

Official language bilingualism to the exclusion of multilingualism: immigrant student perspectives on French as a second official language in 'English-dominant' Canada

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This study explores the implications of Canada's official bilingual status on young immigrant adults who are presently studying at the undergraduate level at university. More precisely, I examine how these young adults have experienced and judge French as a second official language (FSOL) learning in 'English-dominant' regions of Canada. Through a questionnaire and interviews, the participants reveal that they invest in FSOL with the goal of adding French to their multilingual repertoire that includes English primarily in hopes of future economic gain. Examining the data through the lens of investment, I posit that access to FSOL as an investment and conversion of the investment into economic gain is mitigated by unequal positions of power that highlight Canada's emphasis on official language bilingualism to the practical exclusion of multilingualism. I suggest that means to change unequal practices may lie in the bi-directionality of relations between education and society and propose that rather than having language education in Canada reflect the official discourse, that education be used as a means to influence the discourse and practice thereof to be more inclusive of all languages.

Cette étude explore les implications du statut bilingue officiel du Canada sur les jeunes adultes immigrants qui étudient actuellement à l'université avant la licence. Plus précisément, j'examine comment ces jeunes adultes ont éprouvé et jugent l'apprentissage du français comme deuxième langue officielle dans des régions du Canada où l'anglais domine. Par un questionnaire et des entrevues, les participants indiquent qu'ils investissent dans leur apprentissage du français comme deuxième langue officielle avec le but d'ajouter le français à leur répertoire multilingue, qui inclut l'anglais, principalement dans les espoirs du futur gain économique. Examinant les données par l'investissement, je postule que l'accès au français comme investissement et la conversion de cet investissement en gain économique sont atténués par les positions inégales de la puissance qui accentuent l'emphase du Canada sur le bilinguisme de langues officielles à l'exclusion quasi du multilinguisme. Je propose que les moyens de changer des pratiques inégales puissent se situer dans la Bi-directionnalité des relations entre l'éducation et la société et suggère que plutôt qu'en ayant l'éducation de langue au Canada réfléchir le discours officiel, que l'éducation soit employée en tant qu'un moyen d'influencer le discours et la pratique pour mieux inclure toutes les langues.

Keywords: cultural identity; language learning; multilingualism; multiculturalism; second language learning

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Multilingualism is common around the world (Edwards, 1994); Canada is not an exception. Being a country of successive immigration, Canada's linguistic diversity has continued to increase over the past several decades. It is also common throughout the world for governments to declare a language or languages to be the official language(s) of a country. In the same vein, the federal government of Canada declared English and French as Canada's official languages with the Official Languages Act of 1969 (Canada, 1985b). Such official language recognition gave rise to opposition among other linguistic groups. In response to such resistance, the federal government then adopted an official policy of multiculturalism within the bilingual framework. The official policy, The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1985a), claimed that recognition of English and French did not remove any rights or privileges associated with other languages, nor did it deny the use of such languages. Despite its mandated focus on multiculturalism, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1985a) recognized language as part of culture. The Act (Canada, 1985a) declared it Canadian policy 'to preserve and enhance the use of languages, other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada' and 'to facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada' (p. 5).

Despite these official policies to preserve and enhance the use of other languages, the Canadian federal government has done little by way of educational practice in support of such policy. Language education in Canada reflects the above-described official discourse in that it limits educational language rights to English and French. At the federal level, where the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) guarantees education in the language of the official language minority to the minority population in the province in which it lives, it does not secure second language learning nor learning in languages other than English or French. Likewise, under provincial/territorial responsibility, programming in schools reflects the official status of English and French by limiting other languages – when present – to the periphery, by frequently offering classes in immigrant languages solely after school or on the weekend. In fact, the vast majority of immigrant languages are not represented in the recognized school curriculum (Clyne, Hunt, & Isaakidis, 2004; Extra & Gorter, 2008).

In examining English-dominant Canada, the focus of this study, four of the five English-dominant provinces where second language education is compulsory, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Prince Edward Island, FSOL is the sole option to fulfill the second language requirement. In the remaining fifth province, British Columbia, although students may have the option to study another language, where available, the majority of students study FSOL (Carr, 2007). Canada, therefore, is multilingual in as much as many immigrants¹ bring their multilingualism to school, but not to the extent that schools promote acquiring or maintaining multilingualism (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010).

