

**Educational issues and identity positioning
among students enrolled in an English school board in Québec:
a case study of three regions**

Edited by

Marie-Odile Magnan, Ph.D.

Associate professor

Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation
Université de Montréal

Catherine Levasseur, Ph.D.

Research assistant

Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation
Université de Montréal

Véronique Grenier

Doctoral candidate

Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation
Université de Montréal

Fahimeh Darchinian, Ph.D.

Research assistant

Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation
Université de Montréal

2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
THE ROLE OF THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOL ON YOUTH IDENTITY PATHWAYS.....	6
ACADEMIC SUCCESS AND IDENTITY PROCESS IN THE QUÉBEC MINORITY MILIEU	8
PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY REPORT SECTIONS	9
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
KEY CONCEPTS	10
METHODOLOGY	11
SECTION I: PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY’S SELECTED SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS	
.....	14
JAMIE-DAVID SCHOOL IN THE GASPÉSIE-ÎLES-DE-LA-MADELEINE-CÔTE-NORD	15
<i>Jamie-David School</i>	17
<i>Jamie-David School participant profile</i>	18
<i>Major challenges at Jamie-David School</i>	19
<i>Academic success and future plans</i>	29
<i>The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord</i> ..	32
<i>Youth identity at Jamie-David School</i>	44
<i>Conclusion</i>	51
LLOYD-BRASSEUR SCHOOL IN L’OUTAOUAIS	52
<i>Lloyd-Brasseur School</i>	52
<i>Lloyd-Brasseur School participant profile</i>	53
<i>Major challenges at Lloyd-Brasseur School</i>	55
<i>Academic success and future plans</i>	62
<i>The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in l’Outaouais</i>	64
<i>Youth identity at Lloyd-Brasseur School</i>	68
<i>Conclusion</i>	71
PAUL-UNDERHILL IN L’ESTRIE	73
<i>Paul-Underhill School</i>	73
<i>Paul-Underhill School participant profile</i>	75
<i>Major challenges at Paul-Underhill</i>	76
<i>Academic success and future plans</i>	85
<i>The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in l’Estrie</i>	90

<i>Youth identity at Paul-Underhill School</i>	93
<i>Conclusion</i>	98
SECTION II: TRANSVERSAL FINDINGS OF THE THREE STUDY REGIONS	100
LANGUAGE RAPPORT	100
<i>Rapport with French</i>	100
<i>Rapport with English</i>	102
<i>Rapport with French-English bilingualism</i>	104
<i>Conclusion</i>	105
RAPPORT WITH QUÉBEC FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITIES	106
<i>Rapport with the francophone community</i>	107
<i>Rapport with the anglophone community</i>	109
<i>Conclusion</i>	110
YOUTH FEELINGS OF BELONGING, POSITIONING AND IDENTIFICATION	111
<i>Linguistic identities</i>	112
<i>National or territorial allegiances</i>	113
<i>Other significant allegiances</i>	114
<i>Conclusion</i>	114
SUCCESS IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HIGH SCHOOL IN QUÉBEC	115
<i>High school graduation</i>	116
<i>Success in French</i>	117
<i>Pursuing post-secondary studies</i>	121
<i>Future plans</i>	122
<i>Academic success and self-identification of youth attending an English-language school</i>	124
<i>Conclusion</i>	125
RECOMMENDATIONS	125
<i>Avenues for intergroup rapprochement</i>	126
<i>Approaches to enable the deconstruction of the idealized “native French-speaker”</i>	126
<i>Rethinking streams that produce imbalanced success in French</i>	126
BIBLIOGRAPHY	128
APPENDIX 1: ETHICS CERTIFICATE – UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL	131
APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE – STUDENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)	132
APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE – PARENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)	142

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE - SCHOOL STAFF (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)152

**APPENDIX 5: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE – STUDENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)
.....160**

**APPENDIX 6: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE – PARENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)
.....162**

**APPENDIX 7: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE - SCHOOL STAFF (ENGLISH AND
FRENCH).....164**

APPENDIX 8: CONSENT FORM – STUDENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH).....166

APPENDIX 9: CONSENT FORM – PARENTS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH)172

APPENDIX 10: CONSENT FORM – SCHOOL STAFF (ENGLISH AND FRENCH).....178

Introduction¹

In Québec, English-language schools have been impacted by the affirmation of French as the official language of the province. This is a unique case: that is, a majority-language community in North America that is a *de facto* minority in an officially French-speaking province protecting itself against the effects of an anglo-dominant context. Since the Quiet Revolution, many changes that arose from the evolution of relations between linguistic communities have affected English-language schools in Québec. Starting in the 1960s, language (rather than religious or economic issues) became the main subject of conflict between Québec anglophones and francophones. The *Québec Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101) was born in 1977 and proclaimed French as the only official language of Québec. It decreed French as the language of public elementary and secondary education. Section 73 of the *Québec Charter of the French Language*, which aimed to integrate newcomers into French schools, granted access to the English-language education system only to eligible students². Restrictions on access to English-language schools added to a sense of loss of institutional power in English-speaking communities. Despite these restrictions, in recent years there has been an increase, in English-language schools, of students whose mother tongue is French, particularly because of exogamy or other mechanisms (for example, a francophone parent educated in an English-language institution prior to the passage of Bill 101). In Québec, since the adoption of Bill 101 and since the reorganization of school boards along linguistic rather than religious lines in 1998, English-language schools have experienced a decline in their enrolment.

Since the 1998 reform, many issues remain unresolved. Has the reform led to the maintenance of the francophone and anglophone communities? How do young people self-identify within this academic context? What is their sense of belonging or allegiance to linguistic communities?

¹ The research report was translated from French to English by Peter Wheeland. Some participants' extracts and other quotations have been translated from French to English. The authors would like to thank P. Wheeland for his valuable contribution to this report.

² Specific criteria were established to determine the eligibility of a child for both elementary and secondary English-language schools: to have received most of their elementary or secondary education in English in Canada; have a sibling who has completed most of their elementary or secondary studies in English in Canada; have a father or mother who has completed most of his/her elementary studies in English in Canada. "Right holders" in the English-language education network also include those who have spent three years in a private English-language institution that is not subsidized by the state.

What are the challenges facing the English-language education system in Québec in this context of declining enrolment? What are the differences between Québec regions?

The role of the English-language school on youth identity pathways

In a minority context, school is conceived as one of the elements of a “tripartite” partnership of the linguistic socialization of young people, the other two being the family and the community (Bernard, 1997; Gauvin, 2009; Gérin-Lajoie, 2004; Rocque, 2009). The school is expected to play an active socializing role and is often considered as the main agent of community-building: “in minority communities, education can be the starting point for the development of collective projects [...]. The school can also become a centre of community life by bringing together and socializing all members of the community” (Simard, 2004, p. 220). In English-speaking Québec, the development of the Community Learning Centre (CLC) is part of the initiatives and efforts of the Ministry of Education since 2006 to strengthen the links between English-language schools and their communities in areas where anglophones make up a small proportion of the local population and where school is often the only English-language institution in their community (Lamarre, 2007). English-language schools in Québec are encouraged to develop partnerships with families, groups, organizations and local institutions to promote exchanges and joint projects. The activities of the CLCs would thus support the linguistic socialization role of minority schools in Québec.

Few studies, however, have focused thus far on the role of the English-language school in maintaining linguistic boundaries between anglophones and francophones (Mc Andrew and Proulx, 2000). It is only recently that a few researchers have tackled the issue of the identity construction of young people in urban anglophone schools, particularly in Québec City (Vieux-Fort and Pilote, 2010; Magnan and Lamarre, 2013) and in Montréal (Gérin-Lajoie, 2016a). These studies highlighted the bilingual and multiple identities of these young people and their strong sense of allegiance to their school and city of residence. The scientific literature shows that anglophones identify with multiple communities in Québec (the English-speaking communities of Montréal, Québec City, l’Estrie, etc.) and that they constitute an ethnoculturally and linguistically heterogeneous group. It turns out that there are diverse realities for anglophones in Québec, depending on their region and city of residence. The types of students attending English-

language schools also vary from region to region. In Québec City, for example, a majority of students appear to speak mainly French at home (Magnan, Pilote and Vieux-Fort, 2013).

The study of the identity and academic trajectories of youths entitled to English-language schooling (a population made up of English-mother-tongue as well as French-mother-tongue and other) is a subject that needs to be more thoroughly examined, particularly in certain Québec regions that have yet to be the object of scientific study. From a perspective where school is seen as a place where modern collective identities are formed and national communities and societal identities are produced (Thériault, 2002), it is legitimate to question the role of English-language schools in (re)producing linguistic boundaries between francophones and anglophones in their daily interaction. It is from a qualitative and exploratory approach that we propose, in this report, to analyze the role of English-language schools in the production or reduction of boundaries between anglophones and francophones in Québec regions.

In the last decade, research has also highlighted the fragmented socioeconomic character of Québec's English-speaking communities, with areas of poverty concentrated in some more remote areas (Floch and Pocock, 2008). The post-1970s brain drain partly explains this increase in poverty in English-speaking communities in Québec – anglophones with higher levels of education are more likely to have left the province compared to less-educated peers (Magnan, 2005). We hypothesize that the increase in poverty rates among Québec's English-speaking communities, which has increased in recent decades, is not without impact on the success of young people, particularly outside major urban centres (Canadian Heritage, 2011). In this sense, some researchers have adopted a more institutional approach to counter the exclusion and isolation of English-speaking communities in remote areas: the analysis of the impact of Community Learning Centres, set up within English school boards, on success, academic engagement and community vitality (Lamarre, Livingstone and Langevin, 2013).

For this reason, this study aims to contribute to the advancement of scientific knowledge of educational issues related to academic success as well as to the identity positioning of students attending English-language schools outside Montréal and Québec City: in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, l'Outaouais and l'Estrie. To date, research on English-language schools in Québec has focused on the province's large urban centres (Montréal and Québec City). However, it remains crucial to further explore the educational realities of other Québec regions,

in particular those affected by a decline in enrolment, the aging of the English-speaking population, the exodus of young people to urban areas, the dispersion of English-speakers across a vast territory, the lack of access to certain services in English and their status as a demographic minority. Lamarre (2007) emphasizes the importance of considering the differences between the English-language school network in Montréal and that of other regions of Québec: “English school boards in the regions are faced with some very serious challenges: the dispersion of the English-speaking population, huge catchment areas, and school populations that are frequently under 200 and even in an important number of cases under 100” (p. 117). For school boards, this means difficulties in recruiting and keeping school staff over a long period of time, difficulties in providing all necessary student services, difficulties in school transportation (long distances to travel to get to school), etc.

Academic success and identity process in the Québec minority milieu

This descriptive and exploratory study aims to better understand the links between identity perceptions and academic success among students attending a high school of an English-language school board in Québec. It is difficult to establish a clear and simple link between academic performance and the linguistic and ethnocultural identity of minority students, however, since several factors come into play in the academic success process: education levels and the socioeconomic status of parents, family socialization, the role and attitudes of teachers, the academic climate, student engagement, etc. (Kanouté, Vatz Laaroussi, Rachédi and Tchimou Doffouchi, 2008; Mc Andrew, Tardif-Grenier and Audet, 2012; Poulin, Beaumont, Blaya and Frenette, 2015). It should be noted that research on academic success in Québec has focused in recent years on the population of French-language schools and on immigrant students in particular, but very little on that of students from the anglophone sector.

Kanoute *et al.* (2008) identify some academic success factors relevant to the context of this study. First, when the community to which the students belong experiences discrimination or social exclusion, this represents a risk factor for the students’ academic success. As well, the family’s social capital – the symbolic, material and human resources that the parents possess, to which the student has access, but above all that parents can mobilize and transmit to their children in order to support them in their learning – is a factor favouring academic success. Added to these factors are those of language anxiety and linguistic insecurity, often observed in the context of

second-language learning or in a minority-language context. Feelings of anxiety and insecurity felt by speakers about their languages and use can have negative effects on language learning and overall academic success (MacIntyre, 1995; MacIntyre and Gardner, 1991; Dewaele and Sevinç, 2017). It should be noted that language anxiety and linguistic insecurity of second-language or minority language speakers may also have effects in extra-curricular contexts. Difficulties in communicating in real-life situations due to anxiety and linguistic insecurity can lead to strong feelings of frustration, helplessness and exclusion (MacIntyre, 1995; Dewaele and Sevinç 2017; Vézina 2009).

Community Learning Centres developed in many English-language schools in the province also play a role in the academic success of students attending those schools. Their mission, in addition to contributing to the linguistic socialization of students, is to promote academic success through the development of links between students and community stakeholders. Through exchanges and joint projects between the various local English-language institutions, the CLCs thus aim to provide services to students and to mobilize resources available outside the school to carry out projects that support student success.

Presentation of the study report sections

The first section of the report describes each school according to the themes under study: school challenges raised by school staff and identity positioning of young people. The second section of the report presents a transversal analysis highlighting convergences and divergences between the three study regions according to the following emerging themes: school challenges identified in the three regions; self-identification of young people attending English-language schools in the three regions (language rapport, relationships to linguistic communities, identity positioning of young people, etc.). Finally, the report ends with a conclusion that highlights the limits and strengths of the study and recommends suggestions for Québec's English school boards. Before delving into the heart of the data analysis, we will define the key concepts of this report, then present the methodology, limits and ethical considerations related to this study.

Conceptual framework

In this study, we have applied some key concepts that shed light on the issues under consideration in relation to academic success and the self-identification of young people attending an English-

language school in Québec. This section aims to clarify the disciplinary field in which the study is set, as well as to define the main concepts that guided the data analysis.

The study is mainly rooted in the field of sociology of education. However, it adopts an interdisciplinary approach informed by theories and concepts drawn from the fields of second-language education and sociolinguistics. It is also inspired by qualitative and ethnographic methods from the social sciences. This interdisciplinary approach addresses issues of identification and academic success, taking into account the academic, linguistic and social contexts in which they occur. This approach also makes it possible to adopt an exploratory, descriptive and interpretative approach, which seems to us the most appropriate given the subject and the research context.

Key concepts

Educational or academic success is very variable from one author to another, as Poulin *et al.* (2015) note. Although it is often measured in terms of graduation rates or academic performance, it also seeks to go beyond the notion of performance in order to consider the student's commitment to and motivation for his or her learning objectives. This study focuses on educational success as it is described and experienced by youths, their parents and their teachers. We include in our analysis of success the feeling of satisfaction of young people and the confidence they have in achieving their goals in learning French and obtaining a high school diploma.

Student retention, a concept intimately linked to that of educational success, can be measured, according to Ledent *et al.* (2016), at different points in the academic career: high school graduation, college registration and graduation, and university. In this study, which focuses on youth at the high school level, we chose to consider high school graduation and college enrolment (or enrolment intent) as markers of student retention.

Language anxiety is a concept usually understood as negative feelings, anxieties, and stress experienced by speakers in learning and using a second language (MacIntyre, 1995; MacIntyre and Gardner, 1991; Dewaele and Sevinç, 2017). The feeling of language anxiety varies greatly from one person to another, as well as from one context to another. For example, the same speaker may feel very anxious in the classroom, but very little in informal interactions with

friends in the second language. Anxiety can be particularly exacerbated in a context where the speaker fears being discriminated against or eliciting negative judgments by “native” speakers, particularly in a minority or migratory context (Dewaele and Sevinç, 2017).

Linguistic insecurity can be defined, according to Vézina (2009), as the feeling of discomfort that results from an awareness by a speaker of the gap between the language form he uses and the expected linguistic norm in relation to this language. The concept of insecurity is different from that of language anxiety since it does not only affect second-language learners. The feeling of linguistic insecurity also concerns speakers of minority or stigmatized languages or dialects. Linguistic insecurity also goes beyond individual experience, since it can be applied more generally to members of linguistic communities who share certain attitudes, beliefs and linguistic representations.

These two concepts are important in this study, since the young people encountered are in a minority situation. The use of French is essential for their academic success, as a second language, as well as for their interactions in the community, since it is a majority language. The young people interviewed are thus likely to experience feelings of language anxiety or linguistic insecurity in relation to their learning and their use of French in their daily lives.

To study the issues of identity among young people attending English-language schools in Québec, we decided to use the concept of identity positioning. Identity positioning is defined as the process by which individuals categorize themselves or are categorized according to location, context and circumstance (Darvin and Norton, 2015; Norton Pierce, 1995). This concept makes it possible to think of identity as a process in tension between social forces and the agency of the actors. As well, it allows us to think of it as the result of complex multi-affiliations that are highly dependent on the social context. Moreover, we often prefer to use the term “identification” rather than “identity” in the text in order to show its dynamic, situated, complex and socially constructed nature (Brubaker and Junqua, 2001).

Methodology

The study methodology takes a qualitative approach. The research process is also exploratory in nature. It aims to identify issues specific to realities still unknown in the field of education in a minority linguistic context, namely those of Québec’s English-language schools located outside

major urban centres. That's why these three schools were chosen as research sites: one located in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, one located in l'Outaouais and a third located in l'Estrie.

Research assistants spent a week in each of the schools conducting up to 14 interviews per site: seven or eight interviews with Grade 9, 10 and 11 students, three to five interviews with parents, one or two interviews with teachers, and an interview with the school administration. Some study participants contributed as both a parent and a school staff member (teacher, principal or employee). The profiles of the participants recruited for each area will be presented in Section I: Presentation of the study's selected school environments.

Youth interviews focused on their sense of belonging, their rapport with languages, their relationship to anglophone and francophone communities in Québec and Canada, their academic background and their future aspirations in terms of post-secondary orientation and vocational integration. In addition to the interviews, the young people were invited to use drawings to illustrate and discuss their relationship with the language communities, their school or their languages.

