
Faculty Open Access Publications

2020

Canadian Immersion Students' Investment in French

Kelle L. Marshall

Pepperdine University, kelle.marshall@pepperdine.edu

Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng

Crandall University, wendy.bokhorstheng@crandallu.ca

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/faculty_pubs

Recommended Citation

Marshall, K. L., & Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. (2020). Canadian immersion students' investment in french. *Modern Language Journal*, 104(3), 601-617. doi:10.1111/modl.12663

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Pepperdine Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Open Access Publications by an authorized administrator of Pepperdine Digital Commons. For more information, please contact bailey.berry@pepperdine.edu.

Canadian Immersion Students' Investment in French

KELLE L. MARSHALL

*Pepperdine University
International Studies and Languages Division
24255 Pacific Coast Highway
Malibu, California 90263
kelle.marshall@pepperdine.edu*

WENDY D. BOKHORST-HENG

*Crandall University
Faculty of Education
333 Gorge Road
Moncton, NB E1G 3H9
Canada
Wendy.BokhorstHeng@crandallu.ca*

Recommended Citation:

Marshall, K. L., & Bokhorst–Heng, W. D. (2020). Canadian immersion students' investment in french. *Modern Language Journal*, 104(3), 601-617.
doi:10.1111/modl.12663

<ABSTRACT>

French second language (FSL) education, including the option of one-way French immersion, is mandated for majority-language Anglophone children in New Brunswick, Canada's only officially bilingual province. Language ideological debates in the province surrounding official English-French bilingualism led us to investigate adolescent majority-language immersion students' investment in French, the co-official minority language, using Darwin and Norton's (2015) tripartite (capital, ideology, identity) model. We discuss 3 student profiles, drawing on data collected from multimodal focus groups conducted among 8th grade French immersion students. Our analysis reveals a dominance of neoliberal ideologies in these students' investment in French rendering it imbalanced and largely driven by imagined access to future economic capital. Language as cultural or social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) figures inconsistently in their investment. Drawing on our data, we conclude by proposing that Darwin and Norton's (2015) model, with a balanced focus on each kind of capital within the model, may be used conceptually

by educators in program development. The model used in such a way would enable educators to give equal priority to students' identity and intercultural development as to their preparation for participation in economic marketplaces, thus potentially expanding majority language students' investment in their co-official minority L2.

<END ABSTRACT>

Keywords: language investment; language ideology; linguistic capital; imagined identities;

French immersion; Canada; adolescents

In response to the increasing complexity of language learning in globalized and multilingual contexts, and the related increasing fluidity of learners' construction and performance of their bi/multilingual identities, Bonny Norton and her various collaborators (e.g., Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & Toohy, 2011) have developed the construct of *investment*, or learners' commitment to language learning (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Most recently, Darvin and Norton (2015) proposed a tripartite model to account for an interplay of identity, capital, and ideologies in language learners' investment. They developed their model principally through interviews with, and observation of, immigrant language learners, linguistic minorities, and other underprivileged populations. Their analyses centered on their participants' attempts to access symbolic capital through their learning of the majority language or of a language with symbolic capital in a multilingual world. Darvin and Norton's (2015) conception of language learner investment takes into account how power relations and ideologies may impact whether a learner gains sufficient symbolic capital, or social power, in his or her second language to be considered a legitimate speaker of this language, or a speaker with the greatest affordance of linguistic capital in a social context whether local or global (Bourdieu, 1993).

With its emphasis on linguistic minorities' access to symbolic capital, it is less clear how Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment might also apply to language learners from a linguistic majority who are mandated to learn a co-official minority language. Such is the case, for example, in our research context in New Brunswick (NB), Canada's only officially bilingual province where majority-language Anglophones are mandated to learn French, the co-official minority language. In such a context, the impetus of language learning cannot be about accessing symbolic capital, since members of the linguistic majority already benefit from greater symbolic

capital than do minority language speakers (Bourdieu, 1993). In this article, we suggest that Darwin and Norton's (2015) model may nonetheless be helpful in investigating and promoting majority language students' investment in a minority language. Our analysis of the language ideological debates in the province surrounding official English-French bilingualism revealed a pronounced influence of neoliberal ideologies on French Second Language (FSL) and French immersion (FI) education in educators' discourse and curriculum documents (Keating Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2018; Province of NB, 2016). The model's consideration of the habitus which informs capital available through language and of the role that identity plays in investment suggests a way to examine the influence such ideology might have on students' investment in French.

In this article, then, through Darwin and Norton's (2015) tripartite model of investment, we examine three NB adolescent French immersion students' investment in French with respect to the ideologies and capital informing this investment, and their imagined identities. We begin with a discussion of Darwin and Norton's (2015) model, followed by a description of our methodological design. Our analysis of the three participants' data follows. Our findings lead us to propose an alternative approach to Darwin and Norton's (2015) descriptive investment model: a prescriptive application of the model that could be used to guide educators conceptually in fostering majority language students' investment in minority target languages. Such a prescriptive use of the investment model would include a balanced emphasis of the different forms of capital to which linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) might be converted: social, cultural, and economic, with careful attention to learners' development of bi/multilingual learner identity. To conclude, we argue that intercultural approaches to language teaching (e.g Byram, 1997;

Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) may be especially useful in expanding learners' conception of language also as social and cultural capital. The aim of these approaches, in short, is to form in language learners the ability to mediate between their thoughts and actions between their own culture(s) and practices and those of their target language culture(s), to engage in intercultural interactions, and to adopt their own intercultural and bi/multilingual identity (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

<A> SOCIAL CONTEXT

To illustrate the social context in which our research was conducted, we offer the following vignette. Our research location is the largest bilingual urban center in New Brunswick where one of this article's authors resides. Her children have been enrolled in NB's FI program since third grade. The co-author is a French educator from the United States (English L1), and when she visits her colleague's family, she occasionally attempts to initiate a conversation with the children in French. She is met, however, with infrequent uptake. The daughter, Holland,¹ especially refuses to engage in French, once insisting, "No French at home!" This exclamation could indicate that she expects the co-author to speak English, as is the custom in her household. But outside her home, where bilingual interactions are the norm, Holland still does not speak French.

For example, on another occasion when the authors were shopping with Holland at a department store where the clerks were heard communicating with customers in both English and French, Holland refused to speak French when invited. As Holland and her mother completed their purchase, the cashier, upon learning Holland was a FI student, addressed her in French; Holland again spoke only English. Yet when the French educator subsequently carried

out her transaction with the cashier in English, Holland confronted her, demanding: “Why didn’t *you* speak French?”

Overall, we have noted that Holland generally demonstrates reluctance to use French in any context outside of school. She affirmed to us this is not merely due to her introversion, shyness, or language anxiety; she simply does not see herself as a habitual user of French. Holland’s behavior thus appears to be more about the imagined identity she associates with French and the imagined L2 community which she, as a FI student, believes she inhabits as a legitimate speaker (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton & Toohy, 2011). Furthermore, Holland’s assumption that, unlike herself, the French educator should have spoken French with the cashier is evidence of her paradoxical conception of language and identity and imagined communities – for the very same L2 community that Holland does not imagine for herself seems to be one that another bilingual Anglophone speaker *can* imagine.

To appreciate why an experienced FI student would not imagine herself as a legitimate speaker of French in public spaces, we turn to the structure of NB education. The province’s official English-French bilingualism was implemented originally as a response to Acadian movements for linguistic rights in the 1960s (Boudreau, 2016; Stanley, 1984). It currently provides for siloed educational sectors: separate Anglophone and Francophone schools, with FSL and English Second Language education (respectively) mandated in each sector. The province’s one-way FI program is a popular option to fulfill the FSL requirement, involving 29% of all eligible Anglophone district students in the 2016-2017 school year (Canadian Parents for French, 2018). However, duality in education and its related admission policies provide FI students little contact with Francophones at school besides some of their teachers and

administrators. Furthermore, while some funds are earmarked for Francophone cultural experiences within Anglophone schools, the funds are limited and cultural activities tend to be infrequent (Keating Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2018). These structural features may serve to inhibit Holland's perception of herself as a speaker of French outside of academic communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

We now use Holland's vignette to stage our analysis of language investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) in FI students.

