and French suggests the primacy and authority of these two languages. Other languages are dismissed in her discourse "that's fine, it's great if you can speak another language but...officially these are our languages." Her discourse maintains the authority of the official languages and excludes other languages. She clearly assigns symbolic power to the official languages by granting the "right to speak" (Bourdieu, 1977) to French-English bilinguals. The next participant also maintains a specific vision of a bilingual Canada:

152. INT-CHE20111017: ... I kind of try and share that with the kids that you may not see the, the relevance of the ... of you learning French right now ... and how many arguments do you have with people? **“They shouldn’t be learning French. They should be learning Chinese.” You know, or Mandarin, or this or that. ... and then I say well Canada is a bilingual country so that’s why we learn French.**

The crucial role of schools is evident in the struggle to maintain the linguistic dominance of English and French and this participant’s discourse suggests the primacy of the official languages over others.

Several other participants maintain an essentialized representation of Canadian identity in terms of English/French bilingualism. Canadian culture is essentialized in their discourse, as per Mason (2007):

A conception of culture is essentialist if it assumes that when the members of a group share a culture, they do so in virtue of sharing some characteristic, or set of characteristics, and that the particular characteristics they share make it the particular culture that it is. (p. 222)

The ideological construction of a shared Canadian culture is evident in the following excerpts:

90. INT-SA20111201: Because I think **we’re a bilingual country**, and that’s what makes me sad, that we have that in this country and it’s not taken advantage of, when you look at Europe and that people in Europe speak at least two languages, sometimes more, depending on where they are there and who’s, what countries are bordering them, and I think why don’t we do that here because ... we have, you know, that is part of **our history, the French and English...**

“Our” history again refers to a collective sense of a shared bilingual history. The use of the pronoun “we” implies the collective nature of the bilingual Canadian identity, in both the previous excerpt and in the following:

62. INT-E20120229: ... And um...**we’re a bilingual country**...and it’s free so why the heck would you not learn it?...it’s just...I like being...a French Immersion teacher only because I think that everyone should be able to speak both languages in Canada. ...
79. RES: Why should we have French Immersion, why should we offer it?

80. INT-E20120229: Um...essentially we have a bilingual country...so...
81. RES: Part of the mandate of official bilingualism/
82. INT-E20120229: /Part of that, yeah this official bilingualism you can't get it by...you can't get it any other way, I believe. And um I feel like just offering, **not having French Immersion goes against sort of the principles of our country** and yeah...so...

The participant here suggests the shared, collective “principles of our country” include offering FI in schools. The final two excerpts represent the importance of FI education in reproducing and maintaining the dominant discourse of Canada as a French-English bilingual country:

110. INT-DAI20120124: ... **I like them to be able to learn to understand what it means, to me, being bilingual is being Canadian.** You know I don't feel that everyone needs to be able to speak French and English, to be Canadian, but to recognize that that has made Canada what it is, it's really important. ...
96. INT-CY20111030: ...But that French Immersion, French, is culturally, historically part of Canada. And so **it's important that I think kids um, have that opportunity.**

Both participants express the important role of the school in maintaining a social construction of Canadian identity as a French-English bilingual identity.

The French Immersion program is aligned with a broader discourse of Canadian national identity in which language, specifically English and French, is perceived as being very important. Participants clearly demarcated insiders and outsiders in the discursive construction of Canadian-ness. These excerpts emphasize how Canadian national identity is aligned with being bilingual in French and English only. Learning other languages in school is not part of official Canadian linguistic practices: “it's great if you can speak another language but... officially these are our languages.” In their discursive construction of Canadian national identity, participants specifically referenced English and French. Thus, the official languages of Canada, “this language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language,” (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45) are maintained and produced in the participants' discursive construction of Canadian national identity. The participants

position themselves as legitimate Canadians in this discourse because they are bilingual, and in their professional identity, fulfilling a role in maintaining Canada as a bilingual nation: “we’re Canadian citizens,” “we are Canadian,” “we have French at school,” “we have a bilingual country,” and “that’s why we learn French.” They position themselves (and me) in the repetitive use of the pronoun “we.” The insiders are French-English bilinguals. English/French bilingualism is the shared characteristic of all members of the socially constructed group of Canadian.