Where the federal government's policies on multiculturalism attempt to mandate the inclusion of cultural and linguistic diversity, they fall short of providing educational support to protect immigrant language rights or language retention programs (Comeau, 1979; MacMillian, 1998). In Canada, such support is limited to English and French. It is perhaps due to such an absence of support that 50% or more of the immigrants to Canada do not maintain the language(s) from their country of origin (LaPonce, 1996; Li, 2003). Researchers (Canagarajah, 2002; Kiernan, 2011) posit that Canada's language education practices require immigrants

to conform to using Canada's official languages at the expense of the language(s) of their country of origin. Kiernan (2011) goes as far as to suggest that such conformity encourages immigrants to adopt English as their first and only official language within English-dominant Canada. The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL, 2002) provides supporting evidence stating that 83% of immigrants adopt English as their official language while only 3.2% become able to use both official languages. In fact, it was this statistic, among other factors, that led the OCOL to identify immigration as a challenge to official language duality. In the face of the identified challenge, the OCOL highlighted immigrants' responsibility to respect Canada's official bilingualism. That responsibility is communicated to immigrants as they apply for immigration (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010b), citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010c), and through other official discourse (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010d). Beyond being asked to respect official language duality, immigrants are encouraged to learn both official languages. The federal government promotes official language acquisition by citing economic advantages; immigrants can better integrate into the labour market when they have proficiency in both official languages (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010d). The government also claims that official language duality is an important part of the Canadian identity (OCOL, 2009), implying a link between proficiency in English and French and access to the Canadian community as identified by the federal government.

Choosing to learn languages with the hopes of return in the form of symbolic and/or economic capital is the foundation for Norton's concept of investment (2000) as rooted in Bourdieu's (1977) concept of language as capital. Norton posits that learners invest in acquiring a language with the expectation of reward in the form of symbolic and/or material resources. In terms of symbolic capital, Norton claims that languages contribute to establishing and re-establishing one's identity, defined as 'how a person understands his or relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (2000, p. 5). Norton and Toohey (2001) state that in addition to the potential for language learning to positively impact one's identity, it may also establish links to the target language community. By extension, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) suggest that language learners' actual and desired memberships in the community to which they wish to belong affect their paths of learning as well as their investment in learning the target language. Similarly, in her research with immigrant parents in Canada, Dagenais (2003) suggests that immigrant parents enrolled their children in French immersion² in the English-dominant province of British Columbia in order for the children to access official language communities.

Heller (2001) concurs that learning languages can provide links to the target language community. In fact, she claims that languages are a mark of belonging to a nation (p. 47). Heller, however, tempers her view of language as symbolic capital with one that is more economic, suggesting that learners are more interested in obtaining economic advantage than national identity. Carr (2009) also found evidence of economic motives when she studied immigrants learning French as a second official language (FSOL) in British Columbia. Her data on student and parent perspectives on the intensive French³ program in that province found that parents enrolled their children in intensive French in hopes of greater employment opportunities.

Whether attempting to gain symbolic and/or economic capital, Norton (1995) emphasizes that inequitable relations of power can impact language acquisition and

thus access to capital. As it pertains to immigrants learning FSOL in English-dominant Canada, research indicates that to be the case, as access to FSOL learning opportunities for immigrants are at times moderated by those in the more dominant group. Teachers, principals and school counsellors in English-dominant Canada have discouraged students, and sometimes prevented immigrants, from enrolling in FSOL learning opportunities (Carr, 2009; Dagenais, 2003; Mady, 2007). In his research, Wenger (1998) argues that access to, and participation and non-participation in, communities impacts identity formation. As it pertains to immigrant youth in Canada, Carr (2009) suggests that the exclusion of immigrants from FSOL learning opportunities 'can have long-reaching implications' (p. 793).

This study examines the implications of Canada's official bilingual status on young immigrant adults who are presently studying at the undergraduate level at university. More precisely, it examines how these young adults, these 1.5 generation immigrants – those who have immigrated as children/pre-teens/teens – have experienced and judge FSOL learning in English-dominant regions of Canada. In 2009 reported 52% of Canadian immigrants were aged between 15 and 25 years old, which falls within the age range of students enrolled in post-secondary education in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010a). Of this population, 51.8% originated from countries in Asia and the Pacific. Therefore, it is of great value to look at how the 1.5 generation experienced FSOL learning while at school and at present, in university. This research provides a voice to those students whose voices have yet to be heard, but have the potential to contribute richly to the discussion of official language learning for immigrants in Canada.