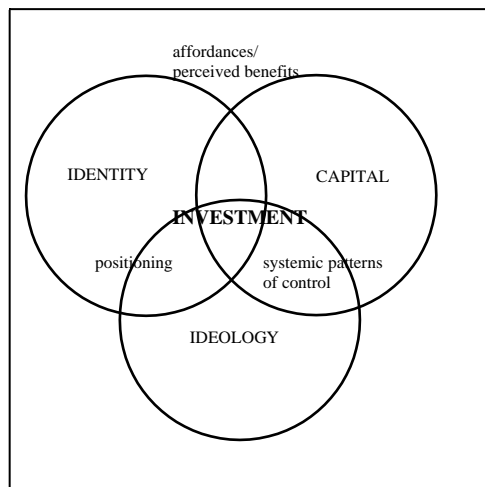
<A> INVESTMENT

Darvin and Norton (2015) introduce the term *investment* as “the socially and historically constructed relationship between language learner identity and learning commitment” (p. 37). Embedded in Darvin and Norton's (2015) construct of investment is the view that learners invest in a language because they see it as a way to access a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn translate into increased cultural capital and social power. Drawing on Bourdieu (e.g., 1986; 1993), Darvin and Norton (2015) propose that, due to varying power dynamics in communities, learners' investment in language learning may be conceived of as a tripartite intersection between *identity*, *capital*, and *ideology*, as illustrated in Figure 1.

<INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 1

Darvin and Norton's 2015 Model of Investment (reproduced with permission)



In the following sections, we briefly discuss each of the three dialogic elements comprising Darwin and Norton’s (2015) model of investment.

 Identity

Darvin and Norton (2015) consider learners’ identities as malleable, subject to influence by varying ideologies or available capital (whether economic, social, or cultural). They draw on Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, which they define as “the system by which people make sense of the world” (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45) and that forms “(...) in learners an idea of their ‘rightful’ place in society. Habitus predisposes people to do what they believe is expected of them and to develop relations that are deemed appropriate” (Darvin & Norton 2015, p. 45). Darwin and Norton (2015) further propose that students’ habitus may influence their *imagined identities* as language learners and define the *imagined communities* in which they believe the target language will allow them to participate. Imagined identities refers to the future identities that L2 learners envision for themselves, and imagined community references the community of L2 speakers that they aspire to be part of. To return to the opening illustration, it seems as if

Holland imagines herself a legitimate speaker of French solely (if at all) in her school's French-speaking community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

 Ideology

Within the framework of investment, Darvin and Norton (2015) propose that *ideologies* are “dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion, and the privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations” (p. 44). In NB's officially bilingual society, while it may appear that legally and officially Anglophones and Francophones may choose which of the province's two official languages they prefer in a given social context, this conception is itself ideological and is not necessarily reflective of public practice, particularly in NB's largest bilingual urban center where our research was conducted. For instance, local language ideologies of majority/minority language and social space (Keating, 2014) could be a factor in Holland's reluctance to speak French outside of school. In most of her community, apart from areas with high-density Francophone population, English has persisted as the language with the greatest symbolic capital (LeBlanc, 2014).

 Capital

Darvin and Norton (2015) draw on Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) notion of *capital*, calling it simply, ‘power.’ They use capital to conceptualize various kinds of power, including economic, cultural (e.g., knowledge, or credentials), or social (access to social networks) to demonstrate how one form of capital can be converted to other forms (Bokhorst-Heng & Silver, 2017). As mentioned earlier, NB's immersion program is rationalized in terms of the social and economic capital the target language will afford the students (NB Department of Education, 2001). It is

promoted as giving students the linguistic skills to secure a job requiring English-French bilingual competence locally and enabling them to travel and potentially work in transnational Francophone spaces (NB Department of Education, 2001). The educational priority of economic capital thus suggests very limited contexts for students to imagine the transferring of linguistic competency acquired in school to other social environments.

While the power dynamics in NB are very different from those in the contexts referenced by Darwin and Norton (2015) in the development of their model of investment, Holland's case gives us a frame of reference to demonstrate how the three intersecting elements of investment—identity, ideology, and capital—interact with one another to inform a learner's relationship to her imagined target language community (Norton & Toohey, 2011). In the next section we describe the language ideologies circulating in NB, which have been enshrined in the province's French immersion curriculum (Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2020). We then discuss a curricular planning document to discuss the principal goals for students' learning of French and what those goals might mean for investment.

* Language Ideological Debates and FSL Education*

As we discuss in Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng (2020), language ideological debates (Bloomaert, 1999) in NB manifest themselves in multiple and sometimes even competing ways. For instance, bilingualism is opposed by some unilingual Anglophones who protest the perceived high cost of bilingualism and discriminatory policies against English unilingualism and also by those who argue for equal access to jobs (Anglophone Rights Association, 2019). Provincial official bilingualism is celebrated by still others for the perceived cultural and linguistic

dynamism that bilingualism brings to the province (Canadian Parents for French, NB, <https://www.cpfnb.org/>). It is within this context that FSL and FI educational programs operate.

The NB Department of Education's 2016 10-year plan, *Everyone At Their Best*, details overall objectives of NB's Anglophone Education sector, including *Objective 8* which regards FSL and FI instruction. The brief version of this objective reads: "Improve levels of French language literacy to help all learners access a variety of bilingual opportunities and life experiences" (Province of NB, 2016, p. 15). In the longer description of *Objective 8*, NB's status as Canada's only officially bilingual province is referenced as impetus for FSL learning, with an emphasis on literacy in French "to ensure the majority of students graduate with an overall level of proficiency needed to function in the workforce and society" (Province of NB, 2016, p. 15). The identities possibly accessible to these FI students are not clearly defined nor actively developed in curriculum programming (see also Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng 2020). Such ambiguity related to the development of learner identity makes way for a dominance of neoliberal priorities in which language learning is defined as "linguistic instrumentalism" (Kubota, 2011), a view that defines language according to economic or symbolic value and that sees language skills as leading to social mobility and economic opportunity (NB Department of Education, 2001; see also Duchêne & Heller, 2012). Indeed, the 10-year plan document goes on to foreground the neoliberal discourse of the market value of French, noting the importance of English/French bilingualism in "today's global society," and the usefulness of French in "postsecondary and employment opportunities" (Province of NB 2016, p. 15). In neoliberal terms, then, English/French bilingualism is presented as allowing FSL students to have greater opportunities (whether through jobs or studies) in the bilingual province. Learners are "pushed"

to learn a language to make them more competitive in the market, rather than based on desire regarding language and culture; “choosing and learning a language becomes an act of investment in itself” (Bernstein et al., 2015, p. 7).²

It is, in part, this absence of discussion in educational programming on students’ identity (one of the three pillars of investment) and a concurrent overt emphasis on capital in other provincial documents (NB Department of Education, 2001) that led us to ask:

RQ1. How do capital, ideology, and imagined identities as formulated in Darwin and Norton’s (2015) investment model dialectically inform Anglophone majority language adolescent FI students’ investment in learning and speaking French?