On one hand, then, the participants’ representations of Canadian identity shape their membership in a collective bilingual Canadian identity. As individuals however, they have difficulty claiming legitimacy as bilinguals, given the monolingual bias in their representations of individual bilingualism.

5.6. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I synthesized and discussed the dilemma of identity negotiation vis-à-vis the authoritative official discourses of FI education and of bilingualism. I identified how and analyzed why the participants’ professional identity construction is an ongoing negotiation between one’s self and the available discursive resources one takes up in fashioning a professional identity. The participants develop their professional identities as bilingual FI teachers within broader discourses of FI education and its purposes of language use and ownership and being Canadian and being bilingual in Canada. On one hand, the participants’ discourse suggests that there is legitimacy and purpose in the work they do to maintain a specific vision of French-English bilingualism in Canada. Their professional identities, in turn, are articulated in terms of the purpose in the specific work they do as FI teachers in a bilingual nation. On the other hand, their discourses of language and culture suggest specific ideas of who qualifies as a legitimate bilingual and an authentic French-language speaker. Again, their representations of their own professional identities hinge on their constructions of authentic and legitimate speakers of French. Most participants represent the native-speaker as the ideal linguistic model, and they claim less legitimacy as FI teachers, as

linguistic and cultural models, not being “true bilinguals” or possessing “perfect” language skills. The findings suggest that these participants, although they identify the value and merit of their professional selves as FI teachers, question their legitimacy to the degree that they feel as though they are imposters in their professional roles as French language educators. In the final chapter, I will present final conclusions on the discursive construction of FI teacher professional identity and propose suggestions for reflection and action to deconstruct and challenge the dominant discourses in order to empower bilingual FI teachers.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine the discursive resources that bilingual FI teachers use in identity building. It was anticipated that an analysis of the participants' language-in-use would help to better understand the ways in which particular discourse options position and shape their professional identities. The conclusions from this study follow the research questions and address four areas:

- bilingual FI teachers articulate representations of their professional identities vis-à-vis the dominant discourse of linguistic duality in an officially bilingual Canada;
- participants draw upon ideological constructions of language and identity in constructing a representation of their professional identities;
- bilingual FI professional identities are enacted, performed and sustained in powerful ideological constructions of French language and culture; and
- participants have internalized authoritative discourses that shape representations of individual identity.

In this chapter, I will discuss these four major findings and conclusions drawn from this research. I will conclude with recommendations and final reflections on this study.

6.1. Official Bilingualism and Individual Identity

The first major finding of this study is that the participants, as bilingual subjects, are positioned within discourses of institutional, official bilingualism. The authoritative discourse of official bilingualism in Canada, as set out in the Official Languages Act, informs a dominant, collective understanding of bilingualism. The authoritative discourse is based on a monolingual view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 2008) involving two separate and autonomous languages, English and French. This dominant ideological construction of dual monolingualisms as bilingualism shapes the discourse of individual bilingualism in Canada (Brogden, 2009; Byrd Clark, 2010a; Heller, 2001; Lamarre, 2013;

Roy, 2010). A conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that bilingual FI teachers are positioned within the collective discourse of official bilingualism. Being a “true” bilingual is represented as possessing two autonomous, balanced and equal linguistic systems as official bilingualism is represented in Canada as two separate but equal languages. In this monoglossic view of bilingualism, individual bilingual FI teachers may feel that their individual bilingualism is incomplete or insufficient (Garcia & Torres-Guevara, 2010; Heller, 2007). For example, one participant treats the identity of the “true” bilingual as an individual who can switch between English and French and be recognized as both Francophone and/or Anglophone. As for another, she constructs “perfect” bilingualism as the individual who speaks French like a Francophone. Thus an element of FI professional identity is constructed in relation to official bilingualism, an institutional construct of separate and equal languages. It can be concluded that the discourse of official bilingualism gets recruited to enact an individual identity (Gee, 2001). Through dialogue and critical reflection, FI teachers need to explore variation in language learning and the differences between individual language use and institutional norms (Train, 2003).