Interviews with adult participants provided information on the scholastic and community context and issues specific to each school. In addition, they corroborated and enriched the interviews conducted with young adolescents on the themes of their identification and their educational history.

All interviews were transcribed, coded and analyzed using QDA Miner software. The analysis revealed the most significant issues regarding educational history and the identification of young people attending an English-language school in the three regions of Québec under study.

Youth and school staff all volunteered to participate in this study. Thus, the results of this qualitative research can in no way be generalized. However, the results make it possible to explore and delve more deeply into the themes raised by the study respondents. Also, interviews were conducted in English and French by bilingual research assistants who had French or another language as their mother tongue.

Under the confidentiality rules of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEES) and the Multi-Faculty Research Ethics Committee (CPER) of the Université de Montréal, individuals

and schools that participated in the study will not be identified under any circumstances as part of this report or any publications or conferences related to this project. For this reason, information that would allow for the identification of places and people has been removed from the text or changed. The names of the individuals and schools that appear in this report are pseudonyms.

All study participants signed a consent form prior to their recruitment and were informed of their right to withdraw. No risk to participants was identified in the study. All study participants were compensated for their participation.³

³ Compensation of \$20 per interview was allocated to all study participants.

Section I: Presentation of the study's selected school environments

The schools selected as part of this study come from three English school boards in Québec: the Eastern Shores School Board (Jamie-David School of Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord)⁴, the Western Québec School Board (Lloyd-Brasseur School in l'Outaouais) and the Eastern Townships School Board (Paul-Underhill School in l'Estrie). These three school boards cover large areas of the province and serve several administrative regions and Regional County Municipalities (RCMs). These school boards provide educational services in English to communities far removed from major urban centres such as Montréal or Québec City. They have, until now, undergone little or no scientific study, which explains the dearth of knowledge concerning the issues faced by their schools and school communities. The purpose of this study is to contribute, through exploratory research, to understanding the specific context of education in English, a minority language, in Québec's regions.

Each of the schools chosen for this study is thus situated in a unique context, but obviously shares issues with the others. This first section of the report will review these school environments, as described by their stakeholders: students, parents, teachers and other school staff. The three schools will therefore be described according to the social and academic context that characterizes them. We will see how schools relate to four major issues: bullying and inclusion, geographic mobility, student retention, and the role of the school as an institution serving the English linguistic minority in Québec. The section will describe how the interviewees in each school conceive the notion of academic success and how they view the educational and professional future of young people in their community. The relationships between the various actors and the official language communities will be described, as will the identity positioning adopted or claimed by the students.

⁴ Reminder: to protect confidentiality, the school names are pseudonyms.

Jamie-David School in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord

Jamie-David School is part of the Eastern Shores School Board. According to its 2015-2016 annual report, the board has nearly 1,500 students in 16 schools (six elementary schools, three high schools and seven joint elementary/high schools), as well as six adult education centres (general and professional education). The Eastern Shores School Board is headquartered in New Carlisle, in the Gaspésie region. It covers a large territory, serving the administrative regions of Bas-Saint-Laurent, Côte-Nord, Gaspésie and Îles de la Madeleine.

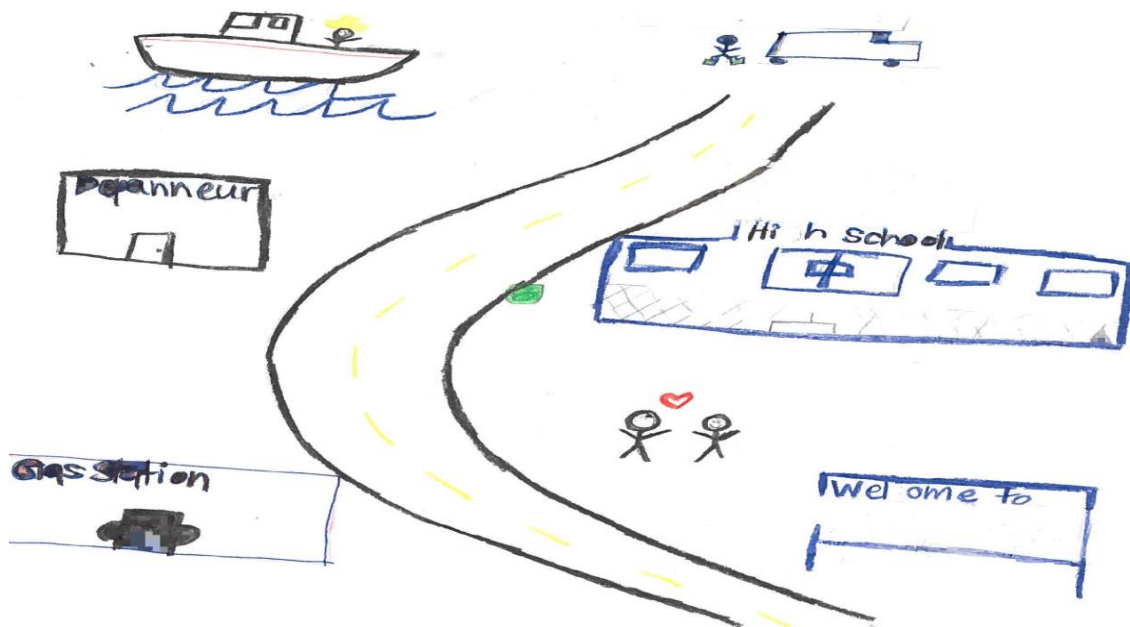
In the community where the Jamie-David School is located, English is the main language used between individuals, whether in private spheres or public places. The community is relatively geographically distant from the region's major francophone community. The majority of services (businesses, banking, municipal services, mail, etc.) are located in the French-speaking town, where the inhabitants of the English-speaking community must travel to access these services, which are usually provided in French. The community where the school is located depends economically on the fishing industry, which is the main source of income for the inhabitants. This industry represents more than jobs for the residents of this village; the whole way of life of the community is associated with fishing.

The sociodemographic profile of youths (aged 15-29) in English-speaking communities in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine administrative region differs from the profiles of the region's francophone communities and the general population of Québec. According to a report for the Community Health and Social Services Network, (CHSSN), which uses statistical data from the 2011 National Household Survey, youth unemployment in the English-speaking community of the Gaspésie and Îles de la Madeleine region is reported to be higher (34%) than for francophones in the region (15%) and anglophones across the province (13%) (Pocock 2016). In addition, according to the CHSSN report, young anglophones in the region have lower education rates than the provincial average. In fact, almost 75% of young anglophones in this region have at most a high school diploma, compared to about 55% of francophones in the region and 50% of the general population. It should be noted, however, that a smaller proportion of English-speaking youth in the region live below the poverty line compared to the general population.

These statistics, which may seem contradictory, illustrate a peculiarity of the region: fishing and tourism are the two main industries and economic activities. While it is possible for young people to make a good living in these industries, they usually require little formal training. They are also seasonal activities, which increases the periodic recourse to employment insurance benefits. The difference between the francophone and anglophone communities in the region can be partly explained by the requirement of French-English bilingualism to hold a job in the services and tourism sector. This requirement tends to disadvantage young people in the English-speaking community, whose French does not always meet the expected standards of the French-language labour market.

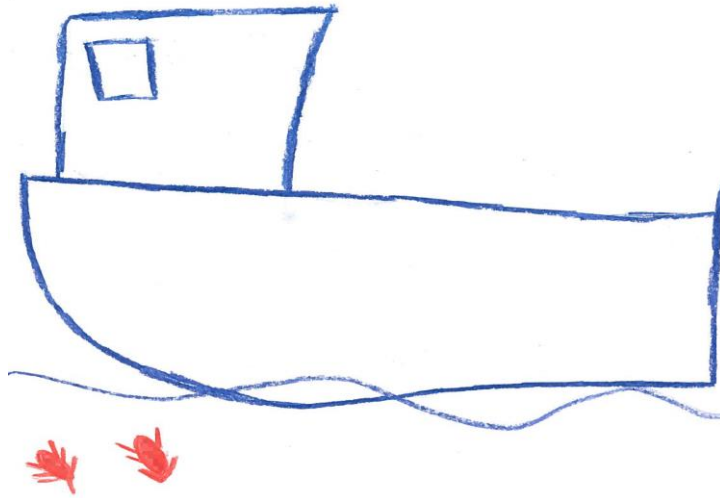
The youth who participated in the study were invited to illustrate their community. These drawings and the accompanying explanations demonstrate the importance of the fishing industry in their community: jobs and the way of life of individuals are closely linked. Many young people also describe their community as a small one where everyone knows and helps each other. A few pointed out that many members of the community have addiction problems. Only Ivy drew the school to represent her community. This can probably be explained by the fact that the school is not the only local site where the young people interviewed speak English.

IVY'S DRAWING:



We are pretty normal. I would probably draw a school, fishing. I drew fishing and the factory which is the main source of income. And these are like two entrepreneurs, like the gas station and the dépanneur, and this is the school. And I put people that love each other because we are good people in the community (Ivy, youth).

WILLOW'S DRAWING:



I just draw a boat and those are supposed to be lobsters. We are a fishing community. A lot of people here are unemployed because they have to wait until spring to work. Like a lot of people here work in factories or they fish. Everything revolves around the fishing (Willow, youth).

Jamie-David School

Jamie-David School offers a high school program and an adult education program. The school accepts young people from the English-speaking community and youths residing in the neighboring francophone community, as well as other towns and villages in the region. In general, students live near the school or at a distance of about 20 to 30 minutes by car. School transportation has recently become available to students living outside the community.

Enrolment at Jamie-David School has been declining for several years, which is a major concern for staff members, as well as for the local community. These numbers are forcing school management to reduce teaching staff and create more multi-level classes.

Jamie-David School offers a French as second-language program. The school also offers the opportunity for adults to complete French courses required for high school graduation. The school does not offer “enriched” French classes (immersion, mother tongue or enriched). Jamie-David School offers extracurricular activities through its Community Learning Centre (CLC) to foster students’ sense of belonging to their school and community.

Jamie-David School participant profile

At Jamie-David School, we met with seven youths (four boys and three girls) age 15 to 17, enrolled in Grade 10 and 11. Most of the youths reside in the English-speaking community where the school is located except for Ben and Ivy, who live in the neighboring francophone community. At the time of the survey, all of these students attended the French-as-second-language program offered at the school, but one of these students, Gordon, completed his French program in the adult sector. Carl, Ivy, Willow and Ben had part of their elementary school education in a French sector school in the neighboring francophone community. Addison and Gordon studied in English at their local elementary school. Two students have lived elsewhere: Dave in Saskatchewan and Carl in Abitibi, where they did some of their elementary studies in English. All young people except Ivy did at least part of their elementary education in English in the local community. Ivy is the only participant who did all her elementary school and part of her high school studies in French before enrolling in the Jamie-David School.

Five of the young people identified English as their mother tongue (Carl, Willow, Dave, Gordon, Addison), while two (Ivy and Ben) reported both English and French as mother tongues. Ivy says she speaks mostly French with her mother at home, while Ben says he uses both English and French at home. All others have English as the main language of home use. Ivy, Dave and Gordon mostly or only use English with their friends, while the others (Carl, Willow, Addison, Ben) use French and English.

The parents of the young people interviewed are all from the English-speaking community or from the neighboring francophone community, with the exception of Addison’s father, who comes from another town in the greater Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord region. Most of the parents (9 out of 14) did at least part of their high school education at the Jamie-David School, where the youths we met are now registered, except for Addison’s father (who attended

an anglophone school in the region), Ben's father, Ivy's mother and Dave's mother (francophone school in the neighboring community) and Carl's mother (English-speaking school in Prince Edward Island).

The young people interviewed come from families with household incomes of more than \$50,000 a year. However, many parents have not completed high school, or have a general or vocational high school diploma or a college diploma. Only Ivy and Ben's mothers have a university education. In fact, most of the fathers have not completed high school, while the mothers generally have higher levels of education. It should be noted that the fathers of the young people interviewed (four out of seven) work mainly in the fishing industry

Among the five mothers interviewed, Caitlin and Hannah also taught at Jamie-David School. In addition, Amélia is a member of the school staff interviewed and George is the principal of the school. These seven participants resided in the local community or in the neighboring francophone community. They all had English as their mother tongue. In the case of Amélia, however, she declared French as the first language learned, but English as the only mother tongue. In addition, some of the mothers, including Carl's mother, Molly, have family ties elsewhere in Canada (Prince Edward Island).

Major challenges at Jamie-David School

Bullying, diversity and inclusion

Recognition of ethnocultural diversity and bullying do not seem to be issues at Jamie-David School. The school population is very small and fairly homogeneous. Young people are from the community and they know each other very well. Participants in this study, both youth and adults, did not report any issues related to inclusion, exclusion or bullying at school.

The bullying issues described by the participants instead concern the experience that two young people, Dave and Ivy, had while attending a francophone elementary school in the neighboring community:

A lot of parents send their kids for at least one or two years in French school so they can learn a bit of French, but they never stay. Like, we were basically the ones that got picked on all the time. Like, they called us "tête carrée" [square head] and stuff like that. Just like not welcomed in general. [...] My parents wanted me to be perfectly

bilingual, so I did primary school in French and then I guess it didn't work out. I got picked on for being English. [...] I'm never talking or associating with a French person again from my elementary school. I remember everyone that picked on me. I never forgot it because it traumatized me (Ivy, youth).

These incidents were decisive for Dave and Ivy, who now refuse to use French or associate with the francophone community. This situation suggests that both live with great language anxiety in relation to French, both in and out of school. Ivy reports that she has not experienced this kind of bullying and exclusion since she has attended English school:

“Oh yes! I really like English school. I find learning in English is a lot easier than in French and... I don't know... I made more friends here and stuff. I just like this school in general.” (Ivy, youth).

Mobility

For everyday school life, mobility is not a crucial issue, as the majority of students reside in the local community. However, for those living in neighboring towns and villages, transportation to school has long been more difficult. Indeed, although the distance is not very great, travel by road is not always viable, especially in winter. Until recently, parents themselves had to drive the children to school, since no school transportation was available. At the time, monetary compensation was granted by the school. Now that school transportation is available, the English-language school is becoming more accessible for families living outside the community.

The challenge of mobility, on the other hand, is striking when it comes to considering post-secondary studies. The school and parents value a post-secondary degree, but there is very little educational offering locally, especially in English. To pursue post-secondary studies, students need to leave the region to go to Québec City, Montréal, Sherbrooke or a neighboring Canadian province. This creates significant costs for families and forces young people to live away from their families and communities. Also, once they complete their post-secondary education, young people generally do not have many job opportunities that would allow them to return to the community. This difficulty is greater in the case of young people who do not speak enough French to occupy a position requiring bilingualism in the neighboring francophone community.

In addition, many young people simply do not want to return to live permanently in their community once their studies are completed.

These mobility issues have a direct impact on the vitality of the English-speaking community, whose demographic decline has been a major concern in recent years. In these conditions, learning French is a strategy of the school and parents to increase the chances that young people will one day return to their community and hold a job of their choice.

When we try to tell our students: okay, you are going away to get an education, make sure you try to keep learning French or make sure French continues to be part of your learning because, if not, you can't come back. And I don't think they understand the gravity of that, because they are like: I'm never coming back here anyway! They leave here thinking like that, but then, like we have seen in the last few years, like some of them have been coming back and the... Or they want to come back and they can't because they don't have the language. So I haven't figured out a way to demonstrate to them how important it is to continue with their learning of French (Amélia, school staff).

Some parents, such as Caitlin, and some youths, such as Carl, would prefer the young people be able to stay in the community, but don't see how that would be possible. Thus, they prefer schooling offered in cities or regions located as close as possible in order to reduce the distance or to facilitate a return to the community. *"Whatever [...] makes them happy, but I prefer they don't live here and I have told them that. Don't live too far away, but not here, because there are no opportunities here for them."* (Caitlin, mother of Willow and a teacher).

I'm going to a college in P.E.I. next year for computer and networking systems. It is really close and I can come home whenever. We have a lot of family over there and I have places where I can stay. I was looking at maybe Dawson College, but I figured if I went to P.E.I., it would be a lot better for me. It's closer to home and if anything happens, I can come back home. It is not as expensive to come home. (Carl, youth).

Student retention

Student retention in high school is probably the most important issue at Jamie-David School. School administrators are concerned about the growing rate of repeating students, as well as the

high drop-out rate. Parents and school staff, however, report that the drop-out phenomenon has decreased compared to previous generations.

Some of the participants say the majority of young people who drop out do so after Grade 9 or during Grade 10. Most of the young people questioned had thus passed this critical juncture and none of the young people interviewed mentioned wanting to quit in the near future. One student, Ivy, reported having dropped out of school for a while. She then decided to return and plans on graduating and pursuing post-secondary education. The majority of the youth and adults surveyed felt that boys were more likely to drop out than girls. In most cases, boys who drop out of school before graduating from high school go to work with their fathers, who own fishing boats.

In fact, among the obstacles to student retention, the stakeholders interviewed for this study consider that the main cause of the worrying drop-out rate before graduation from high school is attributable to the attraction of fishing, where one does not have to graduate to work and earn a living.