The study

The purpose of this study was to investigate how young immigrant adults perceive and experience FSOL in English-dominant Canada. This research used a mixed-method design with a questionnaire to survey immigrant youth in various English-dominant provinces in Canada, followed by a semi-structured interview with four immigrant youth in the central province of Ontario – the province that receives the most immigrants to Canada. The questionnaire had 28 questions divided into three sections for all respondents. At times, depending on their answers, respondents were provided with additional questions to detail their experiences. The first section had eight questions pertaining to the participants' origins. The second section included six questions pertaining to the participants' experience with elementary and secondary schools in Canada. The third section offered 14 questions pertaining to the participants' experience with FSOL in Canada in particular. Frequencies were generated for all closed-ended questions on the survey, combining the agreement and disagreement options (e.g., agree and strongly agree) to facilitate communication of results. In addition to the quantitative data collected through the questionnaire, open-ended questions provided the participants opportunities to share their experiences.

The semi-structured interview protocol was used to target participant perceptions and encounters relating to experiences with second languages pre and post arrival in Canada. All of the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Subsequently, a content analysis was conducted to identify themes, which were then coded. Whereas below I report on the themes that emerged from the interviews and offer supporting

evidence from the questionnaire data where applicable, I offer additional findings from the questionnaire as appendices (see Appendices A-C).

Findings⁴

Participants

Participants for the quantitative component, the online questionnaire, were recruited through an advertisement that appeared in 20 university papers in Canadian universities in nine provinces. The advertisement specified the criteria that respondents were to have a first language other than English or French, to have immigrated to Canada as a pre-teen or early teen, and be enrolled in a Canadian university. A total of 184 post-secondary students responded. Of these, 38 respondents were not eligible to continue the survey as they did not meet the above criteria. In addition, 21 students who were eligible to continue the survey did not do so, leaving a total of 125 respondents.

From the background information gathered, it was revealed that 70% of questionnaire respondents were female. Approximately two-thirds (65.6%) were immigrants from Asia (mostly China, Hong Kong and other Eastern Asia). Not surprisingly, 43% of participants indicated that the first language they learned was Asian in origin and 39% reported first learning other languages not listed on the questionnaire.

The four interview participants were recruited from one university in Ontario through an online posting. All of the interview participants were female. Three participants came from Europe and one from South America. Three of the interview participants came from countries where more than one language would be heard in daily life, and all of them had learned at least two languages while in school in their country of origin.

Participants' origins

It is interesting to note that although the four interview participants came from four different countries, all of them described their countries of origin as ones that viewed language learning in a positive light:

Yeah well just the same thing like English and French as well, like you knew those languages and that was considered like really good. (Jessica)

In Poland right now, it's considered really valuable to speak other languages. (Ashley)

Similarly, they judged their origins in a positive light. They viewed themselves as having something different that was 'cool', 'amazing':

it's a little bit different from everybody else and everybody seems really amazed like when I talk language or, you know, introduce them to your culture, it's also interesting because the cultures are so different, so you get to draw from both of them and kind of combine them which ever way you want, so it's nice. (Jessica)

I think it's cool because when you tell people 'I wasn't born here' everybody thinks it's nice, ... it's nice being kind of different, it's like you got a bit more on your plate. (Sarah)

When asked to compare perceptions of language learning in their countries of origin and Canada, one participant thought all countries valued language learning, whereas the other respondents suggested that where Canada valued the learning of English and French it undervalued the learning of other languages:

I think the knowledge of languages other than English and French isn't as valued in Canada, there isn't that emphasis and encouragement to learn foreign languages whereas in Europe it's seen as a huge asset, especially in Poland to speak languages other than your own, it seems like people are more motivated to take up foreign languages. (Ashley)

Although the interview participants had come from communities where language learning was encouraged and they viewed their origins as beneficial, they did not continue to study their language(s) of origin after arrival in Canada. Similarly, despite a difference in origins with approximately two thirds of the questionnaire respondents coming from Asia, most questionnaire participants (60.8%) reported not continuing to study in their language(s) of origin after arriving in Canada. As anticipated, for those participants who reported studying their language(s) of origin after arriving in Canada, the majority (69.2%) attended language classes outside the school system. For those participants who decided not to continue studying in their first language, just over half (52.0%) made this decision because this instruction was not available, while 38.7% chose not to pursue formal education to maintain their language(s) of origin (see Appendix A).