6.2. Ideological Constructions of Language and Identity

The second major finding of this study is that the participants use particular ideological constructions of language to enact a particular type of professional identity as a FI teacher. Their use of language in these particular instances is part of a larger discursive project in which they are involved, in the way they seek to legitimate their professional selves in light of dominant ideological constructions of native-speakers, language ownership, and legitimacy. The participants compare native French speakers and their identities in relation to their own identities as French speakers. Kramsch (2009) elaborates: “we only learn who we are through the mirror of others, and, in turn, we only understand others by understanding ourselves as Other” (p. 18). The participants’ representations of the native-speaker ideal, language ownership, and legitimacy give authority to certain varieties of French and delegitimize others. In constructing native speakers as the authentic speakers of French, as the custodians of the French language and linguistic insiders, they privilege native-speaker teachers. For example, one participant very clearly communicates the nativeness paradigm (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy,

2001) when she suggests that parents have more confidence in her abilities as a FI teacher if they believe that she is a native-speaker of French. A related conclusion is that bilingual FI teachers construct their identity in a deficit model of a native-speaker ideal that portrays standard French as spoken by native-speakers as the only legitimate form of the language (Pavlenko, 2003). FI teachers need opportunities to question dominant discourse, for example, native standard language, and how it is constructed and represented in discourse (Train, 2003). Derivry-Plard (2009) argues:

La légitimité dominante, celle qui donne le plus de crédit à l'enseignant de langue, est aujourd'hui en faveur des enseignants « natifs ». Que l'on se réfère au champ économique, médiatique, politique, ou au champ de l'enseignement, il y a convergence des opinions et des perceptions communes pour créditer les enseignants « natifs » d'une plus grande compétence. En revanche, pour la didactique des langues, cette notion de « natif » ne peut être retenue comme scientifique : il s'agit de déconstruire cette représentation sociale et de construire la compétence professionnelle des enseignants de langue étrangère qu'ils soient « natifs » ou « non natifs ».

(p. 191)

6.3. Essentialized Representation of French Language and Culture

A third major finding of this study is that participants experience a complex process of negotiating legitimacy as FI teachers in light of essentialized representations of French language and culture. Both French language and culture are represented as fixed constructs. Participants refer to “the culture” as a body of knowledge to be acquired. Their essentialized constructions reify and produce “the culture” as an entity unto itself. French language and French identity, a collective people, are linked. Authentic cultural practices, then, are tied to particular linguistic groups (Patrick, 2008). A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that essentialized representations of language and culture have powerful implications for identity construction. For example, one participant feels like a “fake” in her role as an FI teacher because she represents French culture as an entity that is not “her own.” In drawing this boundary of cultural ownership, she prescribes legitimacy to French people and positions herself as an imposter. A related conclusion is that FI teacher professional identity is enacted and sustained in ways that delegitimize their authority and legitimacy as teachers. These

powerful discourses position the participants, and they position themselves as imposters, in a most destructive way to their professional sense of competency and legitimacy. FI teachers need opportunities to learn about alternative discursive understandings of language and culture that will provide alternative discourses to position themselves as legitimate teachers of FI and not “fake.”