I find there is a lot of boys dropping out if they grew up in a family where their fathers have fishing outfits and they fished often on weekends or with their parents or whatever. I found there is some drop out with that, but some... That's not always the case because I know a couple of boys, the last couple of years, they graduated, went on to school, to university, whatever. But we did have quite a few dropouts of young boys because their father was a fisherman, their grandfather was. They know five years down the road that they are going to be able to get a fishing outfit or, you know. Girls drop out less... it seems to be less, less drop out. But I remember when I graduated, when I started in Grade 1 we were 12 students. We graduated with four. Yes because most of the boys are now fisherman. It was the thing to do I guess. I don't know if it's a girl thing or not, going to university and CEGEP, but the last few years there wasn't too many girls that dropped out (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

The percentage dropped like in the last two years. Because like all the boys before, like all my cousins, they all dropped out, it would be surprising if a boy graduated. But last year, I was the only one who dropped out. Now, there are two boys in my class that dropped out for fishing. So we are supposed to be five or six people graduating this year

and now we are only three. It's mainly boys, like some girls drop out too, but it's more boys (Ivy, youth).

The requirements of Grade 11 French are also seen by many young people and adults as an obstacle to graduation, success and student retention. Many young people have significant difficulties in this respect⁵. They consider that the level of French required by the Québec Ministry of Education is high, especially when compared to the level required of francophone students in English-as-a-second-language or in English-language schools in other Canadian provinces. Indeed, many believe that it is necessary to “almost be bilingual” to be able to pass the Ministry’s French exam, which does not necessarily correspond, according to them, to the skill profiles of students. The idea that one must be “bilingual” refers here to a concept of bilingualism that requires a mastery of the language according to the standards of native speakers, rather than as second-language speakers. These remarks suggest that the young people interviewed find themselves in a situation of linguistic insecurity, since they feel that there is too great a gap between the expected standard and their own French usage. Young people with major difficulties in French are therefore encouraged to take the French-as-a-second-language program for adults, which is considered less demanding and more accessible. This recommendation is a strategy for youth and school staff to promote academic success and graduation from high school.

Well, half the kids that do, like, a regular French class, stop it and do adult because they don't know how to do it. So I don't really think it is a good idea to make it harder, because half the kids can't even do it now (Willow, youth).

They have statistics on success in French in the school and things like that. And I think, especially with the boys, it's a challenge for them. They don't have a positive outlook on French, they don't enjoy French classes. They struggle. French is... I would say is even harder for most of... the curriculum is so advanced. It's really demanding. Like my son is not doing the youth-sector French program. He is doing the adult-education sector French program. Because the youth-sector French program is too difficult for him, he

⁵ The Ministry of Education requires students to pass a single test in French for all Grade 11 students in Québec. For students in the anglophone sector, they may be required to take the exam for French-as-a-second-language, the basic program, or the enriched French-as-a-second-language program. In this case, it is assumed that students are referring to the basic program exam.

can't do it. He finds the adult-education sector French easier and he can understand it better and he is progressing with that. Whereas in the youth sector program, he felt lost (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

Gordon's mother's remark about the difficulty of learning French among boys suggests that they might be less interested in the language because they are more likely to go into the fishing industry, where the use of French is not considered necessary. According to the testimonials gathered, difficulties in French, coupled with the attractiveness of the job market, are a major obstacle to success and persistence among the boys attending the Jamie-David School.

Carl's mother, Molly, believes that boys are more likely to experience learning difficulties in school, which could lead them to drop out whether they plan to work in the fishing industry or not.

George, the principal of Jamie-David School, echoes Molly's sentiment. He explained that school staff is working to identify student learning difficulties as early as possible in order to provide necessary support and resources to young people so they stay in school:

They are staying in school longer because, like in the past, they used to go to Grade 7 or 8, especially the boys, used to leave and go fishing with their dads or whatever the case may be. Now we are working harder identifying – because some of them have learning difficulties – so we are identifying the learning difficulties earlier. Therefore, when the work is getting harder, they have already developed strategies to work through those difficult times and we give them the extra support that they need in order to continue beyond Grade 7 and 8. So we are identifying... some who have dyslexia and some have dysphasia, some are autistic. We identify them and give them the support they need, therefore they are able to go farther. Identifying early their learning challenges, working with them, we hold onto them longer, therefore they see that there are other things to do besides fishing. But some of them leave, go fishing. It's not that they like fishing. Some of them leave and go fishing because they have no other choice. So we give them some other choices, that's our objective here and we like... As we said, I tell the teachers, failure here is not an option (George, school principal).

It was noted that several youths at Jamie-David School (five out of seven students) have at least one parent who has not completed high school (usually the father). As mentioned in the introduction, the parents' level of education, as part of the family's social capital, is a predictor of academic success. It is thus possible to assume that the difficulties experienced by several boys at Jamie-David School with respect to academic persistence and success are partly related to their family social capital.

To support student retention, Jamie-David School uses a variety of strategies to encourage young people to complete high school. Among these strategies, school staff sometimes encourages young people to pursue their studies through the vocational training program so that they have at least one certification:

We really try to accommodate students, if they are not going to be able to get the academic diploma, to at least go and finish a semi-skills program and get a certificate so at least then they could be, say, the mechanic's helper or the carpenter's helper, because there are opportunities out there (Caitlin, mother of Willow and a teacher).

Another strategy adopted by the school administration is to develop a schedule adapted to the spring fishing season. This measure is enhanced by a student support program during the summer and when returning to class. These measures allow students to be absent during the fishing season without jeopardizing their studies. This is how George, the principal of the school, explains it:

In the Education Act, it says kids can leave up to six weeks of school for... to go work, emergency type things... Because fishing starts in May, usually by May, most of... it's only the grade, maybe the 10-11 kids that we accept to do this, but by the 1st of May most teachers are finished their core work that they have to get done, they are starting to review for the exams, so the kids have generally finished their work. So we give them the opportunity to go. When the provincial exams start, they come in for those examinations. We give them the opportunity because, if we didn't give them the opportunity, they would quit and they would go fishing anyways. So in an attempt to try to keep them for a little longer, we let them go. And we know they are going to be back the following year and they do the review and if they need any help or whatever, they come in and they get the extra help they need when they come back from fishing. So we work around it, because we are small, we are able to do that. If we don't, they are quitting. So the worst thing that

could happen is that they end up not passing, but if they don't... if we don't let them do it, they are going to quit anyway. So we have nothing to lose (George, school principal).

The role of the school as an institution for the linguistic minority

The difficulty of maintaining enrolment levels is a major concern for the stakeholders at Jamie-David School. The adults we met were worried about the future of the institution and its role in the community. These concerns are also intimately related to those raised about the maintenance and vitality of the English-speaking community as a whole. The school is an institution that allows schooling in the minority language and serves, to some extent, as a barometer to measure the vitality of the English-speaking community.

The low level of enrolment also affects the financial and human resources available at school. Lack of resources limits the ability of the school to play a more meaningful role in the community. In addition, because of the limited number of students, the school often has to use multilevel classes. These multilevel classes are seen by school staff as an obstacle to academic success because they find it difficult to meet the minimum course requirements in the context of highly heterogeneous classes (ages, grade levels, etc.). Parents and staff say that declining enrolment and lack of resources are major challenges for the school and staff.

A lot of rural communities are facing a lack, I wouldn't say a lack of enrolment, but the enrolment is going down, I'm sure in all of the schools. So that brings on more challenges to the teachers. And then if, say, classrooms could be more combined, instead of having [Grade] 3 and 4, maybe we might have Grade 3, 4 and 5 [...]. So anyways, I mean the school here would never close, but they might have to look at different options if their enrolment is going down. But a lot of the rural regions I'm sure are facing the same challenges and facing the same thing. And it is because the number... people aren't having families of 10 kids anymore (Shannon, mother of Addison).

Well, I find my biggest challenge teaching here, we don't have other teachers to converse with and exchange ideas, because I'm the only English teacher in my category on site. Like I can't go to town and meet another teacher over coffee and discuss and share ideas. The only chance we get to do that maybe... there is a teacher conference, a workshop which I really enjoy. [...] So I find that hard. And also finding resources, if I need to find

something I'll either have to order on Amazon or order... it takes weeks to be here. Because I just can't go into town and go to a book store to get something because everything is in French. So resources and other teachers, conversing with other teachers, are a big challenge in our community (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

The Jamie-David School considers one of its biggest challenges is to promote the appreciation of education among young people, and more broadly in the community. Parents and school staff said that education and school are not always valued by community members. One of the reasons given is the low rate of schooling of parents, who in turn do not value the academic success of their children. Secondly, the attraction of fishing is so strong that it diminishes the value of education, particularly post-secondary education. Finally, the school is sometimes perceived as an institution outside the community and as an obstacle to the transmission of the fishing heritage of the community:

It is a lot of historical things I would say, because we are a coastal community with one main resource, which is the fishing industry, which you don't require an education to take part of this industry and traditionally here, people didn't have an education. And so, as a school, I feel that the school is a little bit of a colonizer or a form of institution and there is still a big struggle there between the two. People here couldn't even get a high school diploma until the '70s locally. So schooling is not necessarily something that is valued in the culture. If you ask any parents they will say: 'Yes, I want my kid to go to school,' but if you remove a few layers, you see that it is not a... it's not so important. So that is difficult (Amélia, school staff member).

It depends on the father. If the father doesn't value [education] as much, the mom could, but the dad seems to be the boss and if the dad wants to take you to go fishing, you are going fishing, doesn't really matter. So if the father values education, it's going to happen regardless of what the mother thinks. In most cases, it's not always the case. But we have a lot of... say for example the fathers right now that we have, for post-secondary education it's 8%. 92% of our dads don't have a post-secondary education. And even [a] high school diploma, only 14% of our fathers have it. So, 86%, they didn't even graduate high school (George, school principal).

The choice of English-language school

The choice of English-language school seems self-evident for the large majority of students and parents they meet. It is the only school in the community and the large majority of parents have studied there themselves. In addition, most of the young people we met mostly use English on a daily basis at home, with friends and in the community. Finally, the majority of students did all or part of their elementary education in English in the community. The choice of Jamie-David high school is therefore a continuation of this academic pathway.

Parents sometimes chose to send their children to the French sector for a year or a little more during elementary school to promote the acquisition of skills in French. However, for high school, these parents feel it is better for young people to study in English. They hope to minimize their children's learning difficulties and to support their success and graduation.

Of all the students we met, only Ivy had a major part of her schooling in French. Her mother is French mother-tongue and she mainly uses French at home with Ivy. As discussed earlier, Ivy was bullied at school, pushing her to leave the francophone sector and enrol in English-language school. The choice of the English-language school is therefore, in this case, the result of an untenable situation in the French-language school.

The English-language school also represents, in the eyes of many parents and young people, a privilege that beneficiaries must take advantage of. They observe that many young francophones who want to study in English aren't allowed to, while they have access to both school systems. Finally, it should be noted that the nearest francophone school seems to have a bad reputation with some parents, which eliminate it as an alternative for their children, as Willow expresses here:

Willow: Well, I don't really have a choice because my mom didn't want me to go to the [French] high school. So, I had to come back here.

Research assistant: She didn't want you to go because... of what you experienced during [Grade 6 at the French elementary school] or just because in general she didn't want you to...?

Willow: I don't know, I... probably just because up there... It's... I don't want to say it's bad, but like it's not bad, but it's like... There is a lot of... I don't really know how to say

it. It's like there is like a lot of, like, shit going on there that, English just, should not go there for because... Like my friends have been there, and they were really picked favourites. They don't like English.

Research assistant: *Okay, so it is mainly because of the French-English tensions that she didn't want you to go?*

Willow: *Yes, probably.*

Research assistant: *Or is it because of like... I don't know, drugs or...?*

Willow: *Okay, good you said it! Okay, yes. Because they are a lot of drugs there. I just didn't want to say that.*

Research assistant: *You could say anything to me.*

Willow: *That's why; they are just a lot of drugged people and... It's not good.*

Research assistant: *So your mom didn't want you to go there because of that?*

Willow: *Yes*

(Willow, student).

Academic success and future plans

Academic success is an issue of concern to school staff and parents at Jamie-David School. In the context where student retention is a major issue, academic success is often defined, for teachers and management, by high school graduation.

Remember that the main industry of the community is fishing, which does not require a diploma. There are also some factory jobs, but they don't pay as well as fishing and are usually seasonal. There are few technical or professional jobs in the community other than those related to fishing. Thus, for young people who decide to pursue college and university studies, the chances of finding a job in their community are quite low. In addition, the technical or professional jobs available require, for the most part, knowledge of both English and French, which is an additional obstacle for many young people in this community.

Having trade accreditation (a DEP – Diploma of Vocational Studies or DVS) is still a mark of success and a goal of several of the boys as an alternative to fishing. It is recommended that

young people (boys) graduate from high school and continue their studies (DVS or college) to learn a trade other than fishing. This would allow them to be less dependent on the fishing industry and on unemployment benefits. They could work all year in the community. Girls are more likely to pursue post-secondary education. The choice of trades is larger for girls, but their employment prospects in the community are limited. This would make them more motivated to graduate and to study, but complicates a possible return to the community. It should be noted that the mothers, who are often more educated than fathers, seem to be more insistent on their children pursuing post-secondary education.

You have to be able to function in the world, and the more knowledge you have, the more power that you are going to have in the world, the more doors that open to you, the more you are going to accomplish. If you choose to go fishing, well, okay, that's a choice, but there is nothing to say you can't go to university or you can't go to college and fish in the spring, because there is more out there than sitting up at home for nine months on unemployment insurance and, unfortunately, some people around here think that it's a career path, but it's not (Caitlin, mother of Willow and a teacher).

Well, initially I was disappointed that my son decided to go fishing, but as I thought about it I was thinking ... I was thinking he should have a plan B, go to CEGEP or college and do a technique or something. Then I thought about it and I was thinking that I don't want him to go to school just to please me. I want him to do something that he's going to be happy with (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

The preceding excerpt also shows that, as is the case for Hannah, parents are sometimes torn between the desire that their children pursue post-secondary education and respecting their desires and their career choices. These parents seem to value the happiness of their child over an imposed school or professional career.

When asked what they consider they will be doing after high school, all the boys, unsurprisingly, said they wanted to pursue a technical or vocational program. Three of the four boys interviewed indicated that they wanted to combine fishing with a trade or profession. They would fish in the summer and work the rest of the year in their field of vocational or technical training. These young people thus seem to consider vocational or technical training as complementary to fishing. None of the boys interviewed expressed the wish to pursue university studies.

I think I'm going to come back and fish with my grandfather for a few years. He has one person working with him, so he needs extra help on the boat. So after college, I'm going to come back another five or 10 years. If he retires, I might end up getting the boat. So I can fish for nine weeks and then if I have a job in computer programming, you can do that from anywhere, so I could work from home and do that at the same time (Carl, youth).

The three girls, Willow, Ivy and Addison, said they wanted to continue their studies at university level after going to college, as will be discussed later.

The places where young people interviewed wanted to pursue post-secondary education are diverse. However, all three want to attend an English-language post-secondary institution, either in Québec or in one of the Maritime provinces. For some, CEGEP is seen as an unnecessary stage in the academic career. The youths and their parents look to the possibility of going directly to university in another Canadian province rather than first going to a two-year pre-university college in Québec. Some are also seriously considering studying at a college or university outside Québec, mainly in Prince Edward Island, because they feel competent to study in English and because they have a family and social network in P.E.I. Proximity and lower transportation costs in the Maritimes also explain the choice to go to these provinces.

I want to be a vet [veterinarian]. I don't want to stay in Québec to start with, because if I stay in Québec, I have to do CEGEP first and I don't want two extra years of school for nothing. So basically... I don't know, I'm going to go out of the province first to start like my bachelor in sciences and then, after that, I don't know if I'm going to move to, like, in Québec or something. [...] I was like thinking about just going to P.E.I. for my first year because it's like bigger, but it's not really. It's small like here and it's closer to home so if I don't like it I could just come back (Willow, youth).

The majority of the students interviewed, however, still think that they will stay in Québec to pursue their studies. According to the parents and teachers, Québec is more and more a destination of choice for young people in their community compared to previous generations. In their view, young people used to move almost exclusively to the Maritime provinces. Young people, their parents and teachers report a multitude of reasons for choosing to stay in Québec for studies. Among the reasons cited is the lower cost of studying in Québec compared to other provinces or the availability in Québec of the desired curriculum offered in English. Knowing

friends also influences some young people's choice to go to Montréal or Québec City. Finally, a large majority of young people surveyed have already visited cities such as Montréal and Québec, which makes them feel more comfortable studying there.

[...] They travel more often, they see what is out there, they want to go out, they want to go explore. [...] In the past, if they went away, it was to the Maritimes. Because of, it was English. But now, we, more often than not we have a lot of kids going to Sherbrooke and Montréal. They are going to the English CEGEPs that are there” (George, school principal).

The preferences of young people for studying in Québec also reflect other rationales that add to the factors cited above. For example, Addison wants to study in Québec City, which would allow her to study in English for her college program while living in a French-speaking city, an environment that would give her the opportunity to continue using her French and maintain friendships in the language. Moreover, for her, this city represents an important urban environment but is less intimidating than Montréal would be. Nevertheless, Montréal has a strong appeal for young people, due in part to the presence of English-language universities, the perceived prestige of its institutions as well as its urban environment and the anonymity associated with that, which strongly contrasts with the community in which these young people grew up. Many express a need for escape that they see as possible in Montréal.

[The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord](#)

Learning French and appreciation of bilingualism

The parents of the young people surveyed, for the most part, value bilingualism and want their children to be able to communicate in both of Canada's official languages. Bilingualism is desired by parents for many reasons. For example, many consider it an asset in the Québec labour market, but also within Canada or even internationally. Also, many find it important that their children learn French since they are living in Québec and it facilitates daily interactions. For the parents interviewed, having French skills allows young people to continue residing in Québec after their studies. Ivy reports that her mother, who is French-speaking, wanted her to learn French so that she could interact with her family and, more generally, with francophones. On the

whole, parents consider bilingualism as an asset and value learning the French language. This is what young people and their parents are saying: “[My mother] wanted me to be bilingual so when I get older, if I wanted to get a good job, it would be easier for me” (Ben, youth).