Identity formation and reformation

When asked to describe themselves, all interview participants identified themselves by their culture of origin and their Canadian culture:

I identify myself with both, it might depend on where I am in the world, when I'm in Canada and people ask me where I'm from well they obviously think that maybe I wasn't born here so I say Polish but when I'm in Europe then I'll usually say I'm Canadian. It just depends but I will mention both, I'll say I was born in Poland but I live in Canada. So I do identify myself with both. (Ashley)

I know for example Russian I can associate with the Russian community so that changes my identity and knowing French I can associate with the francophone community so that again like influences who I am. (Jessica)

I guess it's important to belong to both cultural groups because you can't completely isolate yourself from being Canadian, you live in Canada so you have to associate. But then you can't isolate yourself from your cultural roots either because I find that that's a big part of me and so I'm pretty closely attached to the Russian culture so I think it's important to be part of both. (Jessica)

Beyond asking whether the participants viewed themselves as part of certain communities, the interviewer asked whether the participants considered English/French bilingualism to be a part of Canadian identity. Where one respondent did not make the connection as her community of acquaintances was unilingual English, two other participants connected official language bilingualism with a Canadian identity:

Well yeah, just going along with the whole multiculturalism of Canada, it would kind of be silly if a multicultural country only had one official language. Well to me anyways. (Amanda)

I would say that yah it is part of the Canadian identity because when I came to Canada I've met Francophones from every province in Canada and so you don't even know there's French speaking people in some areas and I think French is a lot more widespread than just Quebec. (Ashley)

Again, although many of the questionnaire respondents came from different backgrounds than the interview participants, they also identified the degree to which they believed FSOL learning increased their sense of belonging in Canada and their Canadian identity. A minority of respondents (41%) connected their knowledge of FSOL to their sense of belonging (see Appendix B).

Investment in FSOL in Canada

Further to examining if and how the participants viewed official language duality as part of the Canadian identity, the interview participants were asked questions regarding their pursuit of FSOL. More specifically, given Canada's reputation for intensive FSOL programming⁵ as a means to improve fluency (Genesee, 2007), the participants were asked whether they had enrolled or considered enrolling in an intensive program to learn FSOL prior to university. All of the interview participants had considered intensive options to study FSOL. While two of the participants were successful in doing so, the other two met with opposition that stopped them from pursuing an intensive format:

My parents figured if they put me in a French Immersion program it would help me so they went to the school board and the school board said at first that one of the parents didn't speak French and somehow we got past that and then they were kind of like 'oh your English isn't strong enough to start a second language'. (Sarah)

My parents tried but for some reason in my region they wouldn't let you unless one of your parents spoke French and since neither one of my parents spoke French I never got to do immersion. (Amanda)

When asked if they would make other choices given the opportunity, the participants had a range of responses, three of which, however, involved an increased exposure to FSOL at the elementary level:

I would've gone into immersion a lot earlier on. (Jessica)

If I had the chance I would've liked to have been in like the bilingual, bilingual schools, where it's like, heavier than immersion. (Amanda)

I would've liked to have been in French immersion. (Sarah)

The remaining participant, who was enrolled in an intensive program, was satisfied with her experience to the point where she would not change it.

FSOL became an optional area of study for the participants at the secondary level. Although it was no longer compulsory, all of the interview participants chose to continue to study FSOL. When they were asked which factors influenced their decision to continue studying FSOL, participants cited the benefits of knowing FSOL, and in particular, the potential for enhanced job opportunities:

Again, the whole knowing two languages for job opportunities and being better qualified. (Jessica)

I just felt that learning another language, it's always going to be beneficial whether it's for your personal life, or travelling, or jobs, it can only benefit you to speak other languages so I thought I would take the opportunity that I have. (Ashley)

The participants anticipated being able to use FSOL for employment purposes within the Canadian government, international business or non-governmental agencies and they viewed the opportunity to use the language as essential to learning it. In fact, they shared the advantages of being multilingual, identifying social, knowledge, travel and job benefits:

It's opened up quite a few opportunities, like friends because you meet somebody and they speak a certain language so you kind of have some common ground to go on and also, you get to find out more things because, as simple as it is, watching Russian TV channels as opposed to French TV channels as opposed to watching the English ones so you get a bunch of different opinions and views of the world with each languages. (Jessica)