<A> METHODOLOGY

The data discussed here were part of a larger study conducted with 31 8th grade FI students (13 boys, 18 girls) at four schools in spring of 2016, inspired in part by Roy and Galiev (2011), who investigated FI students’ discourses on bilingual identity in the province of Alberta. We chose 8th grade students because of where they stood in their FI journey: for those who had come from feeder schools into a middle school, they subsequently shared three years of FI experience with their peers at the middle school; and all of them would soon be merged with other 8th grade students from other middle or K–8 elementary schools in their catchment that feed into area high schools. Eighth grade is thus the ‘sweet spot’ of cohort identity and an opportune moment to elicit students’ views on French near the end of their first six years of FI education. While Roy and Galiev’s (2011) data consisted of student interviews and classroom observation, we hoped to elicit a multimodal data set from which to construct students’ profiles as language learners. We developed a focus group methodology, with two sessions (1.5 hours

each) conducted at each school, the details of which and theoretical premise appear in an article devoted to our methodology (Bokhorst-Heng & Marshall, 2019).³ In brief, these focus groups were designed to circumvent the researcher-centered dyadic interview context and included such activities as:

1. Pre-session writing activity (in French) with the prompt “What if I’d never learned French?” (Heath, 2000);
2. Peer-interview survey (Daily Use Survey, Appendix A) on students’ biographical data and everyday linguistic practices (participants were grouped into pairs and directed to stations around the room containing a recording device and survey checklist);
3. Attitudinal survey regarding French and FI education (data related to investment appears in Appendix B), completed by participants individually;
4. Quadrant graphic organizer, subsequently called “Bilingualism Quadrant” (Figure 2), regarding the meanings and purposes of bilingualism and how second languages are best learned, which participants completed individually, followed by group discussion.

All components of the focus group sessions were recorded using a digital video recorder and a digital audio feed. In the context of this study, it was implicitly understood that ‘second language’ in the Bilingualism Quadrant is in reference to French.

<INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE>

FIGURE 2

Bilingualism Quadrant

<p>What does it mean to speak a second language? (sub question: How would you describe a good speaker / learner of a second language?)</p>	<p>What can a second language be used for?</p>
<p>How do you best learn a second language?</p>	<p>What are the skills you need to speak a second language well or acquired through learning a second language?</p>

In the discussion that follows, we present the data of three of the focus group participants: Grace, Savannah, and Dylan. These students attended the same middle school (grades 6–8) and had all been in the same French immersion cohort since 3rd grade, which was then the first entry point: Grace began FI in an elementary school located within metropolitan’s officially bilingual city; Savannah and Dylan in an Anglophone elementary school located in the metropolitan’s predominantly Francophone sector. We included these three students because of how their home habitus and language practices differed, and yet how they also participated in the same educational programming, which, particularly in grades 3–5 were highly prescriptive in an attempt by the school district to create homogenous learning experiences across schools. Grace spent her

earlier years in other English provinces in Canada before moving to this bilingual metropolitan area; Savannah grew up in the region's Francophone city; Dylan lives in the bilingual urban center, but had lived in the Francophone city for six years in addition to living abroad for nine months. Grace speaks French at home with her mother on occasion, and Savannah, with her father. Dylan never speaks French at home. Our analysis will demonstrate how their profiles of investment in French converge at some points and diverge at others in their target language investment. Together their data reveal the interconnected components of the tripartite model of investment.

In our analysis of participants' responses to the top two cells on the Bilingualism Quadrant (the bottom cells pertain more to students' conceptions of language acquisition than to investment), their peer interview responses, and their 'What if' essays (presented here in an approximate translation from French into English),⁴ we employed constructed Grounded Theory methods involving ongoing inductive analyses of the multimodal data set through conceptual memoing (Charmaz, 2014). Data were coded through asynchronous dialogue between the two researchers, which also ensured complete agreement between coders. Themes in the data related to investment emerged through the coding and memoing. While our Language Attitude survey instrument was not initially designed to interrogate investment, we agreed upon 10 items in the survey that evoke the constructs within investment: ideology, capital, and identity. We discuss the three participants' responses to these 10 items below as a means to further elaborate on each of their individual profiles of investment. As many of the items are double-coded (for example ideology and capital both apply to 'Speaking French will help me get a job'), we did not group

the questions according to the three constructs in Darvin and Norton’s (2015) investment model in the table in Appendix B.

<A> ANALYSIS

 Grace

Grace was born in Alberta and had also lived in Prince Edward Island for 4 years; both are English-majority provinces. She is of Scottish heritage, yet her home habitus is one that marginally includes bilingualism – English is spoken “most of the time,” while French is spoken “sometimes.”

We present Grace’s responses to the top cells of the Bilingualism Quadrant in Figure 3.

<INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 3

Grace’s Bilingualism Quadrant Responses

What does it mean to speak a second language? (sub question: How would you describe a good speaker / learner of a second language?)	What can a second language be used for?
● Having fluency in each	● Going to other countries

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You can communicate with a wider range of people • Can take a word in the other language they speak if heard and not worry about understanding it, it comes naturally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicating with a variety of people • Talking with somebody in French so people who speak only English wouldn't understand
--	--

Grace's response to the question, "What does it mean to speak a second language?" touches on the ideology of balanced bilingualism, conceived as siloed L1 + L1 competencies (Grosjean, 1989). She regards bilingualism as "fluency in each [language]" and automaticity is expressed as "it comes naturally." Grace's answer also touches on the notion that bilingual competency provides for gains in social capital, enabling a person to "communicate with a wider range of people." In response to the second question, "What can a second language be used for?" Grace reiterates the view that knowing a second language may afford social capital, repeating the phrase "communication with a variety of people." She also references the opportunity to travel abroad, although she does not mention visiting Francophone regions within Canada. Finally, Grace mentions that knowing French facilitates covert communication with other French speakers. In Grace's quadrant data, then, speaking a second language is tied to social relationships or other kinds of social capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015). There are additional

indications that perhaps knowing French provides Grace a means of defining identity. For example, through the practice of covert communication, she uses French to draw boundaries between those in the French-speaking community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and those excluded from it.

Grace's daily language practices (Appendix A) showed active engagement in: reading French books, websites, and menus; telling jokes in French; and using French for communication. She reported reading French books outside of school often/regularly and regularly accesses French-language websites outside of school. She sometimes reads a menu in French even when English is available and sometimes tells jokes in French. She reported using French outside of school for covert communication. Telling jokes in French and engaging in covert communication in French (as in her Bilingualism Quadrant) underscore her conception of French as facilitating interpersonal connections and may be tied to her association of French with social capital.

Grace's essay (Excerpt 1) further elaborates her perspectives on English/French bilingual competence as tied to social capital and extends it into different forms of capital.

EXCERPT 1

Grace's "What if I had never..."

- 1 When I was in fourth grade, I had a pen pal that I talk to even today. We're friends for
- 2 life and without French I would never have [had] the chance to become friends with her.
- 3 In all my years of school, fourth grade was, for me, the worst. Thanks to French
- 4 education, in the worst year of my life, I met one of my best friends.
- 5

6 Almost every time that it's my father's birthday, me and my mother [*moi puis ma mère*]
7 have a long and detailed conversation about what we're going to buy my father for his
8 birthday. Each time, my father becomes frustrated because he can't understand what
9 we're saying. If I were in his position, I would be frustrated, too, so once again, French
10 helps me in my life.

11
12 These days I don't know what I want to do in the future. A doctor, a teacher, or
13 something completely different. Whatever it is, my opportunities grow so much if I'm
14 bilingual. I can talk to double the amount of people. My chances of being chosen for a
15 job before somebody who is not bilingual are almost guaranteed. In all, it's more
16 beneficial.

Grace first discusses her friendship with a Francophone pen pal when she was in fourth grade (1-4), speaking warmly about the support this friend gave her during a difficult year. Grace calls her a "friend for life" (1-2), indicating that the two have maintained contact. She attributes this friendship to her bilingualism in French, indicating perhaps a nascent form of intercultural learning (e.g., *savoir être*; Byram, 1997). Her response underscores the earlier link in her data between bilingual competency in French and social capital, specifically her expanded social network. Grace's imagined French-language community appears to extend well beyond the immersion classroom into other Francophone regions.