Well of course, if you are going to come back here you have to speak French, or if you live in the province of Québec, you are going to have to speak French in order to get along. So that’s why I thought you need French as well. Because there are a lot of people here, when I go into town, to me it’s easy. I don’t worry about going into town. If I go to the bank, I can tell them what I want. But my father, who doesn’t speak a word of French... my mother does all the banking and everything because he doesn’t speak a word of French. Coming back, this may have nothing to do with this, but we went to... we travel a lot and I hear other languages and I wonder: ‘okay, what are they saying, are they laughing about us?’ I was like, you know how you feel when you hear a third language? You have no clue what they are saying? [...] I want my kids bilingual; yes (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

An analysis of the parents’ discourse and practices reveals they have put in place different strategies to ensure their children learn French. Among these strategies, the one that seems to be adopted by a majority of parents is to send the children for one or more years to a French-language elementary school. Of the seven students, four attended a francophone school at some point. Of the five parents interviewed, three used this strategy. However, the two parents interviewed who did not choose to enrol their child in a French-language school reported that they would have liked to do so for at least one school year. Learning difficulties experienced by their children, or their children’s refusal to attend a French-language school, motivated their decision not to do so.

My kids kind of switched back and forth. My son, he started off... he went to French daycare and then he came here [English school] for kindergarten. Then he did French for Grade 1, 2 and 3. Then I found his English was not up to par and I wanted him to be bilingual. So I took him back here for Grade 4 because he has a learning disability. And from then on, the school psychologist suggested that he should not switch back and forth. So he has been in English school since Grade 4 (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

It should be noted that parents favour partial schooling in French at the elementary level only. For various reasons, including fear of hurting the academic success of students while in high school, parents consider that the transition to the French sector is not desirable at the high school level, as explained here by Addison:

My parents wanted me to do a year in French school, but I didn't want to. But I'm good enough in French now that I don't need it. [...] I didn't want to go alone because I was the only person like... I'm the only girl in my age group. [...] [My parents wanted me to go in] Grade 3 or 4, and when I decided I wanted to go, it was when I started having French friends. I wanted to go up west for school when I was in high school. It was too late. [...] Yes, I wanted to try it, but it would have been too late, like Grade 7, Grade 8. [...] My mom told me it was too late. She was too scared that I would fail, like not pass my French. Me too, now I realize it, because I probably would have not (Addison, youth).

In the various excerpts, we note other factors that influence the parents' and students' decisions whether to use the French schooling strategy, including confidence in their language skills as well as the importance of their network of friends and wellbeing at school. This is the case for Lauren, Gordon's mother.

Lauren: I just didn't think that it was, you know, for his own mental wellbeing, I just didn't feel it was the right time to do it. And I felt like, as much as I would have liked him to be able to communicate in both languages, I didn't want to do it at his expense. So I said, if he wants to learn a language later in life, he will do like I did. I learned it later in life. [...]

Research assistant: That is really interesting. I have heard this kind of strategy that some parents are using to send maybe their kids for a year or two, at least a year in French school. Do you see that a lot?

Lauren: More, a lot more than before. That's a new trend. [...] In the last 10 years, we see more and more of them like... when I was in school, nobody went to French school (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

Another strategy is to enrol children in sports activities where the language used by teammates and coaches is French, as explained by Molly, Carl's mother:

My two oldest, I had sent them to French school. They only lasted three months there, but to compensate when they started hockey, for instance, most of their coaches are francophone. Well, they all are francophone. Some of them can speak English, but I ask them not to speak English, to speak only French. If my kids really didn't understand, they could repeat in English. So, they have no choice but to listen. My daughter, I enrolled her in cheerleading without telling any other anglophones, so she is the only anglophone (Molly, mother of Carl).

Molly's example illustrates the efforts of parents to create authentic French immersion opportunities for their children. Molly is looking for unilingual linguistic contexts where young people are not encouraged to use English and where they would be in the presence of only French speakers. Molly hopes to foster the acquisition of French-language skills that are closer to those expected of native speakers, which is usually valued in the dominant discourses and linguistic representations in Québec.

Bilingualism as a way to navigate from one community to another

The ability to communicate in both languages, to have bilingual skills, gives young people the opportunity to meet members of the francophone community and, more broadly, to develop a fluency in switching from one language community to the other. In fact, five of the young people interviewed said that they generally feel comfortable in both linguistic worlds and they feel able to interact with francophones, although the degree of comfort varies from one youth to another. Only Dave and Gordon report not knowing French and having trouble interacting when they find themselves in the francophone community.

The reason I learned French was because of sports. I had to learn French to play sports. I wanted to understand and I wanted to be able to talk to everyone else. I know French is a good thing to have, especially in Canada, but I'm convinced, if it wasn't for sports and we weren't surrounded by French, I wouldn't have learned it at all (Carl, youth).

Ben, Ivy, Willow and Addison also said they use their bilingualism skills when they are with their friends, whether francophone or anglophone: *"I think it's good because sometimes I go with the French, sometimes I go with the English, so I think it's good"* (Ben, youth).

Well, I live in a French community. I always speak French at my mom's, like always. And then when I'm down here, I always speak English. I have some French friends and they are used to me talking both languages at the same time. [...] Like I could start a sentence in French and finish it in English and I wouldn't even notice it (Ivy, youth).

Parents and teachers also believe that young people today know French better than their own generation and that of their parents. The five parents interviewed said they understand and are able to communicate in French. However, they reported learning it after graduating from high school. It was either because of meeting a French-speaking spouse or the decision to pursue a postsecondary program where French was the language of instruction that led the parents interviewed to improve their language skills in French. They say they can now maintain conversations in French.

According to these parents, compared to previous generations, young people in the English-speaking community interact more with young francophones, particularly because they have better bilingual skills. The demographic decline observed in the English-speaking community and in school enrolment has, in their view, fostered closer ties between the two linguistic communities, particularly among young people. Indeed, since classes are made up of a very limited number of students, young people in the English-speaking community turn to the young people of the francophone community to expand their network of peers. Some parents also think that young people are more likely to envisage working in sectors other than fishing compared to previous generations, choices that would require them to leave the community and develop their bilingual skills.

I find that our youth are more and more bilingual than my generation. I feel like the youth now who are going to school are like mostly all bilingual or able to function in French. [...] Again, because nobody saw the need for it back then. Where people now realize, as I said before, the value, the importance of bilingualism, they see the advantage of it and things like that. Whereas people didn't necessarily feel like that in the past. And I think, too, that might relate to the fact that we are kind of a self-sustained community, being a fishing community. We have our own natural resources, so we are not dependent on anybody else to make a living either. We work in English. So, there was never a need (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

So they are starting to realize that, yes, they need to be able to speak French if they are going to come back here. Or even if they are not coming back here, knowing two languages is going to be so much better for them (Caitlin, mother of Willow).

Overall, the young people interviewed recognize the importance of knowing French, since they live in Québec and are surrounded by francophones, but also because they see the possibility of living elsewhere in Québec. The comments of young people on the French language, however, show that they have a rather utilitarian and self-evident relationship to the latter, even for most of those who have a parent who has French as a mother tongue.

Lack of English services

Although Willow says that she feels comfortable among francophones, she does not like the fact that all interactions take place in French in the community that neighbours the village where the school is located. Indeed, of the five young people in this area who feel able to traverse the two linguistic communities, Willow is the one whose French-language skills are the least developed, which suggests that the degree of comfort within the francophone community is linked, at least in part, to one's level of French-language knowledge:

It sucks to be English here. Like everything we do is in French. Like all the sports that we try to do, like swimming or hockey or anything like that... soccer we have to go all the way there and they all talk in French. Even the driving course, like I'm going to do my licence and it is all French. And, I don't know... It would be easier [if it was in English], but I mean I can't expect no one to change it (Willow, youth).

Willow is not the only one to deplore the dominance of French in the neighboring community. Many young people report that they would like more sports or cultural activities to be offered in English.

It's difficult to do anything if you don't speak French at all, not really. The movies are all French... There is not a whole lot to do if you're English around here. It's quite boring. You can't go to the movies. Most of the restaurants are all in French. Any activities really are done in French. So there is not as much to do around here if you are only English. [...] There is bowling, pool, movies. That's all I can think about right now,

but you need to be able to get there and to speak French to do most of those, so for anyone that speaks just English, there is not a whole lot to do (Carl, youth).

The difficulty of sustaining French within the English-speaking community

Parents surveyed report that linguistically mixed families living in their language community most often choose English as their language at home:

A lot of homes with the mother being a francophone, the kids, they don't always speak French. They kind of took the mother tongue of the father, I guess, because they lived in the community. Even my husband, he never speaks French at home. He speaks French to his mother and to his brother, but never to our children. And it's just the way it is. I don't know why. There are a lot of homes that are like that. There's... how many... there's 1, 2, 3... I'm just trying to think how many homes here, just in this school, that are bilingual but their parents don't speak the two languages at home. There is quite a few just the same. It's quite... It's nice to see, but it's kind of sad. Like I told my husband that it's a shame that he didn't speak to them at a young age, but I can't change it now. I did the best I could (Molly, mother of Carl).

We have about 40-some families. There may be 7 or 8-to-10 families that are bilingual, but there is, other than one case that I can think of, there is only one that actually speaks, the father would speak French at home, but the mother speaks English. The other ones, both [parents] speak English at home. So the kids are coming to school and they are not bilingual. So they are losing their mother side or their father side of French (George, school principal).

Lauren, for her part, believes francophone parents in the community are more likely to sustain French than previous generations.

There were a lot of [linguistically] mixed marriages, but at that time, there were people, like, there were French people who came to our community and they kind of assimilated into our community. Like the French women who all... My cousins, I have... My uncle married a French lady and she moved here [...], and only one of her kids speaks French. The other two can't speak a word of French because they, they just didn't speak French at home. She spoke all English herself. And... So, they didn't learn French. And some of

my friends that went to school here, their mothers were French, but they didn't have... they weren't bilingual because their parents spoke all English at home and their French mothers spoke English to them, not French. But where I see it more different now, as... francophone parents now speak more French to their kids than before (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

Relations between francophones and anglophones

Relations between members of the francophone and anglophone communities are described by the participants in a rather uniform way. Young people, their parents and their teachers all say that relations between anglophones and francophones have improved in recent decades. They report that there is less violence than before between the groups, although tensions are still present. According to the young people and their parents, the proximity of and increased interaction with young francophones have contributed, among other factors, to the reduction of tensions between the two linguistic communities. This is illustrated by the following excerpts.

I remember when we were younger, it was French against the English, but now a lot of my best friends are French. It has changed a lot in the last five or 10 years. [...] Before, almost anywhere you would go, you would hear a fight between French and English. It's something, the last 10 to 15 years is probably when it started to change a lot, when we started to hang out with each other. It started getting better then, when the English started talking to the French a bit more (Carl, youth).

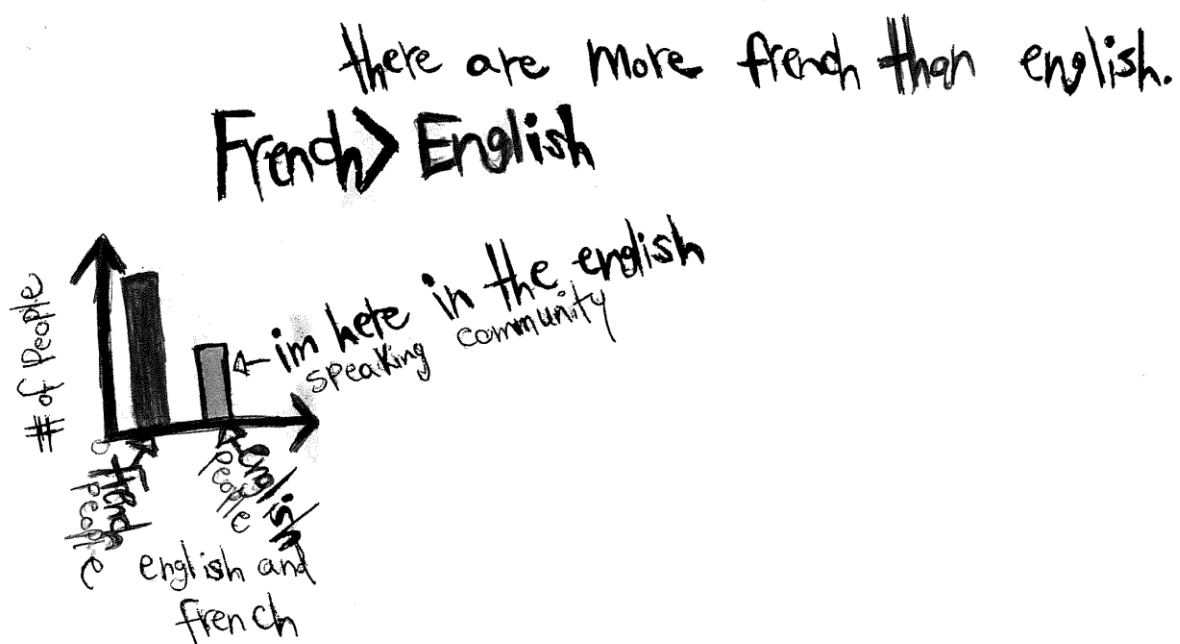
Lots of the friction between the French and the English [before] so we just didn't... Like my son now hangs out in the French community all the time, where we didn't do that. We stuck to ourselves. It was a different... it was just a different way of living at that time. They don't have a large pool of friends within their own community, so of course they go looking elsewhere for other friends to be able to interact and hang out with. I see that as a big difference. Other than that, I see they hang out more and communicate more with the French community than we ever did (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

It should be emphasized here that what the youths have to say seems to reflect the discourse of adults in their community. They are in essence describing events that they did not witness or experience themselves.

The anglophone community as a linguistic minority

Overall, the results seem to indicate, on the one hand, a permeability of linguistic boundaries in terms of language practices and interactions between individuals from the two linguistic communities and, on the other hand, the maintenance of identity boundaries, which express themselves through the sense of being part of a social and linguistic minority. For the majority of these young people, crossing the language boundaries does not seem to be a problem, because they can communicate in French. They note, however, that they are in a particular context in which French is the official language of their province of residence and where their community is a demographic and linguistic minority. This is what many young people express through their representations of the English and French linguistic communities.

GORDON'S DRAWING:



I made a graph showing that there is more French people in Québec than English and I showed where I was in the graph. I'm in the English-speaking community. French is dominant in Québec (Gordon, youth).

ADDISON'S DRAWING:



So, it's small, the territory, and minority, the language we speak. Like the English communities are always less than French and not really recognized as much as the French. Fishing is important here and the boats, the sand, the clouds (Addison, youth).

When the youths are asked to describe their relationship to Québec, several report feeling excluded from the Québec francophone majority:

I think most of us feel like French people are pushing on us and, like, the province doesn't recognize us as much and it's like a French province and not an English province because Québec is the French province and then New Brunswick is the only bilingual one. But I think Québec should be bilingual, too. So you feel pushed because it's a French province and it says it's French, it should be all French, you guys don't have a place here sort of (Addison, youth).

The sense of being part of a minority is also strongly evident in the testimony of the parents and teachers interviewed. The sentiment is linked notably to not having services or activities in English. They report feeling forgotten, excluded and disregarded.

As an English person in Québec, you just don't have the rights that French people do. I would not have stayed here because... language, it would have been for language. I would have moved some place English, probably the Maritime provinces. It's the attitude sometimes, it's very... For English people living in a French province, you feel really, really a minority and sometimes it's really a big problem. And I mean English people are really missing out on a lot of cultural events, any shows, any musicians coming in, any comedy, anything, it's all in French, so English people are really missing out on that stuff. It is really very limited what we get here (Caitlin, mother of Willow).

English as a majority language

Although the young people interviewed see that English is a minority language in Québec, it must be emphasized that they see languages and their relationships on a larger scale that goes beyond the context of their community or even of the province. They see English as an international language and a majority or even dominant language elsewhere in Canada and around the world.

But then, everybody talks English and everybody has to know English if you want to go anywhere in the world because like... the Spanish, their second language is English. Greece is English. Germany is English. Like they all have English as a second language, but French don't want to learn English as a second language because they think that Québec is all there is, like... Well they probably don't think Québec is all there is, but like they live like Québec would be all there is, and they don't need it anywhere but they will go travel somewhere and no one understands French, they all understand English (Addison, youth).

Some young people and some parents mentioned that francophone parents increasingly want their children to learn English and are more interested in learning it. The international force of English becomes an important attraction for young francophones in the region. *"They [the French] benefit a lot because they learned how to speak English. They come here and they practice. They learn English"* (Gordon, youth).

Even the French are trying to learn more English now because they know... Like if they want to move anywhere else, they are going to need English. Some of the parents are

sending the kids to school in P.E.I. or wherever so they can go to an English school (Carl, youth).

This interest from francophones in learning English concerns some parents, such as Molly and Lauren. They do not necessarily look positively on the fact that francophones might eventually benefit from the bilingual resources that young people in the English-speaking community are trying to develop.

Well, I have noticed that a lot, just in the locker rooms and at cheerleading for example. I have mothers that are like: 'Oh well, I'm so glad that your daughter is here because now my daughter can learn to speak a little bit of English.' But in my mind, I say: we are here for French (Molly, mother of Carl).