That's the same for me and it goes for everything from applying to jobs to making new friends, being able to travel and having different languages. Learning new languages is kind of easier when you know so many. (Amanda)

Similarly, job opportunities were also an influential factor in determining the participants' continuation of FSOL learning at the university level.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to identify influential factors that led them to continue FSOL studies when they were no longer compulsory. Fifty percent of the participants indicated that they continued to study FSOL at that time. To investigate the influential factors in that decision, the questionnaire participants indicated their perception of the level of importance associated with a list of statements related to the study of FSOL (see Appendix B). The following reasons for studying FSOL received ratings of high importance by a large percentage of participants: belief in the value of learning an additional language (94.4%); value being multilingual (88.5%); improving career/job opportunities (86.7%) (see Appendix C).

Discussion

The findings from this study, both qualitative and quantitative, reflect the official discourse provided by the Canadian federal government. As the federal government bestowed enhanced status to English and French by declaring them the official languages of the country, so too the participants understood that English and French were of greater importance than other languages. As such, the interview participants did not continue to formally study their language(s) of origin. Questionnaire participants revealed that this valuing of English and French was evident in the lack of opportunities to study their language of origin within the school context. It is perhaps this undervaluing of other languages that led the participants to discontinue formal study of their language(s) of origin. Although including educational opportunities for FSOL study in English-dominant provinces reinforces the federal position to strengthen the status of official languages as per their policy in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1985a), lack of such opportunities for

instruction in other languages undermines the ability to preserve and enhance the use of other languages as stated in the same policy. The valuing of multilingualism remains therefore at the policy level, whereas the preferred pursuit of official language duality is reflected at the practical level of education. Such a distinction leaves immigrants responsible for the maintenance of their language(s) of origin, often without educational support. Although it is not possible to expect this study, given the limited number of interview participants and the disparity of the linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds of the participants overall, to in and of itself influence policy or offer conclusions, when considered as an addition to other studies (e.g., Cummins, 2001; Magga, Nicolaisen, Trask, Dunbar, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010) that cite the benefits of first language maintenance of immigrants, some suggestions are appropriate. For example, I suggest that encouraging the provinces to add multiple languages to the curriculum of Canadian schools would further the federal government's policy to preserve, if not enhance, other language use. Adding multiple languages to the offering of FSOL across Canadian school sites, as is sometimes the case in British Columbia, would also bring the federally promoted vision of the Canadian nation as one that values multiculturalism within a bilingual framework closer to reflecting the lived reality.

Providing high status to a language increases its symbolic value in society (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010). In its official discourse to potential/present immigrants to Canada, the federal government highlights official language bilingualism as a key component of the Canadian identity and by extension membership in the national community. The interview participants in this study also linked languages to group membership and identified themselves as part of and included by both their language of origin group(s) and Canadian society. They recognized their multilingualism as a means to develop and maintain ties to various communities. In this way, they acknowledged their language proficiencies as identity enhancement (McKay & Wong, 1996). However, when asked precisely about the connection between membership in Canadian society and official language duality, only a minority of questionnaire participants and half of the interview participants linked such belonging to official language duality. Although the participants recognized that multilingualism provided access to a variety of groups, they did not envision, for the most part, official language bilingualism as a requirement for Canadian group membership. The participants perceived official language bilingualism as an enhancement of their identity and their ability to access the francophone community within Canada rather than a requirement for belonging. Such a stance is congruent with Heller's (2001) position that languages are becoming increasingly viewed less as symbolic capital of national identity and more as economic capital.

The belief that investment in FSOL skills would convert to economic capital in the future was consistently revealed as influential in the choice of the interview and questionnaire participants to continue to study FSOL when it was no longer obligatory for them to do so, and is congruent with the 1.5 generation's efforts to assimilate (Ellis & Goodwin-White, 2006). The vast majority of participants believed their FSOL skills would prove beneficial in the job market. Although such a belief is congruent with the government's promotion of official language duality as a means for immigrants to integrate into the job market, conversion of official language duality into economic advantage may be more of a myth than a reality. Conversion of investment in official language proficiency to economic capital as myth is supported by research: for example, Pendakur and Pendakur (1997) found that

proficiency in Canada's two official languages accompanied by non-official additional language proficiency served as a deterrent to hiring and increased income. Once again, as with encouraging the presence of multiple languages in the curriculum, I suggest that it is incumbent on the government which attributes economic advantages of official language bilingualism to immigrants to take steps to close the gap between myth and reality.