In the second paragraph of Grace's essay, we learn why she uses French for covert communication, as mentioned in her Bilingualism Quadrant response. Grace writes that she and her mother communicate with one another in French to hide the topic of conversation from her

father, for example when planning for his upcoming birthday (6–10). This ability to engage in covert communication is thus another sort of social capital that English/French bilingualism affords her.

At the same time, Grace expresses provincial linguistic ideologies in her third paragraph, especially in her conceptualization of economic advantages available through individual bilingualism. She articulates the official rhetoric that bilingualism will provide Anglophones greater access to jobs, writing of her “chances for being chosen for a job almost guaranteed” over those (Anglophones) not bilingual in French, since she can talk to “double the amount of people” (14). Notice that even here it is the expanded social capital (talking to “double the amount of people”) made possible to her through bilingualism that affords her expanded economic capital. Grace’s essay thus suggests that she has dual purposes in learning French: interpersonal connections, or social capital, and future (“guaranteed”) professional opportunities, or economic capital.

Grace’s awareness of the economic capital associated with French is again evident in her responses to the Language Attitude survey (Appendix B), where she strongly agrees that her ability to speak in French will help her obtain a job and will be important to her career success. She is also keenly aware (“strongly agrees”) of the importance of bilingualism in the province and how that frames her own investment in learning French. While she is neutral on whether or not bilingualism plays into her imagined identity – she responds “neutral” to the question of whether or not her ability to speak French influences how people perceive her – she does agree that it enhances her own self-perception: she feels smarter than those who are unilingual. While she strongly agrees that she feels confident when speaking French, she also strongly agrees with

the statement “I wish I could speak French better.” Learning French is something she strongly enjoys, and she strongly agrees that she would participate in French immersion education even if were her choice.

Taken as a whole, Grace’s data indicate that she imagines herself as one who can navigate various French-speaking communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). She reports being able to manage her social relationships through manipulating local linguistic practices (using language for covert communication). And she extends relationships outside of school or family boundaries, even perceiving herself as participating in the provincial communities of practice, foregrounding the interpersonal in her imagined bilingual identity. She also imagines future possibilities of self that are afforded to her through English/French bilingualism.

* Savannah*

Savannah was born in NB’s largest bilingual city but has since lived in a neighboring majority Francophone city. She affirms that English is the language spoken most often in her home, but that she does on occasion speak French to her father. She is unsure of her heritage.

Savannah’s responses to the Bilingualism Quadrant are reported in Figure 4.

<INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE>

FIGURE 4

Savannah’s Quadrant Responses

<p>What does it mean to speak a second language? (sub question: How would you describe a good speaker /</p>	<p>What can a second language be used for?</p>
---	--

learner of a second language?)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A good speaker can pronounce their words more fluently ● A good speaker can speak fast and understand what they and others are saying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● It can be used for getting a good job ● It can be used for communicating with other people in our community ● Being bilingual you can interact with others well

A number of the themes we saw in Grace’s Bilingualism Quadrant responses appear in Savannah’s as well. Similar to Grace’s, Savannah’s responses to the first question draw on a proficiency-based view of bilingualism, indexed through automaticity: a good speaker can “pronounce their words more fluently” and “speak fast.” Understanding “what they and others are saying” is also embedded in this reference to automaticity. To the second question, Savannah responds that a second language (in this case French) makes it possible to secure a “good job.” And like Grace, Savannah regards bilingual competency as being embedded in communication with others, indexing her imagining that language can afford her access to social capital. Finally, she mentions the intercultural/relational component of language: bilingualism can be used for

communication locally (in the community), and for facilitating interaction more generally with those who speak the target language.

Many of Savannah's responses on the Daily Use Survey (Appendix A) are at times contradictory. First, although in the biographical portion of the Daily Use Survey she said she spoke French to her father on occasion, later in the survey she indicates that she never speaks French to her immediate family. Like Grace, she reports sometimes having Francophone friends, but, unlike Grace, never speaks French with her friends outside of school. She often/regularly speaks to salesclerks when shopping, but she says she only sometimes speaks French at restaurants, yet often requests the menu in French even when English is available. Finally, Savannah reports speaking French often/regularly for covert communication with other French speakers. This is incongruent with her other responses which indicate that she does not speak French with any of her friends or family outside of school. Because it is unlikely that she uses French for covert communication in her French immersion classes, without further clarification, her response remains ambiguous. Overall, Savannah's daily use data suggest that, outside of school, if she uses French at all, it is with Francophones predominantly in public settings.

With the quadrant and daily use data, Savannah seems to value French for occasional interpersonal communication and for other sorts of social capital (using French in her Francophone community in public, but not at home). Her essay response (Excerpt 2) sheds light on additional reasons for her investment in French.

EXCERPT 2:

Savannah's "What if I had never..."

1 If I'd never learned French, I'd never have been able to do great things with my ability to
2 speak 2 languages. More than 200,000,000 people speak French and French is the only
3 language besides English that's taught in all the countries of the whole world. French is
4 an advantage on the international job market. It opens the doors of French businesses in
5 other Francophone regions of the world. So, if I had never learned French, then I
6 wouldn't want to have a good job like I would if I had [learned it]. Knowing French also
7 permits access to the great literary works and films and jingles (*chansons publicitaires*).
8 A little bit of French makes it so much more agreeable when you visit Paris and all the
9 regions of France. Because I know how to speak French fluently, I can also interact and
10 communicate with other people who speak French. French is a language for higher
11 education. French opens possibilities of studying in French universities and business
12 schools.

Savannah writes first of a general sort of capital that French will afford her “to do great things” (1). She references the potential to communicate with “more than 200,000,000 people who speak French” (2), indicating that French is useful in transnational spaces, affording her future economic capital in “Francophone regions of the world” (5). While Savannah seems to exhibit a cosmopolitan perspective (Norton & Toohey, 2011) on French as a global language, she does not reference its importance in her bilingual region, province, or even country. However, on the Language Attitude survey (Appendix B), she does agree with the statement that bilingualism is important to her because she lives in NB – although her views are less firm than were Grace's (“agree” rather than “strongly agree”). She also considers French for its access to cultural capital – “great literary works and films” and advertising jingles (7). Savannah mentions that

competence in French helps enhance a traveler's experience in France – making the trip “so much more agreeable” (8). She sees herself as a fluent speaker of French, better able to communicate with others, again suggesting that bilingual competence affords her social capital in interpersonal relationships – although with less focus than did Grace. Savannah concludes by mentioning another sort of cultural capital – French-language higher education – tying it back into her ambition to have a career in international business in Francophone countries.

Like Grace, Savannah strongly agrees that her ability to speak in French will help her obtain a job and will be important to her career success. However, unlike Grace, she regards bilingualism as enhancing her imagined identity– she agrees to the question of whether or not her ability to speak French influences how people perceive her. However, again unlike Grace, she disagrees that it enhances her own self-perception: she does not feel smarter than those who are unilingual. She also strongly agrees that she feels confident when speaking in French, yet agrees with the statement of desire to speak French better. Like Grace, learning French is something she strongly enjoys, and she strongly agrees that she would participate in French immersion education even if were her choice.

In Savannah's data taken as an ensemble, she seems to be cognizant that learning French affords her access to each of the sorts of capital: social, economic, and cultural. At the same time, there are some contradictions in her data. First, Savannah notes the importance of speaking French for communication, particularly for business and travel. Yet she does not report actually speaking French much outside of school, except for the occasional conversation with her father. It is possible, then, that Savannah's imagining of French as social capital is more for achieving her future personal (travel) and international career goals (economic capital) and less for

relationships in her current social network. She does not seem influenced by local or provincial language ideologies which link English/French bilingual competence to local economic opportunities. Savannah also mentions French for cultural capital, both through access to higher educational opportunities and French cultural productions. More broadly it seems that Savannah imagines herself as a world citizen (Risager, 2007) who speaks French.