6.4. Authoritative Discourse and Individual Identity

Dominant linguistic and cultural knowledge is constructed and maintained in authoritative discourse. This study’s fourth finding is that the participants reproduce dominant discourse and rarely contest it. This dominant discourse shapes the professional identity of the participants. The participants take up the authoritative discourse of government policy documents, curricular documents and government document regarding the advancement of official languages to construct FI education. Their discourse reproduces the political vision of official languages and bilingualism in Canada. Monoglossic language ideologies and essentialist approaches to language and culture in the policy documents are evident in the participants’ discourse. For example, several participants referred to the symbolic capital of learning a language in legitimizing their identities as FI teachers. However, they represent themselves as imposters in their professional identities because they also draw upon the national model of linguistic duality, or dual monolingualisms. The discursive construction of bilingualism as two monolingualisms positions bilingual FI teachers as inferior to a monolingual French-speaker. For example, one participant refers to “that little something that we just don’t quite have.” The primary conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that FI teacher identities are rooted in institutional discourses. Bahktin (1981) describes the unquestioned power of authoritative discourse:

The tendency to assimilate others’ discourse takes on an even deeper and more basic significance in an individuals’ ideological becoming, in the most fundamental sense. Another’s discourse performs here no longer as information, directions, rules, model and so forth – but strives rather to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behaviour; it performs here as *authoritative discourse*, and an *internally persuasive discourse*. (p. 342)

The authoritative discourse shapes the participants' representations and construction of their individual professional identities as FI teachers. The participants' discourse does not challenge the assumptions or ideological bases of official bilingualism or FI education. Future and current FI teachers must have the opportunity to challenge assumptions, test ideas and play devil's advocate regarding dominant discourses. These kinds of opportunities hold the potential for understanding and questioning the power of dominant discourse and identifying alternative discursive resources to maintain and constitute the bilingual subject. Without opportunities to reveal and question authoritative discourses, the dominant discourse will continue to inform individual identities. FI teachers need to understand their bilingual selves in light of progressive discursive constructions of bilingualism. If the dominant discourse constrains and limits teachers' sense of bilingual identity, there are dire consequences for their professional selves. An individual who perceives herself as "fake" or "phony" could very well choose to leave her professional role as a FI teacher instead to pursue a teaching position where she feels a more confident and positive sense of self in English.

Based on the findings, analysis and conclusions of this study, in the next section I offer recommendations for the stakeholders and gatekeepers of FI education in British Columbia.

6.5. Recommendations

The data presented in this study draw attention to the centrality of dominant discourses in shaping the professional identities of bilingual FI teachers. The participants construct their professional identities in authoritative discourses of language, culture and bilingualism. Within these discursive constructions, the participants give authority to certain varieties of French and French-speakers and delegitimize others and position themselves and others within these essentialized categories. The bilingual FI teacher participants in this study need opportunities to critically engage with hegemonic practices such as monoglossic language ideologies and essentialized models of language and identity. Bilingual FI teachers may re-imagine their professional identities in light of alternative discourses and linguistic theories including symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2009); critical language awareness (Train, 2003); and the framework of

plurilingualism and plurilingual competence (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009; Lüdi & Py, 2009; Moore & Gajo, 2009; Zarate, Lévy & Kramersch, 2008).

6.5.1. Recommendations for Federal and Provincial Leadership

The data of this study suggest that dominant discourse and representations of official bilingualism in Canada inform and shape individual discourse of languages, as explained by Moore and Py (2008):

C'est dans et par le discours que les représentations se construisent, se modifient et se transmettent. C'est aussi dans et par le discours qu'une représentation sociale est diffusée et circule dans un groupe social. Cette circulation ne signifie pas nécessairement que chaque membre y adhère, mais plus simplement qu'il la reconnaît et en comprend et en interprète le sens pour un groupe et à un moment donnés. (p.276)

Kramersch (2008) explains the French notion of *représentation sociale* as “at once mental structure and social habitus” (p. 321). The Federal discourse of official languages supplies the social habitus in its representation of official bilingualism as social capital in terms of nation-building, and learning both official languages “encourages mutual understanding” and “contributes to the long-term stability, unity and prosperity of our country” (MCHOL, 2013, p. 5). The authoritative discourse constructs the official languages as a linguistic duality, or two monolingualisms. Learning both official languages is constructed in terms of social and economic survival, maintenance of the official national cultures and languages and the instrumental and economic value of learning both English and French. Based on the findings of this study, I suggest that official discourse encourage individual plurilingualism within the official bilingual frame of federal policy. The official notion of federal bilingualism is taken up by individuals as they construct their bilingual identities, and therein lies a personal malaise. There is a gap between official discourses of bilingualism and individual bilingual identity.