They hang out with French kids but like, for example, my son has French friends, but it hasn't improved his French-language skills. It has improved the English-language skills of the francophone kids. [...] But like, they don't have to speak French to these kids because they all speak English. Like my son struggles with French like he just really, really has a hard time. When he is with his French friends, he doesn't have to speak French because they all speak English (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

These concerns are no doubt related to the fact that many parents and some young people feel that having the opportunity to be educated in English or French (or both) is a privilege reserved for the rights-holders of the English-speaking community. Some participants, such as Hannah, believe that this privilege must be protected, since it gives them access to linguistic and social capital that enables them to free themselves from living a minority status in relation to the francophone community.

I think it's important, especially if you are living in the province of Québec, because we are a minority language group for sure, you know, and we have the perfect opportunity. We can go to French school, they can't go to our school, but we can go to their school (Hannah, mother of Ben and a teacher).

Other parents, such as Molly and Caitlin, deplore the prohibition preventing francophones from attending English-language schools.

They want to, but they are not allowed. Because I know French parents that say: 'Jeez, if it wasn't, you know, for the language laws, my kids would be in English.' We would have so many kids here if it wasn't for that. And parents call here still, and they think that we don't want them. It's not that we don't want them, the government won't allow them and that's sad. Because everywhere they go, it's like English. You leave Québec, it's English (Caitlin, mother of Willow).

Youth identity at Jamie-David School

Analysis of the data collected indicates that the majority of young people surveyed identify as anglophones when asked to describe their linguistic identity. Others have positioned themselves as “almost bilingual.” Beyond linguistic identity, we noted that the majority of young people and adults we met manage to navigate between francophone and anglophone groups, but that they find it difficult to identify themselves as Québécois, as will be seen below. Young people and their parents have a strong attachment to the Maritime region, with whom they share a culture of fishing and where they often have an established family network. This section will explore these identifiers mentioned by participants at Jamie-David School.

An anglophone linguistic identity

Of the seven students interviewed, four call themselves anglophone: Ivy, Willow, Dave and Gordon. This anglophone identity is strongly linked to the fact they speak English on a daily basis, at school, in the family and in the community where the school is located. Anglophone linguistic identity is also linked to the idea of an English-speaking culture shared by members of the linguistic community, as described here by Gordon: “[English] is the language I speak and I live in an anglophone community, so I'm English. It's part of my identity because it's the language I speak and we have our own culture and stuff” (Gordon, youth).

For two of the five youths, Ivy and Dave, the anglophone identity seems to be predominant. For Ivy, the use and importance she gives to French on a daily basis does not prevent her from identifying herself primarily as anglophone. For example, she says she communicates regularly in French and often interacts with francophones. Ivy also has a parent whose mother tongue is French and with whom she uses this language. However, the use of French does not seem sufficient to contribute significantly to one's linguistic identity. It should be noted that Ivy

defined her relationship to identity based on the intimidation she experienced while attending a French elementary school. While her father is anglophone and her mother is French-speaking, Ivy's unique loyalty to the anglophone identity is the result of the rejection of her francophone identity by her peers. She says that she was bullied after she was identified as being anglophone by young francophones. Thus, even though one of her parents is francophone, she received part of her education in French, and she lives in French at home with her mother, her identity as an anglophone is now more significant than a potential bilingual or francophone identity. This is what she explains here:

I see having both languages as an asset and a bonus. But I think that I am going to live the rest of my life speaking English. I plan on studying in English. College and university are going to be in English. I want to live in an English community. I just see French as an asset, like a bonus in the job market. It's always good to know a second language, but I think English is like my core (Ivy, youth).

Dave also stopped speaking French as a result of bullying events and his mother thereafter spoke to him only in English. Although Ivy's and Dave's cases are not identical, particularly with respect to their use of French and their sense of proficiency in French, the fact remains that the experiences reported by these two students indicate the role that peers play on the construction of their linguistic identity. These cases show how the context and relationships between the two official linguistic communities affect the construction of linguistic identity. In both cases, the intimidation practices of members of the majority group played a role in establishing a barrier between francophones and anglophones. The accent and linguistic profiles of Dave and Ivy were used as tools for exclusion. Attending a school in French, speaking the language or having a francophone parent do not seem to have been enough to be considered a legitimate member of the majority group.

The English-speaking identity of young people who also speak French has also been reported by their parents and teachers. Indeed, the words of Shannon (mother of Addison) and Caitlin (mother of Willow) demonstrate this: *"I think they would identify themselves as being anglophones but speaking French. [...] The English identity is very strong here. It's very rooted in the community"* (Shannon, mother of Addison). *"There would be some that would say they*

are bilingual, but some of them, even if they have one French parent, they would say: no, I'm English. They would say: 'I'm English'” (Caitlin, mother of Willow and a teacher).

Young people's discourse about their linguistic identity and the parents' perceptions of it reveal a distinction between knowledge and use of the French language and identification with the francophone community of language and culture. When the term “bilingual” is used by young people or by their parents or teachers, they are referring to their ability to express themselves and hold a conversation in both official languages. When asked if being bilingual means that they feel they belong to both linguistic communities, they respond negatively.

The “almost bilingual” identity

Of the seven students surveyed, three say they are “almost bilingual” when asked to describe their linguistic identity: Addison, Ben and Carl. *“I am, like, almost bilingual, and I just get along better with them [her French friends]”* (Addison, youth).

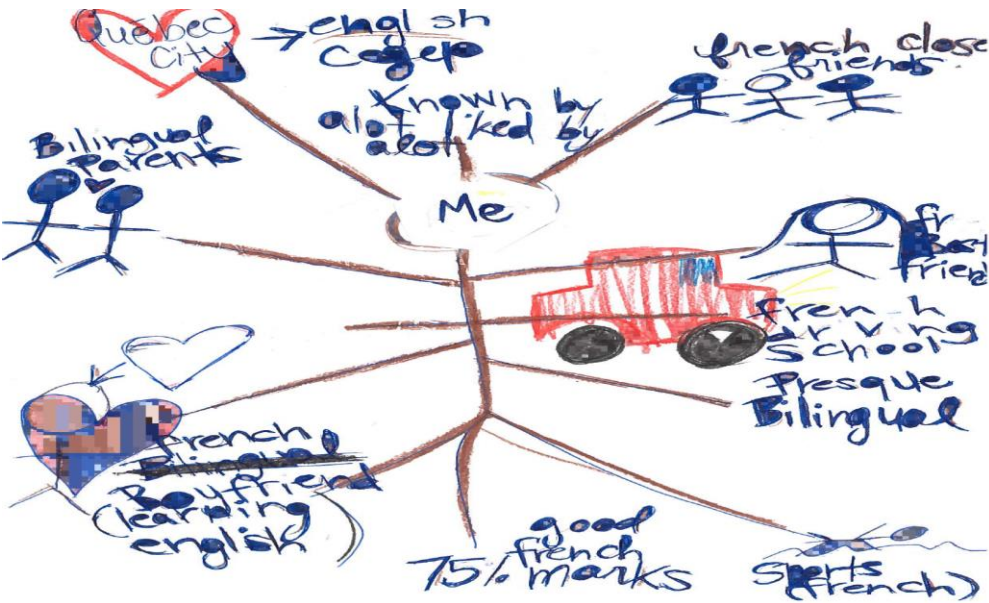
Although these students use the term “almost bilingual,” their cases differ in many respects. First, Addison does not come from a linguistically mixed family. Both parents consider themselves unilingual anglophones, although they have learned French as adults and are able to maintain a conversation in French. Second, Addison never attended a French-language school. Addison seems to have developed her “almost bilingual” identity through her experiences since childhood, but outside the home. The fact that her friends are mostly francophones seems indeed to have played an important role on the construction of her linguistic identity.

As for Ben, he comes from a family where the father is francophone and the mother anglophone. He attended an elementary school in French from kindergarten to Grade 3. In Ben's case, his identification as “almost bilingual” seems to be more related to the presence of French in the family sphere as well as outside his home. His father has French as his mother tongue. His mother, who is anglophone, also masters French. Both English and French are used at home. Many of his friends are francophones. However, he seems reluctant to say he is “bilingual” because he has been attending an English-language school since Grade 4. He believes that he would not succeed in French if he returned to a school where the language of instruction is French.

Carl's father claims both French and English as mother tongues. Carl says he learned French at a young age, since his French-speaking grandmother spoke to him in that language. He also attended a French-language school for five months during Grade 4. In addition, Carl specifies during the interview that he speaks mainly French during the weekends with his friends. Thus, Carl has been exposed to French since his youth and his use is not related only to the practice of a sport. However, English is the only language spoken at home and is the main language of his studies, except for a short period of schooling in French. This use of English in the family and school sphere seems to be a determining factor in Carl's identification as bilingual, but he sees himself as more anglophone than francophone.

When these young people are asked to draw a representation of their English-speaking community, to identify where they stand in relation to the latter, as well as to represent their ties to their languages, they emphasize their bilingual identity.

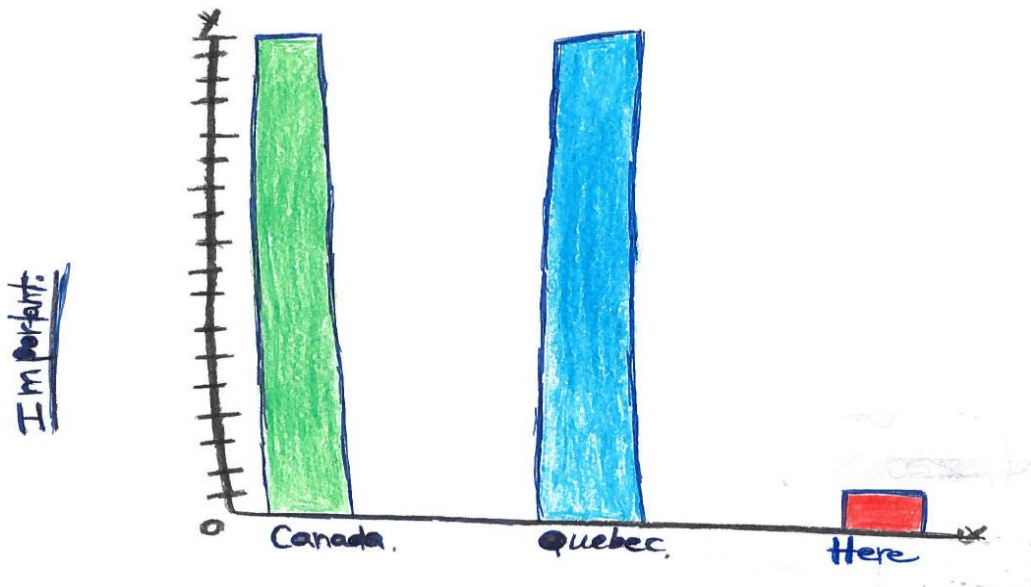
ADDISON'S DRAWING:



I'm bilingual. I'm known to a lot of French people and I get invited to French parties by a lot of people. And Québec City with a big heart because I love it and I'm going to an English CEGEP but it's in a French city. I have my French close friends like my group of friends and then I have my French best friend. And then, driving school in French,

pre-school bilingual and all my sports are in French and I get good French marks and there is Sam, my French boyfriend (Addison, youth).

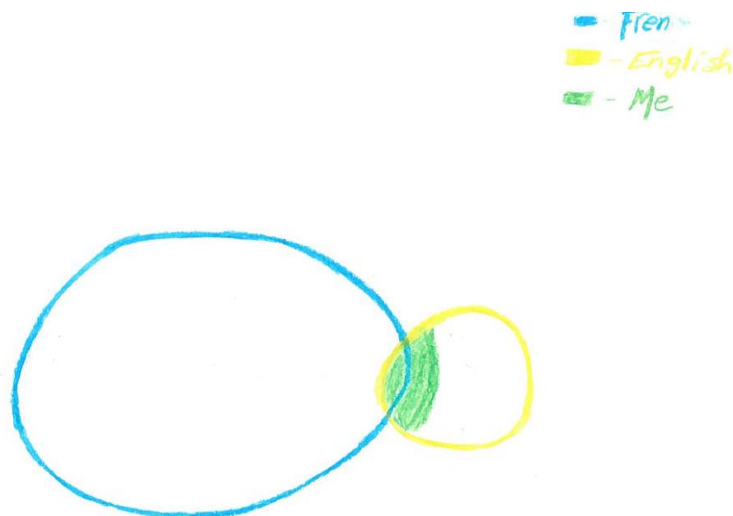
BENS DRAWING:



In Québec, there are more French people than English people. Here there are English people, but the French people are also very dominant because there is not really many [English] around here. I place myself like in the middle maybe, I don't know. I don't really know because I'm like both, so if it's like more French or more English, well, I can still be part of it. I'm still like... I'm still both of them, so I fit everywhere (Ben, youth).

Carl, who calls himself anglophone, explains that he finds his place in the two linguistic communities and that he manages to forge links with francophones and anglophones: *"I guess, personally, I fit in pretty much anywhere. I make friends easy"* (Carl, youth). When he situates himself in relation to the two linguistic communities, he puts himself at the intersection of the two groups, although more on the English than French side, as shown by his drawing.

CARL'S DRAWING:



I did a diagram. I'm a little more to the English but I am part of the French, too, I guess. I drew the French a bit bigger because there is a lot more French around here and then the English is a smaller community and in the middle is people that speak a bit of both, I guess, and then I am a little more English than I am French. So I took up a bit bigger space in the English circle than in the French circle (Carl, youth).

Questions arise over the use of the term “almost bilingual” by these three young people. Why don't they simply call themselves bilingual? The word “almost” seems to indicate that they do not feel they have all the skills required in French to claim a bilingual label, despite their everyday use of that language. This identification as “almost bilingual” could thus be associated with a feeling of linguistic insecurity, as expressed by Ben, and to a certain extent by Addison. In fact, the analysis of their interviews reveals that these young people often hesitate between “almost bilingual,” “bilingual” and “anglophone” identity, illustrating a complex and multiple-identity positioning, which varies according to the context and elements of comparison. These positions also suggest a frequent shift between the use of the “bilingual” category as an identity and as competence. For example, Addison makes these comments during the interview:

Research assistant: *Considering everything we talked about, would you say being an anglophone is a big part of your identity?*

Addison: *Yes, and being bilingual is big too, because everybody sees you differently if you speak French.*

Research assistant: *Would you consider yourself a bit more bilingual, as a way of describing yourself, than being anglophone?*

Addison: *No, I'm English but I can speak French if I want to, if I have to.*

(Addison, youth)

A difficult identification with Québec

The young people we met do not identify themselves as Québécois, a category that, according to some of them, is reserved for francophones. Many, like Willow, prefer to identify as Canadian.

I don't think of myself as a Québec person at all. I am Canadian, I am not Québec. Well, like, I live in Québec, but I am not a Québec person because when I think about Québec people, they are just French. I'm not French (Willow, youth).

The difficulty of identifying as a Québécoise is also cited by adults, especially by Lauren, Gordon's mother. However, she explains that it was only later, as an adult, that she came to identify as both an anglophone and as Québécois. This excerpt also suggests that the feeling of belonging to the local community often prevails over the sense of provincial or even national belonging.

But when I was growing up, my sense of belonging was to my community. I've got to say that I just kind of created a sense of belonging for Québec in the last 10 years, since I have been working in community development. I didn't really see myself as a Quebecer before, where now I do. And I have a sense of pride in being an English-speaking Quebecer. It is something I did not have before (Lauren, mother of Gordon).

The testimony from the youths show some of them have strong ties to the Maritime provinces and feel they belong more to the culture of these provinces than to Québec, as illustrated by Addison's comments:

Well, as English we do more, like with the fishing and stuff, they do more with the Maritimes than they do more with Québec, but I think French people would think they are more Québec. People from New Brunswick know who we are, like we are Acadians,

part of New Brunswick. So I think we should be part of the Maritimes. And like, it depends who you are, but some people think they are part of the Maritimes and some people don't realize they are part of Québec (Addison, youth).

Willow's mother, Caitlin, also thinks that youth in her anglophone community identify more as Canadians and that they share the Maritime culture: *"Yes, they consider themselves Canadians, they don't consider themselves Québécois. They consider more a Maritimes culture than Québec culture"* (Caitlin, mother of Willow).

Conclusion

The Jamie-David School is located in a small English-speaking community near the Maritimes. This geographic situation seems to have a significant impact on the scholastic and identity issues mentioned in the interviews. The fishing industry seems to be at the heart of the way of life and the identity of the participants in the study. English seems to dominate the daily exchanges in the community. Similarly, a majority of participants have English as their mother tongue and as a language of daily use. The school's staff seem preoccupied by the declining demographics of the community and, in turn, by its declining enrolment. This situation, according to the staff interviewed, leads to a reduction in financial and human resources in the school as well as reorganization (e.g. creation of multilevel classes). The main academic issues mentioned by the staff are: difficulty learning French (e.g. difficulties related to passing the Grade 11 French exam), the dropout rate (particularly among boys attracted by the fishing industry), the lack of regard for education by the community (particularly the undervaluation of the pursuit of post-secondary education). Respondents noted an improvement in the relationship between anglophones and francophones in the region. However, a feeling of being part of a demographic and linguistic minority and a feeling of exclusion emerge from the testimonies. Respondents deplore a lack of recognition of their linguistic minority status by the majority French-speaking group in Québec and the lack of English-language services in their region. Young people primarily identify as anglophones or "almost bilingual." Indeed, a sense of linguistic insecurity with respect to their French skills stop them from declaring themselves "completely bilingual," especially when they compare themselves to mother-tongue francophones. They refer more often to an identification with the Maritimes and fishing than to a Québec one – Québécois being perceived, according to them, as unilingual francophones.