* Dylan*

Dylan was born in the largest city in the region but has lived in its Francophone-majority city for 6 years. Unlike many students in our study, Dylan had also lived abroad for 9 months (in Australia). Dylan lists elements of his heritage in the following order: France, England, Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Portugal. While he reports that both English and French are spoken among his extended family, he affirms that English is spoken in his home “24/7,” or with no exceptions. In addition to French, he recently began learning Mandarin.

Dylan’s responses to the top two cells on the Bilingualism Quadrant are reported in Figure 5.

<INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE>

FIGURE 5

Dylan’s Quadrant Responses

<p>What does it mean to speak a second language? (sub question: How would you describe a good speaker /</p>	<p>What can a second language be used for?</p>
---	--

learner of a second language?)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Proper tenses ● Proper <i>verbes</i> ● Figurative language ● Expressions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Job opportunities ● Daily life ● Social life ● Education

Dylan regards bilingualism foremost as the mastery of the linguistic system. His answer touches on linguistic categories of competence: morphology (“proper tenses,” “proper *verbes*”) and the overlay of semantics and pragmatics (“figurative language,” “expressions”). While his first two responses involve verbs, he did not further develop the distinction between “proper tenses” and “proper *verbes*.” Notably, unlike Savannah and Grace, there are no interlocutors referenced in his response, and he remains solely focused on the speech performance itself. He also does not express the ideology of balanced bilingualism evidenced in Grace’s response, and, to a lesser degree, in Savannah’s.

Dylan’s response to the right-hand prompt, “What can a second language be used for?” may also be placed in contrast to Grace’s and Savannah’s. In Grace’s quadrant response, the theme of language for interpersonal and intercultural communication is predominant. In Savannah’s, we see a balance between social and economic capital – language is both communicating with others and for jobs. For Dylan, however, an even wider range of capital is evident in his second Bilingualism Quadrant response. He leads with economic capital,

referencing “job opportunities,” and social capital by highlighting the use of French in “daily life.” Bearing in mind that French is not used in his home, “daily life” to Dylan may represent everyday public interactions and transactions. Dylan also mentions that a second language may be used for a person’s “social life,” presumably in friendships – although, as we discuss subsequently, this does not appear in his own data (see Appendix A). Finally, Dylan touches on cultural capital, indicating that second languages may be used for “education.”

Regarding his Daily Use Survey (Appendix A), like Grace, Dylan reports that he reads French-language books and websites often/regularly outside of school. He is the only participant to report reading French-language newspapers often/regularly. Furthermore, in public spaces, Dylan reports speaking often/regularly to clerks and servers in French, and often/regularly reading a menu in French even if English menus are available. In regard to personal social relationships, he reported often/regularly having a Francophone friend, but inversely, never speaking French to his friends. And, as he mentioned in the biographical data component of the Daily Use Survey, he never uses French at home, but he sometimes speaks French with his extended family.

With Dylan’s daily use data, then, a complex picture of French as social capital begins to emerge. On the one hand, he reports speaking French frequently for social interactions in public spaces, evidently principally with strangers. He also engages in French literacy practices outside of school, such as reading French books, websites and newspapers, and, as an aside during the focus group, he spoke proudly of winning a prize at a French oratory competition held at a Francophone university. On the other hand, he does not report speaking French in his own personal relationships apart from occasional communication with extended family members –

even though he acknowledges in the Bilingualism Quadrant that bilingualism could bear a form of social capital.

Dylan's essay (Excerpt 3) response further complicates his profile. Unlike Grace and, to a lesser degree, Savannah, Dylan does not mention interpersonal relationships in his essay. And, he does not discuss the international opportunities which competence in French might afford him as we saw with Savannah. Instead, contested ideologies surrounding NB's official bilingualism are strongly evident, challenging the relationship between bilingualism and economic and cultural (educational) capital he noted earlier in his quadrant responses.

EXCERPT 3

Dylan's "What if I had never..."

1 If I hadn't learned French, I think that my life would be very similar but, [sic.] a little
2 different. Because I live in [Francophone city] sometimes it's easier to communicate with
3 people in grocery stores and around town. But if I hadn't learned French, I would still be
4 able to communicate with people because somebody would be there who could speak
5 English. English citizens don't have the same rights as Francophones do, Anglophones
6 who know a little bit of French are not considered bilingual, but a Francophone who can
7 say a few words in English will be considered completely [bilingual] in the eyes of the
8 government or companies.

9
10 An argument could be raised that because New Brunswick is a bilingual province, a
11 person who can speak the two official languages is best for the position. But, shouldn't a
12 person who can't speak the two languages, but [who] is more qualified for the position,

13 get the job? The provincial government stated that a bilingual person is best for the
14 position. So, now that's turning into Anglophone discrimination. (...) Bilingualism was
15 supposed to unify the province but, in this case, the opposite happened.

16

17 If I hadn't learned French, my life now would probably be the same. But, in the future,
18 my life would be very different because I wouldn't have received a post-secondary
19 education, because the only university in town is Francophone. I wouldn't have received
20 the same revenue as other Francophones, and I wouldn't have received a higher position
21 because of bilingualism.

In the first paragraph Dylan briefly mentions the usefulness of speaking French “in grocery stores and around town” (3) since he lives in a primarily Francophone area. At this point, he is still aligned with his responses in the Bilingualism Quadrant, noting that bilingualism can be used in daily/social life. However, he immediately qualifies his statement, insisting that he does not truly need to know French since, even if he were a monolingual Anglophone, he would be able to find a Francophone employee who is bilingual in English (3–4). Dylan then digresses to propose what appears to be his main thesis: NB’s official bilingualism has created economic and educational disadvantages for its Anglophone majority. “English citizens don’t have the same rights as Francophones do,” he argues (5). He then posits that the definition of ‘legitimate bilingual speaker’ is applied differently to Anglophones and Francophones by government and employers, with the result that Francophone bilingualism provides access to greater economic capital than does Anglophone bilingualism (5–8).

Dylan continues in his second paragraph with the view that NB’s official bilingualism has created inequities for its Anglophone majority (10–15). He raises the question of why bilingual competency should be required for government jobs when a more qualified monolingual candidate applies for a certain position (11–13). He thus challenges dominant local ideologies that afford economic capital to English/French bilingualism. He calls this “Anglophone discrimination” (14) and claims that, while official bilingualism was enacted to unify the province (it was not; see Stanley, 1984), it actually had the inverse effect (14–15). In these first two paragraphs, then, Dylan expresses deeply entrenched local Anglophone ideologies that have circulated since NB’s movements for official bilingualism (Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2020; Boudreau, 2016; Hayday, 2015). Even today some of the original ideologies of unilingual

Anglophone marginalization can be heard in public language debates, for example in the Anglophone Rights Association of New Brunswick (2019) statements regarding inequitable hiring of monolingual Anglophones to government positions.

But in his third paragraph, Dylan shifts his position and references another prominent ideology that ascribes to bilingualism social, economic, and cultural capital. He postulates that, while his current life would be the same if he had not learned French, his future life would likely be very different (17–21). Regarding cultural capital (education) Dylan writes that, without bilingual competence in French, he would not be able to attend what he believes is his only post-secondary option (17–19): the local Francophone university (he disregards the options of attending a local private English university or university elsewhere). And regarding economic and social capital, he confidently asserts that his bilingualism will provide him the same economic capital afforded Francophones vis-à-vis salary and position (19–21).