It is not uncommon to have people in positions of power influence the conversion of investment to capital (Norton, 2000). In fact, as seen with the participants in this study, power relations can also hinder the investment process used to gain such economic capital. The interview participants in this study all recognized intensive French programming as means to enhanced FSOL proficiency (Genesee, 2007) and expressed a desire for such intensive learning opportunities. Their desire, however, was compromised by barriers to do so: two of the interview participants were denied entry into intensive programming due to their lack of English and/or French proficiency. I suggest that such unequal opportunity for investment, accompanied by the cited unequal distribution of its potential economic benefits, requires a transformation of the causal exclusionary practices that only the government can undertake (Portes & Landolt, 1996).

The young immigrant adults in this study invest in FSOL learning in English-dominant Canada with the goal of adding French to their multilingual repertoire that includes English primarily in hopes of future economic gain. Limited access to the more ideal intensive programming options and unequal conversion of investment to economic capital, however, remain entrenched in Canada's emphasis on official language bilingualism to the practical exclusion of multilingualism. Means to change these unequal practices may lie in the bi-directionality of relations between education and society (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010). Rather than having language education in Canada reflect the official discourse, I suggest using education as a means to influence the discourse and practice thereof to be more inclusive of all languages. More precisely, using schools as a rich space for linguistic enhancement and thus including immigrant languages in the curriculum could then lead to a Canadian society more inclusive of multilingualism and more reflective of the Canadian image as presently promoted.

Acknowledgement

I wish to acknowledge Jordana Garbati, a PhD student at the University of Western Ontario, for her work on the literature review.

Notes

1. Immigrant refers to a person who has left a country to settle in Canada. Immigrants in this study have settled in English-dominant Canada and are learning English and French.
2. French immersion is a program in which at least 50% of the instruction is provided through the second language.
3. Intensive French is a program where students in Grade 5 or 6 spend 50% of the school year immersed in French language activities.
4. Parts of the findings section are drawn from a research report by Mady, Black, and Fulton (2010), previously commissioned by Canadian Parents for French and used with their permission.

5. Intensive FSOL programming is a general umbrella term which includes a variety of programming options: from intensive French to extended French to the more intensive French immersion, for example. All intensive programs provide greater instruction time in French.

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Appendix A: Study of language of origin after arrival in Canada

Table 1 Study of language of origin in Canada.

After arriving in Canada did you continue to study in your first language? (n = 125)	%
Yes	39.2
No	60.8

Table 2 Means to study language of origin.

In which of the following ways did you study your first language?	Yes	No	N
Heritage language classes within the school system	47.7	52.3	44
Language classes outside the school system	69.2	30.8	39
Informal tutoring by friends or family	72.1	27.9	43

Table 3 Duration of study of language of origin in Canada.

For how many years did you continue to study your first language? (<i>n</i> = 49)	%
4 years or less	34.7
More than 4 years	40.8
I am still studying it	24.5

Table 4 Reasons for not studying language of origin.

Why didn't you continue to study your first language? (<i>n</i> = 75)	%
None, it wasn't available	52.0
My family opted for me not to	9.3

Appendix B: Allophone students' experiences with FSOL**Table 5** Description of Allophone University Questionnaire Participants' Elementary School experiences with FSOL.

Learning French in Canada...	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Uncertain	N
helped me with my first language	5.5	5.5	35.2	27.5	26.4	91
was similar to my experience learning languages in my country of origin	5.6	26.7	18.9	23.3	25.6	90
was more communicative (interactive) than my experience learning languages in my country of origin	9.9	28.6	24.2	13.2	24.2	91
was more focused on listening and speaking than learning languages in my country of origin	6.6	31.9	24.2	11.0	26.4	91
was more focused on reading and writing than learning languages in my country of origin	4.4	28.6	26.4	8.8	31.9	91
was more focused on grammar than learning languages in my country of origin	11.0	36.3	20.9	8.8	23.1	91

Table 5 (Continued)