Lloyd-Brasseur School in l'Outaouais

The Lloyd-Brasseur School is located in l'Outaouais, in a major urban area on the border with the province of Ontario. It is situated in a residential area that has been growing for the last few years. The district in which the Lloyd-Brasseur School is located is characterized by a significant anglophone heritage, particularly due to a wave of Irish immigration in the 19th century. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the population is francophone and one-third is anglophone. A growing immigrant population and the presence of Indigenous peoples in the region also contribute to the ethnocultural and linguistic diversity of the city. The school mainly accepts young people from the surrounding district. A portion of its clientele consists of families from other regions of Québec or Ontario who have recently settled in the city.

The sectors of economic activity in the region are diversified: timber and agriculture, technology companies, tourism and government agencies. English-French bilingualism is widely appreciated in the tourism and public-service sector.

Lloyd-Brasseur School

The Lloyd-Brasseur School is composed of a junior high sector and a senior high sector, after two separate schools were merged. The school has a total enrolment of approximately 1,000 students and the Lloyd-Brasseur school population has been growing in recent years. This growth represents a challenge for the management of medium-sized buildings that can accommodate the entire school population only with difficulty. The junior and senior sectors occupy separate spaces in the school, except for a shared cafeteria and gymnasiums.

The Lloyd-Brasseur principal describes the school as one that is located in an urban sector where the socioeconomic situation of the parents is clearly above the poverty line, although some neighborhoods are classified as disadvantaged. The school enjoys good financial and educational resources, he adds. In general, the students come from families with a solid economic status and the education level of parents is fairly high, according to the principal. The profile of families in the study, however, show that there is some socioeconomic diversity within the Lloyd-Brasseur School population.

Lloyd-Brasseur School offers two types of French programs to its students in the junior and senior sectors: French as a Second Language and French Immersion. About one-third of the

school's students are enrolled in the immersion program. The students interviewed for this study were all enrolled in the immersion program, which must be considered in the analysis of the data collected.

The Lloyd-Brasseur School also offers special programs tailored to specific clientele in order to improve opportunities for success: a program adapted for students with academic difficulties (specialized classes) and a program for students in Grade 10 and 11 intended to stimulate motivation.

Lloyd-Brasseur School participant profile

For this study, 14 people agreed to participate in the interviews: eight young people, three mothers (two of whom were also teachers at the school), two teachers and the school principal. The young people interviewed (five girls and three boys) were in Grade 9, 10 or 11 at the time of the study and were between 14 and 17 years old. All of the youth encountered were enrolled in the French-immersion program offered at the school at the time of the study. The majority of them have studied in the English sector (regular or immersion) since elementary school, but some have also studied in the French sector, which is the case for Adam and Olivia.

All study participants from this school reside in the community where Lloyd-Brasseur School is located. Several parents and some students, however, have previously resided in other cities or regions of Québec (Pontiac, Baie-Comeau, Montréal, Gaspésie) or Canada (Ontario, Nova Scotia and Alberta).

Of the eight young people surveyed, six say English is the main language of communication at home. Of these, three have parents who both have English as their mother tongue: Liam, Emmanuelle and Maryka. Three students come from families where one parent is anglophone and the other is francophone, but which have English as the main language of communication at home: Olivia, Alice⁶ and Adam. One student comes from a family where both parents have French as their mother tongue and declare French as the main language of communication at home: Simon. One student comes from a family where the main language of communication at home is English, but the father's mother tongue is Portuguese and mother's mother tongue is

⁶ Alice has been living with a foster family for over five years, while maintaining a bond with her birth mother, brothers and grandparents. In this report, we generally refer to the host family, unless otherwise indicated.

French: Sophie. Five of the eight students report English as their only everyday language. Olivia, Simon and Maryka said they use both French and English daily.

Seven of the eight students interviewed have parents with university-level education, i.e. at least one parent has a university degree: Olivia, Liam, Sophie, Emmanuelle, Simon, Maryka and Alice. Adam said his parents only have high school diplomas.

The three parents interviewed are mothers (Julia, Caroline and Isabelle) who have English as their mother tongue and as their main everyday language. Julia and Caroline, as teachers at Lloyd-Brasseur School, also use French as part of their work. Julia grew up in l'Outaouais and, more specifically, in the district where the Lloyd-Brasseur School is located. Her family still lives in the area. Her ex-husband is also from the region, but her current spouse comes from the Lanaudière region. Julia's parents are both anglophone and she studied in the English sector in French immersion throughout her elementary and high school education. Julia holds a university degree. Caroline had her post-secondary education in English in Ottawa, but she is not from the Outaouais region. She grew up in Nova Scotia and lived for more than 10 years in the Côte Nord region with her husband, who is from France, as well as their children. The family recently settled in the Outaouais region. Isabelle, the third mother interviewed, was born in Ottawa, but she grew up and lived for many years in Nova Scotia, where her ex-husband and current spouse also come from. She has been living in l'Outaouais for 15 years now. Isabelle has a university degree.

Lena, a teacher, has English as her mother tongue and as a language of use. She completed her university studies in Ottawa. The other teacher, Sara, has French and English as mother tongues and languages of use. She was born in Montréal, but she also resided in Ontario and l'Outaouais with her parents. She did her college studies in English in the Outaouais region before completing her teaching studies at Concordia University in Montréal. The principal of the school, Noah, comes from l'Outaouais and was a student at Lloyd-Brasseur School. He attended high school in Ottawa, followed by post-secondary education in Nova Scotia. He returned to the Outaouais region to work as a teacher at Lloyd-Brasseur School and to complete his undergraduate education. Noah subsequently completed graduate studies at Bishop's University in l'Estrie. He says he is strongly attached to the Outaouais region, where he now resides with his wife and their

children. Noah has declared English as his mother tongue and as the main language of use, but he also uses French, particularly in the context of his work.

Major challenges at Lloyd-Brasseur School

Interviews with youth, their parents and school staff helped to better understand four key issues in their school environment. The next section will present the themes that emerged from the interviews.

Bullying, diversity and inclusion

Bullying is an important issue at Lloyd-Brasseur School. The school is implementing measures to create an inclusive environment that values ethnocultural diversity and is free from intimidation. The school is a positive and welcoming environment for all students. There are several wall murals with inspirational quotes and posters aimed at raising awareness and helping to combat bullying of particular groups (LGBTQ, immigrants, First Nations, religious minorities, etc.). Lloyd Brasseur School has a major anti-bullying program, which has been copied by other schools and school boards and even other countries. Noah, the principal of the school, describes the fundamentals of the anti-bullying program:

We sat with the whole class. We did a circle and [...] we came up with the idea of 'not in my school.' So 'not in my school' means bullying, homophobia, sexting, cyberbullying, violence, aggression, racism. And those things mean 'pas dans mon école.' We actually... we are looking at joining with francophone schools. We sent tuques and hats, [to] Australia, across the country, like different places, and we need to start the campaign again to really push the idea. You know we can have a voice, and these are things that we are not okay with coming in our school. Kids have made videos, they have done a lot of good work. We have done presentations and you know, it makes us proud (Noah, principal).

Special efforts are being made to better welcome and support students from First Nations, as explained by the principal:

Our First Nations population is growing. We have a person that we have hired from a grant from the government and we use some of our staff as well. And she is our Indigenous success worker, so she works with students. We have about 65 students who

are First Nation origin, some who have been living in the community for a while and others who have moved here recently from places like Mistassini and other places in the north. So that's a challenge for us. [...] We are partnering with a group from Saskatchewan and in a few weeks they are bringing seven students here and the principal, vice-principal and health-service worker. And the idea is, we are going to partner with them with our kids and we are going to do training in pure mediation, restoration practices and suicide prevention. [...] The television station is going to do a documentary on our week and our partnership. So we work... We are doing a lot of stuff with our First Nation communities which we are proud of (Noah, principal).

According to the testimony of the young people interviewed, these anti-bullying measures are well received by the students. Marika commented on the program by referring to the experience of an Aboriginal friend:

We have like a program for people that come from the First Nations and I think it's a good part from our school, so they feel accepted and find people who understand what they are going through, like how to adapt to, like, this type of school (Marika, youth).

Adam, who was bullied at another school, says he feels comfortable at Lloyd-Brasseur and can now focus on his studies. Emmanuelle also considers that the efforts of the school to counter bullying are bearing fruit: *"Yes, I find the support staff, like the guidance counsellors, they are like really good with dealing with bullying or like discrimination, that kind of thing"* (Emmanuelle, youth). Simon and Anna do not see any real bullying or discrimination in their school, especially in the senior high section: *"Me, I find that respect in our school is adequate. It's very good. I have never seen bullying, a lack of respect"* (Simon, youth).

Here, I don't think... I mean in [senior high] we don't have very religious, racial or like sexism issues. I think we are pretty good at not having that. But I know that in [junior high], the Grade 7s and 8s, there were issues with that, with like online bullying and stuff like that. But I know that with Grade 11, 10 and 9, it's pretty good. [...] I don't know anyone who has gone through that, really (Emmanuelle, youth).

Mobility

The challenge of mobility for the young people at Lloyd-Brasseur School and for their families relates to their ties with other regions of Québec and Canada. With the exception of a few families from the region, interview participants (young people or parents) mostly resided elsewhere in Canada before settling in l'Outaouais. For example, many of the young people have families in Ontario, Nova Scotia, Alberta or elsewhere in Québec (Montréal, Côte-Nord, Gaspésie, etc.). English, and to a certain extent French, is thus a language that they use not only within their immediate family, at school or in their district, but also as part of a larger and more geographically extended family network.

However, mobility is not an important issue in terms of education and academic success at Lloyd-Brasseur. All the young people we met live in the community and do not have to travel long distances to get to school. For post-secondary education, they have the option of staying in their city and region since there is an English-language college nearby. They also have the opportunity to study in Ottawa, not far from their home city. Some students have expressed their desire to attend CEGEP or university in Montréal or Toronto.

According to these young people, their region offers good job opportunities in different sectors and trades. This gives young people the impression that they will have the opportunity to choose a career that suits them without having to leave their region. They say that they will be able to choose to stay or move elsewhere in the country based on their desires, not because of constraints.

Student retention

According to participant testimonies, students in the regular program (French-as-a-second-language) find it more difficult to persist in their studies than immersion students, in particular because of the requirements of the Québec Ministry of Education's mandatory French examination at the end of Grade 11⁷. Immersion students report feeling more confident and prepared for this exam. They are, moreover, quite satisfied with the development of their

⁷ It is assumed that immersion students will be given the exam for the enriched French-as-a-second language program, not the one for the basic program. The students we met did not seem to have a clear understanding of the distinction. However, they share a common view of their skills and confidence in their ability to pass this exam, as well as a view that regular program students are less confident and less proficient in French.

bilingual skills through the immersion program. They do not consider the mandatory French exam an obstacle to their success or persistence in school. In general, the students we met did not seem to experience language anxiety related to their skills in and use of French as a second language.

In fact, through the data collected from the youths and teachers, it appears that many negative representations are associated with students in the regular program, as compared to students in the immersion program. For example, many participants say that students in the regular program are the least successful academically, that less talented students are found in the regular program and the more talented students in the immersion program. Moreover, according to the testimonies collected, parents of students in the regular program have lesser aspirations for their children and do not attach as much importance to French as a factor of academic and social integration. It was also said that the socioeconomic and educational level of the parents of regular students is lower compared to the parents of immersion students. It should be noted here that although there may be a selection effect on school enrolment in regular and immersion programs, these claims may also be part of stereotypes widely disseminated in immersion programs in Canada (Rebuffot 1993; Roy 2010). The principal's comments contradict the testimony of the students and teacher who had expressed this view of the immersion students' academic advantage. He says, rather, that *"some of [our] best students are in the regular program."*

The young people interviewed did not express any intention to leave school to enter the labour market. They all seem determined to pursue post-secondary education. This finding can be explained by a cohort effect: most of the students surveyed have parents with a university education, a factor that positively influences the process of academic success. Young people interviewed were likely to be strongly encouraged by their parents to pursue post-secondary education.

However, it should be noted that, on an individual basis, some students experienced difficulties in their schooling. Alice, for example, explained that she had difficulty studying science in French and that she had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the immersion program the previous year. Since the science course was taught in English from Grade 9, she decided to pursue her immersion studies while opting to take the science course in English. She said she has had more success since then. Adam, who experienced bullying starting in elementary school

until his first year of high school, says the situation has changed since his arrival at Lloyd-Brasseur and he has better grades now. His case supports the importance that the school administration places on the fight against bullying, since this phenomenon can jeopardize the success and retention of students who are its victims.

The principal of the school also explained that there were programs at Lloyd-Brasseur specifically set up to support the retention and academic success of students deemed “at risk,” that is to say students who he perceives are “poorly motivated” or in a “handicap” situation. He also noted that academic success and teaching effectiveness are crucial issues for him and his team of teachers.

The role of the school as an institution for the linguistic minority

The Lloyd-Brasseur School is seen by management, staff and some members of the school board as an agent of socialization of the Anglo-Canadian identity. For example, following the suggestion of a former teacher, the school recently introduced the practice of having students stand up and listen to the Canadian national anthem each morning. Noah, the school principal, describes here his initial astonishment, then his support for the practice:

Noah: *There are people who don't want to stand for the national anthem when it's played, but they do, out of respect. They don't really believe...*

Research assistant: *Yes, when was that introduced? Because...*

Noah: *A couple of years ago, and you know what...?*

Research assistant: *By students?*

Noah: *No it was a teacher. He is at the school board now and when he entered it, he proposed that. I looked at him and I said: 'You are joking, right?' Because he was a staunch, staunch separatist and yet... And I talked to him after, he said 'No, I just think it is the right thing for the school.' [...] And I think there is some people who feel it, but when they look at what we are as a school community, they are able to put the other stuff aside, which is very powerful... It speaks highly of the teachers and staff, I believe. I am a really... Yes, I love the people I work with. They are great.*

(Noah, principal)

Sara, a teacher, also believes that the practice of listening to the national anthem effectively contributes to the socialization of young people as anglophones and Canadians:

Research assistant: *Do you think that the school plays a role in transmitting anglophone culture to the students or... anglophone values?*

Sara: *Well, we have... Yes, the best example I could give is the national anthem. So, every morning we listen to the national anthem. In all the schools in Québec where I went, where I worked, we never listened to the national anthem. So here, starting this year, we started playing the national anthem. So that's really... for me, it was weird to hear that the first time, because I've never experienced that.*

Research assistant: *Who decided that...?*

Sara: *I'm not sure. I think it was the principal and maybe some teachers for sure said they do it in all the schools in Canada, so why not here in Québec? So that's really a good example I can give you for Canadian and not Québec allegiance.*

(Sara, teacher).

However, students seem mixed about the effects of such a practice on their identification, as highlighted here by Sophie:

Research assistant: *Okay. I wanted to know a bit more about your sense of belonging to Canada. I just heard here [that] every morning students they listen, they hear the national anthem before going, going to classes. Is it important for you to listen to this?*

Sophie: *I don't think it really makes a difference, honestly, but maybe for some people it is important, but we have to... We only started doing it a couple of years ago, but before we went straight to class and I don't think it really changed anything to me or my friends.*

(Sophie, youth).

This example shows how school leaders seek to make it a meaningful identity institution for young people of the local linguistic minority. They seek to put in place practices and policies that will promote the socialization of youth as members of the anglophone linguistic community and, more broadly, as Canadians. This reclamation of a common practice in Canada, one which is practically non-existent in Québec, also illustrates how some school leaders, in the course of

their duties, position themselves outside the Québec identity, even if this may be in contradiction with their personal political convictions.

The choice of English-language school

The choice of an English-language school is a self-evident one for most of the young people met. It is their local school and it is the school where many of their parents work or have studied. Of the eight young people interviewed, seven have English as their mother tongue and the large majority have been educated in English since elementary school. Adam represents a special case. He chose this school to escape a difficult academic and social context where he experienced bullying by his peers.

It should be noted that, because of its location on the Ontario border, parents here have an opportunity to send their children to schools in that province, as Julia did for one of her children. It seems that a lower cost of living and lower costs associated with studies in Québec, when compared to Ontario, contribute to the choice of an English-language school located in Québec. Many of the parents of the young people we met moved to this community to be close to Ottawa while profiting from a more favourable economic climate. The Outaouais region also seems to appeal to Québec families that want to improve their work situation, while allowing their children to develop their bilingualism, as is the case for Simon and his family.

Parents also want to choose a good school for their children, and Lloyd-Brasseur School seems to them to have a good reputation in the region because of the academic achievements of its students, its special programs and extracurricular activities, as Julia, a mother and teacher at Lloyd-Brasseur, explains:

I think the students are doing well academically. So, I think people see it as a good educational institute for their children. We even have francophones who chose to change and come in or who were in private schools, private French schools, and chose to come here. There are a lot of sports activities and there are other varieties of social and cultural ones as well, but I think... I think it is a fair community and the kids travel up from the elementary schools and come here so... (Julia, parent and teacher).

The immersion program at Lloyd-Brasseur School is also an important attraction for young people and their parents. Some students had completed the elementary immersion program and

wanted to continue the program in high school. The possibility of developing bilingual skills through the immersion program seems to be a key reason for the choice of school for parents. Many parents enrol their children in the immersion program to encourage them to learn French, a language very valuable to them as Canada's second official language and majority language in Québec. Parents believe that having French-language skills will increase employment opportunities for their children. Immersion is also a more accessible or easier alternative for developing French skills, compared to schools in the French sector.