Plurilingualism challenges the dominant discourse of bilingualism that is based on a repertoire of dual monolingualisms or the equal and balanced use of two languages, as suggested by Moore & Gajo (2009):

The plurilingual speaker is comprehended as a social actor who develops a repertoire made up of various languages and varieties of languages, and different forms of knowledge. These resources constitute linguistic and cultural capital, and multiple forms of investment. (p.142).

In the discourse of official bilingualism, the linguistic resources of English and French in Canada represent linguistic and cultural capital. The plurilingual speaker, however, is reframed from a “balanced” bilingual to an individual who uses different languages in a variety of ways depending on context and need (Moore & Gajo, 2009). Plurilingualism offers an alternative subject position for bilingual speakers:

To survive linguistically and emotionally the contradictions of everyday life, multilingual subjects draw on the formal semiotic and aesthetic resources afforded by various symbolic systems to reframe these contradictions and create alternative worlds of their own.
(Kramsch, 2009, p. 22)

The contradiction that Kramsch suggests, for these participants, is in the identity struggle as a bilingual subject in a dominant monolingual discourse. A plurilingual discourse offers the “alternative world” for bilingual FI teachers to re-imagine their bilingual identities.

Provincially, the Ministry of Education insists on a discourse of bilingualism as dual monolingualisms. Learning French in the French Immersion program is conceptualized as the instrumental acquisition of a second language, in addition to one’s first language, with the goal of becoming bilingual:

Le but du programme de Français langue seconde en immersion est d’offrir à l’élève l’occasion d’acquérir la compétence langagière nécessaire en français pour pouvoir interagir avec confiance dans les milieux où cette langue est parlée et valorisée. Le développement d’une compétence communicative en français permet à l’élève de s’enrichir à titre d’individu bilingue sur les plans langagier, personnel, social et culturel.
(BCME, 1997)

At the level of government policy, the BCME has the opportunity to revisit the official discourse of FI education in its policy and curricular documents with the goal of disrupting the divide between dominant discourses of bilingualism and individual bilingualism as experienced by bilingual FI teachers. Is the Ministry of Education

prepared to “challenge the myth of monolingualism” (Kramersch, 2009, p.192) within the confines of a provincial educational mandate and French language program funded by the federal government? In doing so, the provincial FI curricula and policy documents would recognize and support the officially bilingual nature of Canada, while acknowledging and supporting the plurilingual speakers who constitute the FI teaching personnel in the province. The essentializing discourse of the provincial educational policy produces and reproduces a “fractional view on bilingualism” (Grosjean, 2008, p.13). A plurilingual discourse of language learning in the curriculum would instead recognize the value of plurilingualism as “linguistic repertoire or even verbal resources” (Lüdi & Py, 2009, p.157). Language use is viewed as an ongoing process of “acquisition and learning” (Lüdi & Py, 2009, p. 158). Moving the authoritative discourse of FI education away from a binary construct of French-English, Francophone/non-Francophone and instead to plurilingual competence reframes ways of thinking of individual professional identity. Instead of viewing oneself as an outsider, a “fake” or imposter, the notion of plurilingual competence offers a frame for the speaking subject to reframe herself in the discourse of plurilingualism.