Learning French in Canada...	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Uncertain	N
required greater participation on my part than learning languages in my country of origin	14.6	39.3	18.0	6.7	21.3	89
was facilitated by my knowledge of other languages	12.6	31.0	21.8	9.2	25.3	87
increased my interest in learning languages	15.7	36.0	15.7	13.5	19.1	89
increased the value I placed on being multilingual	24.7	43.8	7.9	9.0	14.6	89
increased my interest to pursue advanced study in the French language	19.1	19.1	22.5	22.5	16.9	89
I thought I would improve my career/job opportunities	18.9	44.4	14.4	8.9	13.3	90
I found French also helped me to learn English	6.7	21.3	41.6	15.7	14.6	89
I did well learning French	23.9	39.8	12.5	4.5	19.3	88
enabled me to communicate with French-speaking people	11.1	33.3	26.7	18.9	10.0	90
was enjoyable and stimulating	13.3	38.9	16.7	8.9	22.2	90
increased my appreciation of Francophone cultures	15.6	37.8	18.9	11.1	16.7	90
increased my appreciation of Francophone presence in Canada	18.9	36.7	17.8	11.1	15.6	90
increased my sense of belonging in Canada	13.3	27.8	21.1	12.2	25.6	90
increased my Canadian identity	16.9	24.7	19.1	10.1	29.2	89
was what my parents, or other adults important to me, wanted	14.0	30.2	26.7	12.8	16.3	86

Note: Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding

Appendix C: Factors in the choice to study FSOL**Table 6** Description of factors in the choice to continue to study FSOL.

Why did you choose to study French?	Important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	Uncertain	N
I thought it would improve my career/job opportunities	50.9	35.8	3.8	1.9	7.5	53
I believed in the value of learning an additional language	62.3	32.1	-	1.9	3.8	53
I valued being multilingual	65.4	23.1	3.8	1.9	5.8	52

Table 6 (Continued)

Why did you choose to study French?	Important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	Uncertain	N
French is one of Canada's official languages	45.3	30.2	9.4	5.7	9.4	53
French is a world language	28.3	30.2	15.1	7.5	18.9	53
French was present in my community	11.3	11.3	35.8	26.4	15.1	53
I wanted to speak to Francophones	30.2	34.0	20.8	5.7	9.4	53
I wanted to learn about Francophone cultures	22.6	35.8	17.0	9.4	15.1	53
I had contact with Francophones in the community or among friends and family	9.4	17.0	35.8	24.5	13.2	53
My parents encouraged me to study French	20.8	35.8	24.5	7.5	11.3	53
Studying French was part of forming a Canadian identity	20.8	28.3	26.4	9.4	15.1	53
Studying French increased my sense of belonging in Canada	24.5	22.6	26.4	11.3	15.1	53
My friends encouraged me to study French	9.4	15.1	43.4	17.0	15.1	53
I enjoyed learning other languages	56.6	24.5	3.8	-	15.1	53
I enjoyed learning French	55.8	25.0	3.8	-	15.4	52
I did well learning French	47.2	32.1	3.8	-	17.0	53
I wanted to continue to improve my French	58.5	28.3	1.9	1.9	9.4	53
I wanted to pursue advanced study in the French language	34.6	19.2	15.4	7.7	23.1	52
Learning French helped me with English	11.3	19.0	28.3	18.9	22.6	53
It was one of my better subjects	26.4	34.0	24.5	3.8	11.3	53
The school encouraged me to study French	13.2	30.2	20.8	9.4	26.4	53
My teachers encouraged me to study French	22.6	35.8	7.5	9.4	24.5	53
The French program was good	22.6	37.7	11.3	9.4	18.9	53
The French teachers were good	30.2	34.0	13.2	1.9	20.8	53

Table 6 (Continued)

Why did you choose to study French?	Important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	Uncertain	N
I thought it would improve my chances of getting university entrance	13.5	25.0	17.3	15.4	28.8	52
I thought it would improve my chances of getting a scholarship	15.1	17.0	20.8	20.8	26.4	53
There were extra-curricular opportunities in French (e.g., trips)	15.1	9.4	22.6	24.5	28.3	53
It allowed me to stay with my friends	5.7	17.0	26.4	30.2	20.8	53
It allowed me to stay in schools I wanted to attend	9.4	7.5	24.5	34.0	24.5	53
It was what my parents, or other adults important to me, wanted	5.7	22.6	26.4	20.8	24.5	53

Note: Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding. A dash indicates the response was not chosen.