Bilingualism is very important to us and we would have originally put the kids in the French system, but because of [my son]'s difficulties, we didn't and then I chose not to put my daughter in a different system with different PD [professional development] days or holidays, because I work here... Because to be able to be employed in any capacity in this area, you essentially have to be, on the Québec side, you need to be bilingual. So it's already an asset for my son for employment, for part-time employment (Julia, parent and teacher).

Academic success and future plans

Immersion students at Lloyd-Brasseur School seem to share an elitist representation of their program that they are better students and that they have higher aspirations than students in the regular program. They are generally satisfied with their academic background and are confident of their chances of graduating and pursuing post-secondary studies of their choice. They identify few, if any, major obstacles to their success.

It should be noted that while post-secondary education is largely favoured by the youths, their parents and their teachers, it is not considered to be the only option for the future. Parents certainly value the pursuit of education, but they do not insist that young people complete university studies at all costs, especially in a context of instability of the labour market and the possibility of having to hold several types of employment over their working lives. In fact, parents want their children to find a career path that will make them happy. The students encountered are aware of this desire. This is how Caroline, Olivia's mother and a teaching assistant at Lloyd-Brasseur, describes it:

I think that sometimes pushing them towards one thing will push them in another direction, or they end up and hate it and don't want to do it anyway. We do a lot of talking at home and try to figure out, you know, what kind of things they are interested in, what their talents are and things like that, and we started to look at different jobs, things that could lead up to that kind of thing. And I told my daughter several times in the past year, 'you know, 40 years ago you took something at university or something in CEGEP and you would find a job and stay in that job for the rest of your career. Unfortunately, in today's society, that is most likely not the case. So you know, choose something that you can see yourself enjoying, that you want to learn about, that you want to grow into, and try to find that job that best suits that. But there is a good chance that, 10 years down the road, you may change your career plan.' I'm not telling her to give up on, you know, don't have any dreams, don't have any guidelines, but don't be so stressed that... You know. And on top of it, they graduate earlier in Québec than they do [in Ontario], so they have one less year to think about who they are, so they are very immature, trying to make a decision that is possibly going to affect the rest of their lives. I mean, I think it puts a lot of pressure on an individual (Caroline, mother of Olivia and a teaching assistant).

Most of the young people interviewed expect they will attend college at the local anglophone CEGEP. Some would like to study in an anglophone CEGEP in the Montréal area. For post-secondary education, students are divided. They see the possibility of moving to a prestigious university in Montréal, Ottawa or Toronto.

Of the eight young people interviewed, four are determined to go to university. Of these four, three have parents with a university education. Emmanuelle, whose parents both have a doctorate, says she wants to go to university, but she is still hesitant about the choice of program. She is divided between her passion for music, her interest in science and research, and her need for economic stability:

Well, I want to go in the sciences, like math, but sometimes, because I play the violin in an orchestra, sometimes I think if I could go into like the music program, being in an orchestra and just like get a bachelor's in music and join another orchestra and stuff like that. I think about that sometimes because I think it would be really cool. But I think

math and sciences are more, like, security than the arts and I do like the sciences, too, so it's not like I'm forcing myself to go into it... I want to do a master's, but if I like to do research, probably a Ph.D., yes [...] McGill or the University of Toronto, I don't think price is really an issue because I have a fund... (Emmanuelle, youth).

The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in l'Outaouais

In school, relations between anglophone and francophone students are described as being harmonious. They say they speak mostly English in school, but some also use French, during breaks, for example. However, there appear to be language conflicts between school staff who position themselves as anglophone and francophone. According to what was said, francophone teachers want more recognition at school, while anglophone teachers find these demands exaggerated. It must be said that the issue of identity and nationalism in Québec is also a source of tension among the staff at Lloyd-Brasseur School. The principal encourages teachers to avoid discussing these issues at school in order to avoid conflicts between staff members.

The students we met seem to adapt their linguistic practices to the people they interact with and the context. At school and with friends, English is the language of common use. In the family, the use of English dominates for the majority of students. Many young people, including those with francophone parents, report using French as well. This is the case for Olivia, who likes to use French and finds opportunities to do so, mainly outside of school:

Well, at school, the people around me are all in English, so I'm going to speak in English, you know, when people ask me questions, so okay... So at school I speak in English, because everyone speaks English, but if I went to a French school it really wouldn't bother me to speak French all the time. I like French, especially speaking it, but you know the grammar, not so much. But to speak in French, I like that a lot (Olivia, youth).

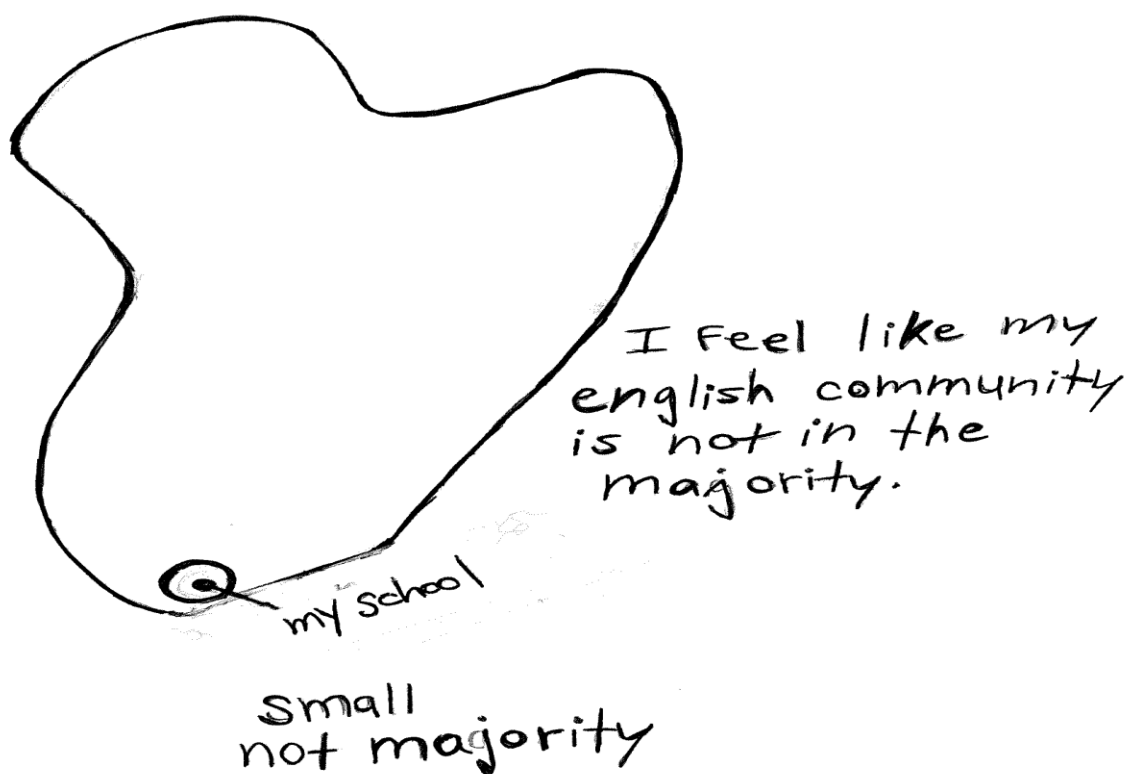
Moreover, we find in the testimony of the young people the influence of parents who value French, whether from an identity, family or pragmatic perspective. This is what Sophie and Liam had to say: “Well, they want me to keep speaking French you know. They don't want me to lose my French and, like, forget it, so yes...” (Sophie, youth). “They say they think it is important to be bilingual for job opportunities” (Liam, youth).

The students mention that, outside the walls of school or family, they use French in the community. They generally seem to express a sense of confidence and linguistic security in their use of French in extra-curricular contexts. For them, the school represents an English-speaking island in a predominantly French-speaking sea:

I mean, [school] is the only place I go that is English-speaking, I mean home [too], but that doesn't really count, it's like our community but everywhere else is like French, I would say. I mean there is a lot of people that speak English in Québec, but there is no place, like community, that I can go to that's English, and then Ottawa is, obviously, Ontario (Maryka, youth).

Emmanuelle's drawing shows how she views her community as a small, isolated spot excluded from the majority community.

EMMANUELLE'S DRAWING:



I drew Québec and how, like, this community is really small, like compared to everyone else. Just, like, how we don't make up the majority, that we are like a small section (Emmanuelle, youth).

While it is often necessary to speak French in the public spaces in their district, young people also use English, especially when they are with friends. However, the choice to speak in English, other than at school, may attract criticism and censure from adults around them. This can provoke frustration among the youths, who express a sense of being discriminated against by some of their French-speaking fellow citizens. The language choices of young people can also become a source of tension between generations within the family. This is illustrated by the following excerpts from Simon and Alice:

Really, once I remember walking down the street and talking to my friend, then speaking in English, then there was a gentleman who shouted at me because I spoke English [in the community]. But here [school], is not really... anglophones are not a minority. You know, here we see there are 900 young people who speak English. So, I don't know, it annoyed me. I remember... I talk about it sometimes with my father, but often it becomes a little conflict because sometimes he is a little more to the right than me on things like that. Like, say if my friends speak English, he does not like it because he does not speak English well. But me, I fought with him over that because it was a bit... I thought it was a little silly that... My friends are comfortable in English, they want to speak English, let them. It always comes back to that (Simon, youth).

I see some tensions, like there are some people who just don't want to learn English and if you speak in English they will not speak to you in English, they will just keep talking in French. Like we had an Australian exchange student living with us for a while... And she was like... she couldn't... She was trying to learn some French, but she couldn't because she was only here for a few months, so when she was at a store or whatever, someone said something to her in French and she said: 'Oh sorry! I don't speak French, I'm not from here.' And then like the other person was just like really disrespectful towards her. But I think it's also the same for some English people, they think it is unfair that some people don't want to learn English and then they act the same way. But most people try to learn each other's languages... Well I feel it's just kind of silly. Like you should just... Like obviously there is two languages here. It's not really going to change, so we should at least try to put an effort into... Like French people should put an effort into learning English even though they really don't want to, and we should do the same (Alice, youth).

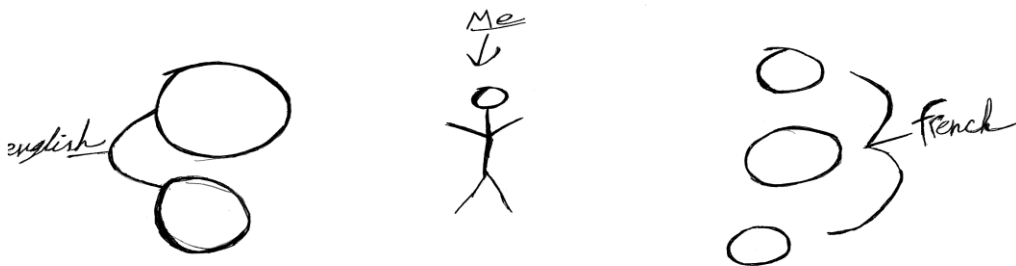
Some young people, such as Emmanuelle, also express a sense of discrimination and minoritization experienced by anglophones, but this time coming from the Québec state:

I'm a Canadian anglophone. Like... it's just that I feel like a lot of the time like... Like sometimes there is a bit of discrimination towards English people like... You know? Like I don't know how to, like, word it, you know? It's just I feel the government like might not think that we are like equal, that we are a little bit less than francophone people. That is kind of what I feel, but I don't know if that is entirely true. But I feel like Québec is probably different from the rest of the provinces in that way, because I feel like they kind of want it to be more French, yes... I feel like a little bit different than everyone. Like I feel like a minority... not really like a minority, just like a little bit different from like the majority (Emmanuelle, youth).

This feeling of minoritization experienced in l'Outaouais seems to have an impact on young people's representations of Québec. They perceive Québec society as "closed-minded" compared to Canadian society, which they perceive as a more open and inclusive environment.

Finally, some students, such as Adam, deplore the situation of conflict or tension that exists between the Québec anglophone and francophone communities, as illustrated by his drawing and his description of it. He refuses to take sides on behalf of one or the other of the communities, since he considers the division artificial and futile. He also believes that Quebecers should not be divided on the basis of linguistic identity.

ADAM'S DRAWING:



I am not selective of any particular side. There shouldn't be any dispute between the French and English of Quebec. We are all Quebecois, that's how we should remain, not class ourselves based on languages.

Personally, I don't have different views whether it's the English community or the French community. It's like... It's like asking me: Draw yourself in relation to a French community in Saskatchewan, basically. Whereas Saskatchewan is basically all English. But yes, I don't see myself any different from English to French, so I basically just would be in between, I guess, in between the two, because I don't really pick sides. I have learned not to pick sides in growing up, so. I have learned to always stand up for people that you love, so I don't know. It's just really the two communities I guess of Québec. There are obviously more communities, but this is what was asked so... I wrote that I'm not selective of any particular side. There shouldn't be any dispute between the French and English of Québec. We are all Quebecers and that's how we should stay. We shouldn't be classing ourselves based on languages (Adam, youth).

Youth identity at Lloyd-Brasseur School

The young people interviewed at Lloyd-Brasseur School proffered a number of positions in relation to their national and linguistic identities. While most say they are anglophone and Canadian, others prefer to position themselves as Quebecers, francophone or anglophone. Still others evoke bilingual identities (English-French) or bicultural identities (Canadians and Québécois). We will see in this section how the young people who participated in the study speak and describe these different identity positions.

Self-identifying as a Québécois and francophone

Of the eight young people interviewed, only one identifies as Québécoise: Olivia. She attended a French-language school in Québec's Côte-Nord region before settling with her family in l'Outaouais. She still has family and friends there, where she returns on occasion. Her position as a Québécoise is largely influenced by her strong interest in the French language, as described below:

I will say Québécoise, because I like French a lot. I love speaking French, also with my friends, like, we go in the Côte-Nord sometimes when we visit our family and all that, so, I just like it... You know, it's all in French, I dive into the French. I like that a lot. Yes, I really like that, so if I ask myself the question, well I'll say I think I am Québécoise. (Olivia, youth).

Self-identifying as Canadian and anglophone

Four of the youth interviewed identify themselves as anglophone Canadians. These young people do not position themselves in relation to Québécois or francophone identities, which seem to be of little significance to them. Young people who identify as anglophone Canadians can, however, position themselves as bilingual, as Maryka explains here:

I would say I'm more Canadian anglophone, but I still consider myself as bilingual. I don't know like when it would come up, but I would say I'm bilingual because like, well not here, but I have friends in Ottawa and I would say like... They speak French, but it's a more basic level, so I compare to other people and like I would be bilingual (Maryka, youth).

We note in this excerpt that, for Maryka, identifying as bilingual refers to her language skills in French and English, as compared to friends who live on the Ontario side. She seems reluctant to identify herself as bilingual in a Québec context. It is assumed from this excerpt that she does not feel confident enough in French to be comparable to native speakers of French and who identify themselves as bilingual, which can translate into a sense of linguistic insecurity. On the other hand, when she compares herself to non-native speakers of French, she feels more competent and claims her bilingualism as an element of identification. Thus, her identification as anglophone Canadian seems to be a more significant category, overshadowing the bilingual positioning, depending on the context.

Self-identifying as bilingual and bicultural

“Bilingual Canadian” and “I’m both” identifications were found in the testimonies of many young people when questioned about language, identity and culture. Simon, for example, whose parents are francophone Quebecers, identifies himself more as an English Canadian, but also as a francophone Quebecer, with some reservations. His family network and circle of friends contribute to this complex identification and influence Simon’s use of English and French and the appreciation he accords them:

Yes, yes. I don't know. I don't really have a great sense of patriotism about it, honestly, just because, when I was young, I always had anglophone friends. I've never seen them as English. I'm both, so, you know, I don't know. I never really had [...] I would say

Canadian. I just think my father tried very hard to show me French music, French books. There is a little that I absorbed, but all in all, not that much. Just because my friends, it was not really my friends' way, let's say. You know, like Rémi, people like that, I did not really have around a lot because my friends were always on the opposite side and I'm actually Québécois (Simon, youth).

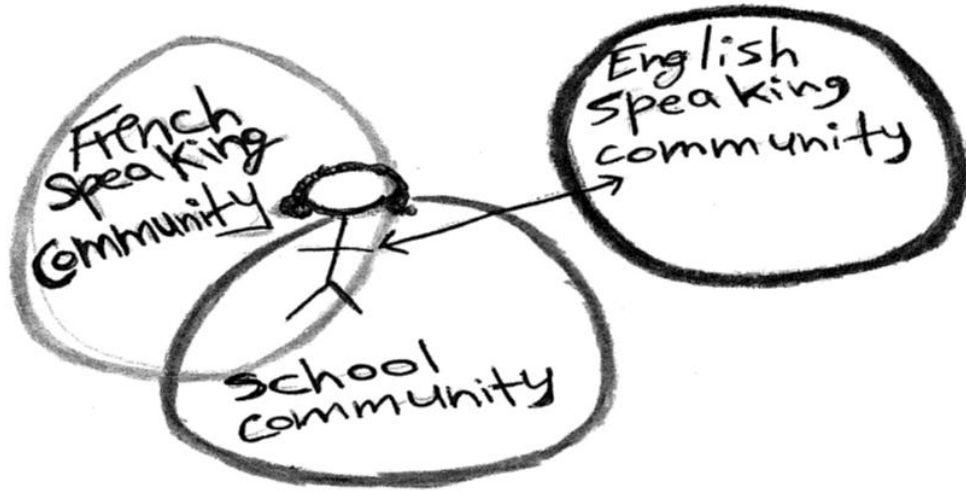
Simon's comments in the following excerpt confirm that the tensions around political debates about the future of Québec are of little concern to the young people we met, who consider those to be issues of their parents' generation. The young people met identify themselves as both Canadians and Quebecers, without seeing a political or identity contradiction.