In his Language Attitude survey (Appendix B) responses, there is further complexity in Dylan's investment. Unlike Grace and Savannah, he "disagrees" with the statement that living in NB increases the value of learning French, and he is neutral on whether or not bilingualism is important to NB's identity, as is also evidenced in his essay response. He "strongly disagrees" with the statement that bilingualism enhances his self-perception vis-à-vis a unilingual speaker and is neutral as to whether or not bilingualism enhances his imagined identity. Like Grace and Savannah, he is very confident when speaking in French yet also expresses a strong desire to speak French better. And again, like Grace and Savannah, he enjoys speaking in French and would attend French immersion education even if were his choice.

There is thus paradox and contradiction in Dylan's discourse as he traverses one version of Anglophone habitus framed by ideologies of Anglophone rights, to the habitus of government and school (strongly evident in FSL curricular documents) framed by neoliberal ideologies of economic capital accessed through bilingualism. Dylan's investment in French ultimately appears to be not socially but pragmatically driven, with French associated primarily with local or provincial public and professional communities of practice. Notably absent from his data is any reference to private interactions with Francophones or international opportunities.

<A> DISCUSSION

In framing this analysis, we asked: How do capital, ideology, and imagined identities as formulated in Darvin and Norton's (2015) investment model dialectically inform majority language adolescent students' investment in learning and speaking French? Our analysis of Grace, Savannah, and Dylan's data reveal the complex interplay between ideology and capital as constructs in the investment model and their dialogic relationship with students' imagined identities. To help guide us through these complexities, it is useful to think of the three kinds of capital – economic, cultural, and social – and how each of these forms of capital connect to their imagined bilingual identities and their potentials as legitimate speakers of French.

First, these students' investment in French and accompanying imagined bilingual identity is informed by the neoliberal ideologies of linguistic instrumentalism and economic capital. The strong value that our three student participants gave to economic capital is not surprising. As we saw in the 10-year-plan (Province of NB, 2016), and expressed even more strongly in specific curricular learning objectives (Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2020; NB Department of Education, 2001), the schools clearly envision students as members of English-French bilingual

communities of practice with the common goal of access to economic capital (future jobs) afforded through bilingualism, both provincially and internationally. Grace imagines a future career somewhere in NB that might require English/French bilingual competence. In that imagining, she is confident of her rightful place as a legitimate bilingual speaker of French, guaranteed twice the opportunities of those afforded to an English monolingual speaker. Dylan's response is more complex. Like Grace, he certainly regards his bilingual competence as essential to his participation in an imagined local or provincial educational and professional community. However, Dylan regards this as a contested imagining, driven by language ideologies of Anglophone majority disenfranchisement. Thus, while he regards himself as a legitimate speaker of French, with the right to access the economic capital that bilingualism affords, he anticipates having to continuously fight for that access and for the full realization of his perceived rightful capital. And, in Savannah's discourse, noticeably absent is any reference to linguistic ideologies on official bilingualism with respect to local economic capital. She does still imagine French as integral to her future career, but in global rather than local spaces.

Secondly, Savannah's and Dylan's responses index their imagining of French as facilitating access to cultural capital in its various forms. Each of them imagines their higher educational opportunities as contingent on their bilingualism in French – though Dylan's imagining is restricted to his local region, whereas Savannah's extends to international Francophone institutions. And, Savannah is the only one of these students to speak of her competence in French affording her increased access to French-language cultural productions.

The third form of capital, social, is understood very differently by each student, and again speaks into each one's different imagined linguistic identity. Grace prioritizes social capital as

she discusses its importance in her relationships, both through familial ties and intercultural friendships. Her habitus provides for bilingualism as part of her familial community of practice; and she employs her bilingual competence to build and manage relationships with Francophones outside her family, as she did with her Francophone pen pal. Given the assumed naturalness of the exchange of linguistic and social capital, she appears to regard herself as a legitimate speaker of French in various social spaces. Oddly, while Savannah's discourse indicates bilingual competence in French would enable her to speak to Francophones in local and international spaces, unlike Grace, it does not evidence an interpersonal orientation – language as a means to know others. Savannah's imagining of social capital through interpersonal communication is principally about facilitating her access to products, goods, and experiences. Dylan's imagining too, may have more to do with performance of French in public spaces and less to do with interpersonal relationships, as suggested by both his daily use data and his Bilingualism Quadrant responses that regard using 'accurate' code as defining bilingualism. Thus, Savannah and Dylan both seem to imagine their legitimacy as a speaker of French more narrowly than does Grace in the sense that, outside of school, they restrict their use of French to their public but not personal lives.

As we noted in our earlier discussion of the 10-year-plan, overt efforts to develop students' bi/multilingual identity do not figure dominantly in curriculum and long-term planning for NB's French immersion education. Even so, Grace's, Savannah's, and Dylan's case studies demonstrate that students do in fact create for themselves a unique sense of imagined identity as language learners, independently from their schooling (Duff, 2002; Kramsch, 2009). Grace's imagined identity is very much informed by her bilingual home context and interpersonal

relationships. In her essay, Savannah imagines herself as eventually participating in international business, a fluent bilingual player in a cosmopolitan world. And Dylan's imagined identity draws on Anglophone rights ideologies; he presents himself as a beleaguered Anglophone who must learn French to be accorded the same sorts of opportunities as he imagines bilingual Francophones enjoy. For each of these students, then, even without explicit development at school, their imagined bilingual identity has become an important component of their overall investment in learning and speaking French. Thus in our data we see that, while our student participants share similar educational experiences, there is both convergence and divergence in each one's investment and imagined identity, reminding us of Norton's (2013) view of identity as inherently complex, fluid, and even multiple.

We recognize that these students' data may only be taken as representative of their views during a brief moment in their longitudinal trajectories as language learners – their responses might have been different even a few days or months after their participation in our focus groups. Likewise, while the focus group methodology afforded us multiple sources from which to create these students' profiles of investment, our analysis did reveal ambiguities in their responses. Without observation of students' actual language practices, we have no way of knowing how accurate their self-reported data might be, nor how their language practices might change over time. These limitations must be taken into account in the interpretation of these data and their generalizability.

<A> CONCLUSION

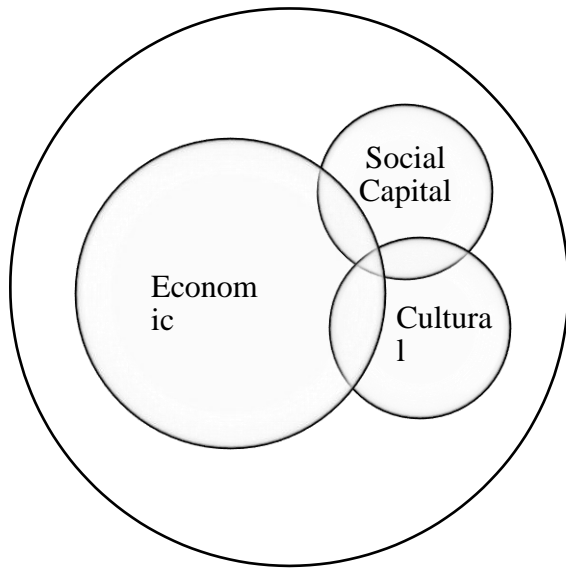
Through our analysis, we have investigated the complex interplay between ideology, capital, and identity within the investment model as it played out for Anglophone majority

learners of French, New Brunswick's co-official minority language. What we consider here in our conclusion are the implications this investment model has for instructed SLA in majority/minority language contexts. Again, we want to emphasize that, while our topic of discussion has been the investment of students from the linguistic majority in learning the minority's language, it does not have to do with their gaining of symbolic capital on the local linguistic marketplace. We suggest the implications have more to do with how the application of Darwin and Norton's (2015) model renders transparent the imbalances in these three students' investment in French and the implications of what that imbalance means for their development of bi/multilingual identity. It is hardly surprising to see that Grace, Savannah, and Dylan have unique profiles of investment, but perhaps the most striking element was their unanimous affirmation that, no matter whatever else it may be for, English/French bilingual competence is imagined to be for future employment. In this regard, economic capital – which these students prioritize due to the dominance of neoliberal ideologies in their habitus – unifies their imaginings, and, we would argue, limits the full potential of their development of identity as legitimate bi/multilingual speakers within their school experience. Even Grace, who stands out as an outlier with her dominant alignment with social capital in her investment, imbibes the significance of economic capital to her bilingual competency. This dominance of economic capital can be envisioned as a Venn diagram within the *capital* circle of the model of investment (Figure 6), where economic capital dominates in the students' investment, with cultural capital and social capital figuring into their collective investment to a lesser extent.