6.5.2. Recommendations for Educational Leadership

Critical language awareness (Train, 2003) and symbolic competence (Kramersch, 2009) provide opportunities for bilingual FI teachers to increase awareness of the power of language ideologies and the discursive construction of languages. New discursive ways of understanding the social construction of bilingualism and languages would provide for teachers new ways to position themselves as bilingual FI educators. Kramersch (2009) argues that: “subjectivity, as I will use the term, is our conscious or unconscious sense of self as mediated through symbolic forms” (p. 18). Subjectivity is produced discursively and therefore identity is discursively produced (Kramersch, 2009). I suggest, then that educational leaders at the university and school district levels provide opportunities for bilingual FI teachers to develop critical language awareness (Train, 2003):

1. the exploration (and ultimately the transformation) of speakers' individual and collective beliefs (ideologies, attitudes, biases, prejudices) surrounding language;

2. an appreciation of variation as inherent in language and learning;
3. the questioning of dominant linguistic and cultural knowledge (e.g., native standard language) and how it is constructed and represented;
4. critical reflection on the tension and interplay that exist in language education between creative individual uses of language and conformity to institutionalized norms; and,
5. insight into the sociocultural construction of speakers' identities and "realities" in a multilingual and multicultural world. (p.17)

By providing teachers the opportunity to critically engage with dominant ideological constructions of language, the native-speaker and bilingualism, they would be prepared to challenge the dominant paradigms that inform our current discourse on FI education. The participants in the present study take up and position themselves in the dominant discursive constructions of bilingualism and essentialized ideologies of language including monolingual nativism (Train, 2007a) and ownership. These dominant representations inform and shape their professional identities as FI teachers. An awareness of alternative discursive constructions of language would allow individuals to re-imagine their professional identities. FI educators need the opportunity to be critical educators (Luke, 2003):

For the critical to happen, there must be some actual dissociation from one's available explanatory texts and discourses, a denaturalization and discomfort and 'making the familiar strange', as the classic ethnographic axiom suggests. (p. 12)

Educational leaders, at universities in pre-service and in-service programs, and in professional development opportunities within school districts, must continue to provide FI teachers with these opportunities to identify and question the dominant discourses that inform and shape their identities as bilinguals. Pre-service and in-service teacher education must provide the time and resources to FI educators so that they may become aware of alternative discourses and question the discourses that characterize the status quo in FI education. De Carlo and Lopriore (2008) assert that continuing professional education and critical reflection on languages and language teaching allows educators to understand language as:

-l'objet de l'enseignement et en même temps le moyen de transmission de cet enseignement,

-un lieu privilégié de construction d'identité individuelle et collective,

-un comportement intériorisé et non seulement un savoir. (p. 94)

6.5.3. Recommendations for Future Research

The findings and analysis of the current study contribute to understandings of the discursive construction of bilingual FI teacher professional identity and the discursive resources that shape professional identity. It would be beneficial to study identity construction and the discourses that inform professional identity in other educational jurisdictions in order to observe the various discourses that inform and shape professional identity and how teachers produce or challenge dominant discourse across Canada. Additionally, it would be helpful to study a variety of teachers at various points in their career trajectories, from beginning to end of career bilingual FI teachers, to see in what ways discursive resources change as teachers are exposed to new and alternative discursive ways of imagining bilingualism and language.

6.6. Researcher Reflections

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes. ~Marcel Proust

Having come to the close of my study, I reflect on “having new eyes.” The work I have undertaken has opened my eyes to discourse in language and bilingual education, the power of discourse, and the identity work of FI teachers. I began my doctoral course work with a grain of an idea for research on FI teacher identity. In my doctoral cohort, I sought a way to better understand my professional identity as a bilingual FI educator. In my research study, I hoped that by talking with other bilingual FI teachers, I might come to better understand how I, and others, come to shape our identities as bilingual FI teachers. Through both my course work and the research project, I have begun to develop “new eyes.”

I learned that discourse is complex. Through my new eyes, I see and hear in everyday professional conversation in my staffroom and in professional development seminars the ways in which teachers struggle with dominant discourse, how they reproduce and challenge the dominant myths and ideologies that inform education. I have learned to be critical of the discourses that inform current educational policies and practices. I hear conversations in new ways when I begin to scratch the surface of our words to reveal the Discourses that inform the words we choose, and those that are chosen for us, to talk about education.