<INSERT FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 6

Disproportionally Distributed Imaginings of Capital



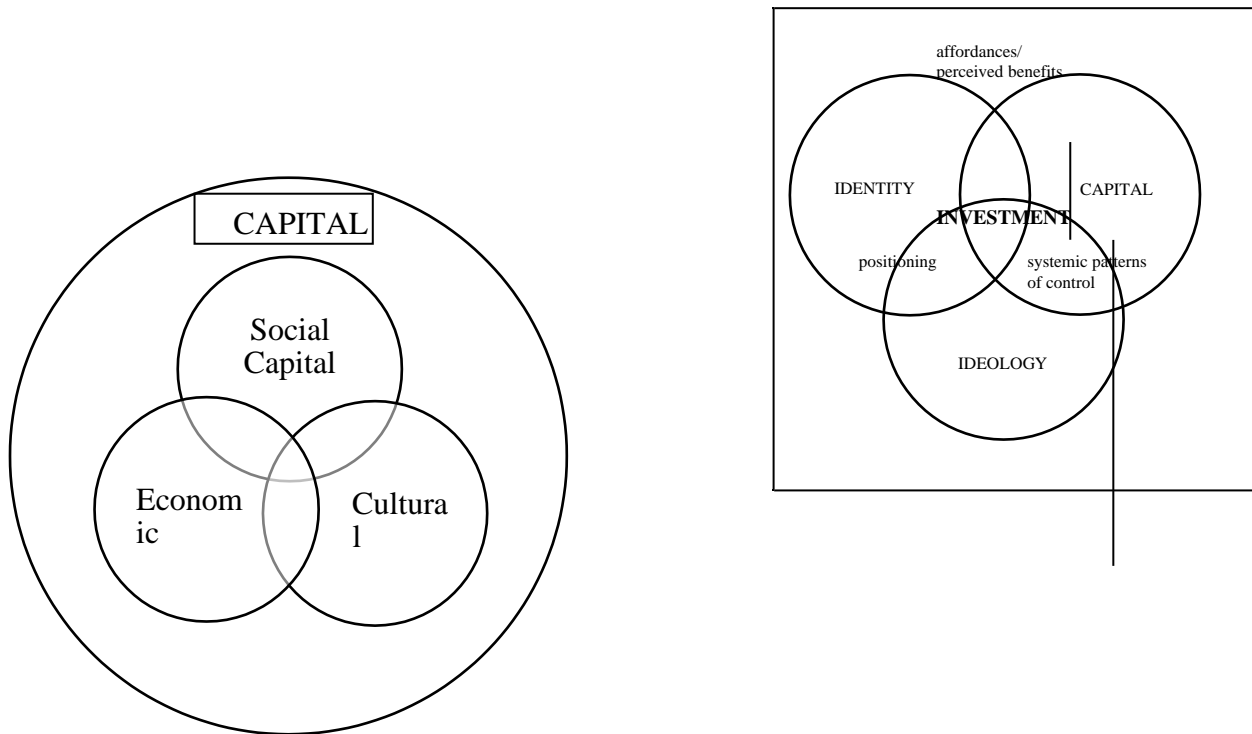
This disproportionate distribution of capital in our findings reveals a new potential application of Darwin and Norton’s (2015) model of investment (see Figure 7). In addition to describing students’ investment in their target language, we propose that the model may also be of use conceptually within language teacher education and second language programming and practice. Educators’ awareness of investment’s three constructs, capital, identity, and ideology, particularly in contexts where majority language speakers learn minority languages for their instrumental value, might enable educators to provide students an alternative to the neoliberal discourses that frame such learning. While habitus (in this case the greater value given to economic capital) is “generally resistant to change” (Bokhorst-Heng & Silver, 2017, p. 335), it is nonetheless possible for educators to broaden the individual choices that students make within their habitus and communities of practice. This conception of the model would foreground the objective of a more balanced relationship between the different kinds of capital in the development of learners’ investment in their target language (see Figure 7), such that their

identity and intercultural development (e.g., Byram, 1997; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) are of equal priority to educators as their preparation for participation in local, national, and global marketplaces.

<INSERT FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 7

Balanced Distributed Imaginings of Capital



In this Venn diagram (Figure 7), we propose that the relationship between the three forms of capital may be conceived of as balanced distribution of social, economic, and cultural capital, where no form of capital supersedes the others in size or importance. Of course, one's valuing of capital may change over time, and so complete and consistent synchronous equilibrium in a learner's valuing of the three forms of capital is likely rare. However, we suggest that if educators present to majority language students a more balanced conception of the sorts of capital available to them as learners of a minority language, students might in turn develop a

more holistic sense of investment in their target language – one that takes into account not just what their linguistic competence will enable them to do, but also the identity positions available to them as bi/multilinguals in relation to their expanded habitus. To this end, we align with Roy and Galiev (2011) who underscore the importance of the development of majority language students’ meta-awareness of their L2 linguistic identities through activities that foster learner reflection on the development of their identity as bi/multilingual persons.

In practical terms, as a way to enhance language learners’ investment in educational contexts where language learning is principally associated with economic capital, a concerted effort should be made to increase students’ conception of language as a way to access L2 communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) outside of the school walls (and outside imagined future workplaces). For example, language programs—immersion or otherwise—should include a greater emphasis on intercultural learning objectives (e.g., Byram, 1997; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) and include activities such as telecollaborative exchanges (Ware & Kessler, 2014) or sister school partnerships (State Government of Victoria, 2015). Consideration could also be given to other sorts of intercultural activities or service learning (e.g., Grim, 2010) in which students might use or be exposed to the target language and target language speakers. In this regard, language learning may be conceived of as much more than an obligation but rather as a gateway to many cultures and groups of people in ways that build local communities of practice. Furthermore, examples of meta-reflective activities designed to encourage students to imagine their language learner identity beyond the neoliberal default include linguistic self-portraits (Melo-Pfeifer, 2017), digital storytelling (Hull & Katz, 2006), or cultural artifact activities (Deardorff, 2012). In conclusion, we propose that a stronger emphasis in programming

and curricula on language learning as both transformative and as a means to access social capital, with a lesser ideological emphasis on economic capital, could provide a way to cultivate majority language students' investment in minority languages in ways that are both additive to their communities and transformative to their identities as legitimate speakers of their L2 outside of school walls.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this article was financially supported in part by the *Seaver Research Council Grant* and the *Dean's Research Grant* at Pepperdine University and the *Stephen & Ella Steeves Research Scholarship Fund* at Crandall University. We thank the school district and school administrators for their support in giving us access to their schools and students for our research, and the students involved in our project for their engagement and candour. We thank our research assistant and outside consultant for their technical advice, and we thank Holland for her permission to use the opening vignette. Finally, we are grateful to the two anonymous reviewers and Marta Antón for feedback on earlier drafts of this manuscript.

NOTES

1. 'Holland' has granted us permission to include this account.
2. We provide a detailed discussion regarding the language ideologies that frame FSL education and L2 use in NB in Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng (2020). In that article, we demonstrate how the

provincial language ideologies are unique vis-à-vis those in most other provinces and how they feature prominently in shaping discourses surrounding FSL education.