This study is a result of a collaborative project between my research participants and me. I learned a great deal about my FI teacher colleagues and the work they do everyday in their classrooms. Despite the doubts and uncertainties they expressed to me within the confines of interviews and focus groups, I hope that my participants also felt affirmed and supported in the work they do to teach in the French language in their classrooms. It is through their dedication to their students that French Immersion is lived and experienced in British Columbia. I look at the work they do with a new perspective and feel that they do exemplary work as “bilingual FI teachers” despite the limitations and constricting boundaries of dominant discourse. It is my hope that the current study provides opportunities for bilingual FI teachers to re-imagine their professional identities in new and positive ways through critical reflection on dominant discourses and consideration of different means of identity construction in alternative discourses.

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Appendix A. Concept Map Protocol for Focus Groups

Kelly Burt

French Immersion Teacher Identity

2013

Concept Map Instructions for Focus Groups

I am going to ask you to do the same task twice, each time responding to one question. There will be two questions total.

In a few minutes, I will give you a question. I want you to write down all of the words or phrases that come to mind in response to that question. You will have three minutes to do this.

Are there any questions? Do you understand the task?

The first question is:

1. What are the most important factors in being a successful French Immersion teacher?
 - List all of the words or phrases that come to mind in response to this question. You have three minutes to create your list.

After three minutes say:

- The time is up. Please count the number of items you have in your list, and if it is more than twenty, narrow down the number of items to twenty or less.

Now I want you to do the same task again, but this time in response to a different question. Are you ready? The question is:

2. What are the most important reasons why school districts in British Columbia offer French Immersion programs?
 - List all of the words or phrases that come to mind in response to this question. You have three minutes to create your list.

After three minutes say:

- The time is up. Please count the number of items you have in your list, and if it is more than twenty, narrow down the number of items to twenty or less.

Now we want to work with the responses to each question. Starting with the list of responses to question 1:

- Write each factor on a post-it note.
- Now make groups of two or three people.
- Remove any post-it notes that are duplicates.
- Arrange the post-it notes so that the items that are closely related in your thinking are closer to each other in the resulting concept map.
- Draw lines connecting the post-it notes that are related in your thinking.
- If possible, label the connecting lines to describe the nature of the relationship between the concepts.
- If the concepts on the post-it notes are part of a larger concept, draw a circle around them and label the circle.
- Now draw a diagram that illustrates how the post-it notes are related.

Now I want you to describe your concept map.

Next, let's look at the list of responses to question 2:

- Write each factor on a post-it note.
- Now make groups of two or three people.
- Remove any post-it notes that are duplicates.
- Arrange the post-it notes so that the items that are closely related in your thinking are closer to each other in the resulting concept map.
- Draw lines connecting the post-it notes that are related in your thinking.
- If possible, label the connecting lines to describe the nature of the relationship between the concepts.
- If the concepts on the post-it notes are part of a larger concept, draw a circle around them and label the circle.
- Now draw a diagram that illustrates how the post-it notes are related.

Now I want you to describe your concept map.

Follow-up questions to address to the small groups:

- What is the specific relationship between the each of the post-it notes?
- Have any relationships been overlooked?
- What would happen if a particular item was removed?
- What would happen if a particular item was added?

Appendix B. Transcription Conventions

Based on Du Bois, J.W., Schuetze-Coburn, S., Cumming, S., & Paolino, D. (1993). In J.S. Edwards & M.D. Lampert (Eds.), *Talking data: transcription and coding in discourse research*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pause	...	Pause, untimed
Breath	(Hx)	Audible exhalation
Laugh	@	Laugh, one per pulse or particle of laughter
Laugh	@you're@kidding	Laugh symbol marks laughter during word
Code-switch	<L2> words <L2>	Switching between languages
Participation framework	/	Overlapping between speakers
Content	Word	Emphasis
Comment	((WORDS))	Analyst comment on any topic
Pseudograph	~Jill	Name change to preserve anonymity (tilde)