3. The politicized local meanings of bilingualism limited our use of the terms ‘bilingual’ or ‘bilingualism’ in the quadrant. However, students did use these terms.

4. The original essays are not included here due to space constraints; they are available as Online Supporting Information. Note that our translation aims to capture the apparent intended meanings conveyed in the students’ essays, and as such glosses over any variation in grammatical accuracy occurring in the students’ writing.

REFERENCES

- Anglophone Rights Association of New Brunswick. (2019). Our Goals. Accessed 4 July 2019 at <https://www.aranb.ca/our-goals/>
- Bernstein, K. A., Hellmich, E. A., Katznelson, N., Shin, J., & Vinall, K. (2015). Critical perspectives on neoliberalism in second/foreign language education. *L2 Journal*, 7, 3–14.
- Blommaert, J. (Ed.). (1999). *Language ideological debates*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. & Keating Marshall, K. (2019). Informing research (practices) through pedagogical theory: Focus groups with adolescents. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 42(2), 148–162.
- Bokhorst-Heng, W. D., & Silver, R. E. (2017). Contested spaced in policy enactment: A Bourdieusian analysis of language policy in Singapore. *Language Policy*, 16, 333–351.
- Boudreau, A. (2016). *À l'ombre de la langue légitime: L'Acadie dans la Francophonie* [In the shadow of the legitimate language: Acadie in la Francophonie]. Paris: Classiques Garnier.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. F. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–58). New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Language and symbolic power*. (John Thompson, Ed.; Gino Raymond Transl.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Canadian Parents for French (CPF). (2018). French as a second language enrolment statistics 2012-2013 to 2016-2017. Accessed 4 July 2019 at <https://cpf.ca/en/files/Enrolement-Stats-2018-web.pdf>
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd Ed.). London: Sage.
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 36–56.
- Deardorff, D. (2012). Cultural artifact. In K. Berardo & D. Deardorff (Eds.), *Building cultural competence: Innovative activities and models* (pp. 155–157). Sterling, VA: Stylus Pub.
- Duchêne, A., & Heller, M. (2012). *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. New York: Routledge.
- Duff, P. A. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics*, 23, 289–322.
- Grim, F. (2010). Giving authentic opportunities to second language learners: A look at a French service-learning project. *Foreign Language Annals*, 43, 605–623.
- Grosjean, F. (1989). Neurolinguists, beware! The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. *Brain and Language*, 36, 3–15.
- Hayday, M. (2015). *So they want us to learn French: Promoting and opposing bilingualism in English-Speaking Canada*. Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.
- Heath, S. B. (2000). Seeing our way into learning. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30, 121–132.

Hull, G. A., & Katz, M. (2006). Crafting an agentive self: Case studies of digital storytelling.

Research in the Teaching of English, 41, 43–81.

Keating, K. L. (2014). Discourses of minority francophone space: The emergent role of an

Acadian cultural center. *Language in Society, 43*, 515–538.

Keating Marshall, K. & Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. (2018). “I wouldn’t want to impose!”

Intercultural mediation in French immersion. *Foreign Language Annals, 51*. 290–312

Kramsch, C. (2009). *The multilingual subject: What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kubota, R. (2011). Questioning linguistic instrumentalism: English, neoliberalism, and language

tests in Japan. *Linguistics and Education, 22*, 248–260.

Lave, J., & Wenger, É. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LeBlanc, M. (2014). Les atouts et avantages du bilinguisme à Moncton: Entre discours et réalité

[Assets and advantages of bilingualism in Moncton: Between discourses and reality].

Minorités Linguistiques et Société/Linguistic Minorities and Society, 4, 154–174.

Accessed 4 July 2019 at [https://icrml.ca/fr/recherches-et-](https://icrml.ca/fr/recherches-et-publications/references/item/69639-les-atouts-et-avantages-du-bilinguisme-a-moncton-entre-discours-et-realite)

[publications/references/item/69639-les-atouts-et-avantages-du-bilinguisme-a-moncton-entre-discours-et-realite](https://icrml.ca/fr/recherches-et-publications/references/item/69639-les-atouts-et-avantages-du-bilinguisme-a-moncton-entre-discours-et-realite)

Liddicoat, A., & Scarino, A. (2013). *Intercultural language teaching and learning*. Malden, MA:

Wiley-Blackwell.

- Marshall, K. L., & Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. (forthcoming, 2020). Language ideological debates and intercultural learning in French immersion education. *Canadian Modern Language Review*.
- Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2017). Drawing the plurilingual self: How children portray their plurilingual resources. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 55, 1–20.
- New Brunswick Department of Education. (2001). *Foundations for French language arts French immersion in Atlantic Canada* (Document number 840190). New Brunswick: New Brunswick Department of Education, Educational Programs and Services Branch. Accessed 4 July 2019 at <https://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/ed/pdf/K12/curric/FSL/FrenchLanguageArtsInFrenchImmersion.pdf>
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. [2nd edition]. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching*, 44, 412–446.
- Norton Peirce, B. N. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 9–31.
- Province of New Brunswick. (2016). 10-year education plan: Everyone at their best (Anglophone sector). Fredericton: Department of Education and Early Childhood Development. ISBN ISBN 978-1-4605-1129-9. Accessed 4 July 2019 at <https://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/ed/pdf/K12/EveryoneAtTheirBest.pdf>

- Risager, K. (2007). *Language and culture pedagogy: From a national to a transnational paradigm*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Roy, S., & Galiev, A. (2011). Discourses on bilingualism in Canadian French immersion programs. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 67, 351–376.
- Stanley, D. M. M. (1984). *Louis Robichaud: A decade of power*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing.
- State Government of Victoria, Department of Education and Training. (2015). Sister school resource kit. Accessed 6 July 2019 at <https://www.education.vic.gov.au/Documents/school/principals/management/IRU-SSkit-SisSchRKitver2.pdf>
- Ware, P., & Kessler, G. (2014). Telecollaboration in the secondary language classroom: Case study of adolescent interaction and pedagogical integration. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 29, 427–450. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2014.961481>

Appendix A.

Daily Use Survey

	Grace	Savannah	Dylan
I know a lot about French	SA	SA	SA
I watch French television	N	N	S
I read French newspapers	N	N	OR
I watch French movies	N	N	N
I read French books	OR	OR	OR
I listen to French music	N	S	N
I read French magazines	N	S	N
I read French comics	N	S	N
I read French websites	OR	S	OR
I speak to my parents and siblings in French	S	N	N
I speak to a grandparent, aunt, uncle or cousins in French	S	S	S
I have a Francophone friend	SA	A	SA
I speak French to my friends outside of school	S	N	N
I speak French to sales clerks when I go shopping	S	OR	OR
I speak French at restaurants	S	S	OR

I choose to read a menu in French even when English is available	S	OR	OR
I tell jokes in French	S	N	N
I speak French so that others will not understand what I am saying, other than the person I'm speaking with	OR	OR	N

(Strongly Agree (SA); Agree (A); Often/Regularly (OR); Sometimes (S); Never (N))

Appendix B.

Language Attitude Survey: Investment

	Grace	Savannah	Dylan
Being able to speak both English and French is important to me because I live in New Brunswick	SA	A	D
Bilingualism is important to New Brunswick's identity	SA	N	N
Knowing French will not be very important to my success in my future career	SD	SD	SD
Speaking French will help me get a job	SA	SA	SA
Being able to speak French doesn't make any difference to how people perceive me (e.g., if they think I am smart)	N	A	N
I feel smarter than someone who can only speak one language	A	D	SD
I would be in French immersion even if it were completely my choice	SA	SA	SA
I wish I could speak French better	SA	A	SA
I feel confident when I speak in French	SA	SA	SA
I enjoy speaking French	SA	SA	SA

(Strongly Agree (SA); Agree (A); SD (Strongly Disagree); Disagree (D); Neutral (N))