No, not really. I understand patriotism, we speak in French, it's Québec, but at the same time I find you have to respect the rights of others a little more. I found it a bit sad, and I'm francophone, it was like... I am against the separation of Québec. I think it's a way of thinking that is a bit dated. I personally find, it's my view that it's a little... You know, in my father's time, my father was for that. You know, he voted all the time for that, but I do not see... I basically don't see the purpose of that. Separating Québec for me does not really do much. Because at the same time that I am Québécois, I am Canadian. I'm happy to say I'm Canadian (Simon, youth).

Self-identifying as an English Quebecer

Sophie, for her part, identifies primarily as English Québécoise, although she also positions herself as a Canadian, depending on the context. She was born in Montréal. Her father has Portuguese as his mother tongue; he is from Brazil. Sophie's mother, born in Montréal, has French as her mother tongue, but she now uses mostly English in her daily life. Sophie says she is fluent in French, but she feels she speaks mainly English with her friends, at school, in her community and in the family. Thus, although she is attached to Québec, where she has always resided, she does not identify much with the "francophone" identity. She also mentioned that, because of the absence of family ties elsewhere in Canada, her identity as a Canadian is less significant than her identity as a Québécois. Finally, she does claim a Brazilian identity.

SOPHIE'S DRAWING:



I don't really know if I'm in the English-speaking community, because I don't really know like... I see myself more as Québécoise, honestly, because I live in Québec. I have never lived in Ottawa or anything, you know? I don't know. I mean, I speak English, I live in an English community, technically, so I don't really know. So I don't think I am completely like outside of the community. I think I am near it and I am kind of connected to it. Yes, I think I have some connections to it because I speak English, I have English friends and everything, but I'm more Québécoise. I think I am kind of in the middle too. [...] School, it is a part of me but it's not all of me. I think it is just a little bit, because I have teachers and like the learning. But it is... When I actually think about it, it is a big part of me. So it kind of overlaps a bit, like that (Sophie, youth).

Conclusion

Lloyd-Brasseur School is located near the Ontario border. This geographic location appears to reflect school issues raised by school staff, parents and students, as well as in identity positioning. Parents who opt for this school practice “academic selection” in an area where a variety of choices are possible in elementary, high school and post-secondary (public institutions, private, francophone, anglophone, institutions in Québec or in Ontario). The Lloyd-Brasseur School seems to be perceived by parents and students as a “good school” that promotes a harmonious school climate (free from discrimination) and is a school that promotes the development of

bilingual skills (particularly in the immersion program). However, a certain hierarchy of students seems to predominate, at least in the representations, between the students in the immersion program and the students in the regular stream. However, although these young people live near a predominantly English-speaking Canadian province, they feel a sense of minoritization in relation to francophone Quebecers. Few of them identify themselves solely as francophones or Québécois, and they have difficulty identifying as fully “bilingual” vis-à-vis native French speakers. Conflicts between adult francophones and anglophones around them are also reported by the study participants. The proximity of the Ontario border also fosters more lively and frequent intergroup contact between the two linguistic communities.

Paul-Underhill in l'Estrie

Paul-Underhill School is located in a small town in the Estrie region. The town is inhabited by a predominantly English-speaking population, which boasts an Irish heritage. There are a few shops and restaurants in the city, but the community relies on sports, cultural and touristic/recreational activities as main economic activities. An industrial park is developing here, fed by the railway line that intersects the city. In the region, the agri-food sector is also a major economic force.

Paul-Underhill School

Paul-Underhill School is located at the entrance of the town, a little removed from other businesses and institutions. It is a small school with about 300 students from a large catchment area, making it a regional school. Although the school serves area children who are rights-holders under Bill 101, a significant portion of the school population report having French as their mother tongue, as the principal, Dylan, explains here:

We have just over 300 students. They come from a number of municipalities, but also a number of MRCs [Regional County Municipalities or RCMs]. So we actually touch five MRCs and I have three feeder schools here. The reality is here that we have, it's over half of our students I would say, speaking French at home as their first language. They come here because of the grandparent clause or other legal dispositions (Dylan, principal).

The principal says Paul-Underhill has insufficient financial and educational resources. Because of the small number of students and their dispersal over the territory of several RCMs, as well as regulations governing the collection and distribution of school taxes⁸, the school struggles to raise the funds needed to operate its activities.

Three French programs are offered at Paul-Underhill School: French as a first language, enriched French and French as a second language. French-first-language and French-enriched programs

⁸ According to the laws and regulations in force, a building owner must pay a school tax to one or other of the linguistic school boards (French or English) that serves its territory. By default, the tax collected will be remitted to the francophone school board. Owners who do not have children admitted to a school board may choose to pay their school taxes to the English school board serving their territory, if they request such in writing.

are seen as an alternatives to French-language high schools in the region that attract families whose children have completed elementary schooling in English. School management hopes to attract and retain eligible students who wish to continue their studies in the English sector while maintaining and developing their French-language skills.

The fact that the school is small also attracts parents and students who appreciate the family atmosphere of the school, in comparison with French schools, as explained here by Lisa, the mother of Logan, a student at Paul-Underhill:

For me, looking at their experience in Grade 2 at the French school and the English school, the French are much more regimented and many parents that switch to French in the English schools, they are very pleased with the English school in terms of being more, the elementary here [...], is much more family-oriented or family-feeling, caring (Lisa, mother of Logan).

In addition to regular school programs, the school is very focused on sports and music. It has also developed partnerships with local organizations through a Community Learning Centre (CLC). The development of the CLC at Paul-Underhill School is a continuation of Ministry of Education initiatives since 2006 to strengthen the links between English-language schools and their communities. English-language schools in Québec are thereby encouraged to develop partnerships with families, groups, organizations and local institutions. In the case of Paul-Underhill School, the CLC is specifically focused on bringing meaningful cultural activities to students and connecting with members of the English-speaking community. For example, the school, through the CLC, offers cultural activities such as concerts and exhibitions. The school engages its students in these activities in order to provide them with a positive and stimulating school environment, and it commits itself in turn to contribute to the well-being of its community.

With respect to community support and so forth, one of the things that is wonderful here [...] because we are a CLC school, which is the Community Learning Centre. So that's something that we have here, and we have the extended model, which means that our elementary schools are also tapping into the CLC network, which is a benefit to the English community for sure. [...] We have a great partnership deal, which is in year 2 or 3 already, for the MRC [RCM] [...], the CSSS [health and social service network] and

the Townshippers Association. We have been able to hire [...] a liaison agent for the English community here. What is nice about that agreement is, for the impact on the community, is that we are all sharing our budgets. [...] We were able to put it together and it translates to approximately 3 or 4 days a week where we have the services, where we do outreach. And we do from newborn – like we have done prenatal courses – so before newborn, right to seniors. So that’s un portrait really quick! (Dylan, principal).

Paul-Underhill School participant profile

In this region, we interviewed seven students (one boy, six girls), three mothers, one employee and the school principal, as well as the CLC manager. It should be noted that one of the mothers interviewed also works as guidance counsellor at the school. The young people we met were all in Grade 10 or 11 and were between 15 and 17 years old. Five were studying French-as-a-first-language and the other two were in the enriched-French program. Of these young people, only Kamille and Logan did part of their schooling in French at the elementary level before moving onto the English sector in high school. Kamille did all her elementary school in French, while Logan went from Grade 3 to 6 in French.

Among the young people interviewed, three students live in the town where the school is located, three live about an hour away from the school, and one student resides in a neighbouring municipality close to the school. Almost all young people report having resided only in l’Energie or the Centre-du-Québec region. Their parents also come for the most part from l’Energie. Emma, however, is an exception, having spent her early childhood in the Montréal area and whose first schooling occurred before her family moved to l’Energie. In fact, Emma attended three elementary schools, all English-speaking, including two in different towns in l’Energie.

Emma’s mother, Chelsea, was born in the United States to French-speaking Québécois parents. She did all her schooling in English, first in the United States, then in Québec, before the adoption of Bill 101. Among the other adults interviewed, the majority reside in the town, with the exception of Viviane, a mother of a student who lives an hour away from school. Dylan, the principal of the school, previously lived and worked in the Montérégie region, while Viviane lived in Ontario. Other parents and staff did not report having lived or worked elsewhere in Québec or Canada. Note that the town of residence of the school’s CLC manager is not recorded.

Of the seven youths surveyed, only one (Logan) comes from a family where both parents report English as their mother tongue and where the main language of communication at home is English. Two students (Elizabeth and Alicia) come from families where both parents have French as their mother tongue, but who use both French and English as the languages of communication at home. One young person (Kamille) comes from a family where one parent is English-mother-tongue and the other parent is French-mother-tongue. Finally, three students (Emma, Laura and Maèva) have at least one parent who claim both English and French as mother tongues. The young people themselves say they have English (Logan), French (Laura, Elizabeth, Alicia) or both languages (Maèva, Emma, Kamille) as mother tongues.

Three students come from families where at least one parent has a university education: Laura, Logan and Elizabeth. Two students come from families where at least one parent has a college diploma: Alycia and Maèva. Two students come from families where both parents have just a high school diploma: Emma and Kamille.

Of the three mothers interviewed, Chelsea declares both English and French as her mother tongues and languages of everyday use. The other two mothers (Lisa and Viviane) claim English as their mother tongue and as main everyday language. The principal of the school, the head of the CLC and the staff member interviewed also declared English as their mother tongues.

Major challenges at Paul-Underhill

The interviews conducted with youth, their parents and school staff helped to better understand four key issues in their school environment. The following sections will present the themes that emerged inductively from the interviews.

Bullying, diversity and inclusion

Paul-Underhill is a small school in terms of enrolment. Everyone knows each other and feels “among family.” According to the principal, the school population is relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnocultural affiliations. However, students and other school staff recognize that there is a certain ethnocultural and sexual orientation diversity at school: “*If you look for visible minorities or immigrants here, they are very hard to see or to find. Right now, I don’t think we have any*” (Dylan, principal).

But in our school, anyway, we promote being unique. That's what it's about. Like, you are one person, but everybody is unique in their own way. And you know, you shouldn't judge that person because they have this difference than you. It doesn't make you right, it doesn't make them right, it makes you unique from them, period. That's the way they should be taught. And that's... In our school system, in this building especially, like, there is anti-bullying and they don't... Where we don't... hold judgment against transgender or, you know, if they are bisexual or if they are... Their sexuality is irrelevant. There is none of that, you know... (Roxanne, guidance counsellor).

While student relationships are thus considered to be fairly harmonious and social inclusion and bullying do not appear to be major concerns at Paul-Underhill School, steps have nevertheless been taken to fight bullying. These measures were likely implemented following the adoption of Bill 56 in 2012. The administration's strategy to promote the inclusion of diversity and fight against bullying seems to actually contribute to making diversity invisible. Indeed, with the slogan "everyone is unique," individual differences are considered insignificant compared to the unity of the group, as illustrated by Roxanne's comments in the previous excerpt.

For the young people interviewed, they feel their school contributes to openness and enhancement of ethnocultural diversity, particularly through the pedagogical orientations of their teachers and especially through class readings from various cultural backgrounds. In the view of the young people interviewed, being able to read in English opens up more opportunities to explore what is happening outside Québec. Students consider that, compared to what is studied in the French sector, their studies at English-language schools prepare them to be more open-minded about diversity and to develop more inclusive attitudes. This is illustrated by Maèva's words:

If I went to French school... my whole life would be different, sincerely, because of how I see the world is different from those who have just been in French. You know, I don't know, like... I think they're a little less open. Because it's an English school, I think we see more, in our reading exams or things like that, we see more that there are not just Québécois. Since it's English, there are often texts on the United States or other cultures and all. It really opened my mind, so I think that's why I find it... Because, like my friends who go to French school, they all, let's say, just talk about life in Canada or even just

Québec sometimes, while we are more open. We have texts about the Chinese sometimes or about Africans (Maèva, youth).

Mobility

A major issue at Paul-Underhill School is mobility and long drives that many students have to make between school and home. In fact, a significant proportion of students in the school live in a city in the Centre-du-Québec region, which requires them to travel at least two hours a day. The school attracts students who live not only in l’Estrie, but also in Centre-du-Québec because of the lack of English-language high schools in that region. The distance students travel each day is a significant challenge for them and their families, but they feel it is worth it. They prefer it to the alternative of attending the French-language school in their town. This demonstrates the commitment these students and their parents have to Paul-Underhill School and its school community.

But I do know distance is a reason for quite a few families not sending their kids here ... So they are tired when they come home. I was afraid it would affect school work, but it doesn't seem to have. They are doing pretty good (Viviane, parent).

Students must also generally leave their home town in order to pursue post-secondary education in Montréal or Sherbrooke. There is no English-language CEGEP in Centre-du-Québec, and only one near Sherbrooke: Champlain College in Lennoxville. The majority of the students interviewed plan to study at this CEGEP, which is closer to home. It should be noted, however, that one student, Maèva, is looking at a French-sector college because of proximity to her home and the availability of a technical program she is interested in. Another student hopes to pursue theatre studies outside the country (Kamille).

With regard to university studies, the choice of students is focused on English-speaking universities in Montréal (McGill in particular). It must be said that the only English-speaking university institution in l’Estrie, Bishop’s University, offers a smaller range of programs than Montréal universities. These young people also consider the possibility of pursuing post-secondary and university studies outside Québec. They see that one of the advantages of being able to study in English is to be able to choose an institution anywhere in Canada. According to

their interviews, Ontario and British Columbia are the two Canadian destinations that are the most attractive for pursuing studies in English.

In many cases, young people who want to pursue their studies in English, whether in college or university, will most likely have to leave their region. This provokes concern and frustration among parents, as evidenced by the words of Viviane, mother of a Paul-Underhill student:

When I look at CEGEP, the programs are there. For being an English community, the CEGEP system I don't like because it's fine if you live in Montréal and your child can go on the subway and come home at night, but most English kids must leave home to go to CEGEP or to go to university (Viviane, parent).

Student retention

For staff and management at Paul-Underhill School, student retention and the completion of high school are important issues. To support its students, the school has set up motivational programs, especially in collaboration with the CLC. The administration is seeking to encourage students to complete high school and continue to post-secondary education rather than dropping out or transferring to the vocational sector. According to testimony from the school principal and guidance counsellor, some students won't complete high school or will decide against pursuing post-secondary education. They would rather take up a professional trade that will allow them to move more quickly into the job market. This is the case, for example, of students from the farming community who leave school to work on family farms. However, as Roxanne, a guidance counsellor, explains, it is becoming more and more difficult to work on farms and take over the family business without a post-secondary degree.

Well even the farming culture, I mean it is 90-per-cent family farms, family-run farms, and some of these kids may quit school and just run the farm, but to be able to take over the family farm, you have to have a degree. You have to finish your schooling, CEGEP-level and like different... I mean you can go to [the vocational training centre], which is in Coaticook, and you can go there when you are in [Grade 10] and finish. And you don't need your [Grade 11]. But my son is doing his agriculture sciences at John Abbott. And, like... it's a degree. He wants to do farming, he still has to have a degree. So... It's not a level of education that most of the farming families have, because a lot of them have to

work outside the home, so you still have to... to some kind of education to be able to uphold a proper job, also. Because you don't make money off of farms anymore. A lot of families can't live just out of the family farm. So there is a lot, you know... Maybe, the students not being able to finish their studies properly like other students that come from these family farms, maybe there is a lack in, you know, the discipline to do the homeworking because they are helping. That can be a cause, too (Roxanne, guidance counsellor).

It should be noted that, in this study, no student we met expressed a desire to work in the agricultural sector. Three out of seven students (Kamille, Emma, Maèva) want to complete technical training at the college level, but none at the high school vocational level (DVS).

Of the young people interviewed, only Emma seems to have had difficulties pursuing high school studies. She failed classes, which led to a delay in her schooling and jeopardized her opportunities to pursue post-secondary education. According to her testimony, it seems conflicting relations between her parents and the family atmosphere were the main cause of her difficulties. At the time of the survey, Emma was attempting to complete her high school education and was assessing professional and educational opportunities for herself on completion of high school.

I almost... Like I almost wanted to give up everything, like just give up high school, just not know what to do with my life anymore, but... Yes, last year was a tough year for me also because, like, [Grade 10] is like the most important year because it counts the most in, like, getting a diploma and I failed like two course classes that I had to retake at the beginning of the year. But I think I'm starting to get better (Emma, youth).

The role of the school as an institution for the linguistic minority

The main goal of Paul-Underhill School seems to be to survive as an anglophone institution. School stakeholders (staff, parents, students) are worried about declining enrolment and hope the school will maintain or increase the number of students in order to maintain its status as an English-speaking institution in the region. The school administration finds it difficult to play a significant role as an anglophone institution given its limited budget. The adults interviewed felt that this precarious financial situation results from an unfair tax redistribution process.

According to the principal and guidance counsellor, francophone schools in the region benefit from financial resources that should have been allocated to Paul-Underhill.

We don't have enough funding in English schools to meet the criteria that some students need to, you know, like? Because we have to have the French language, which, I agree that every school should have at least two languages. French and English, obviously, we are in Quebec, in Canada, where English... But I think, every, every child should learn two languages, minimum. However, in the English school, I find that we... We don't get enough... funding. Like, you know? Because there are kids with special needs, there are kids... Not every kid is a book child. Like, you know, when I attended this school we had shop classes. Like mechanics, and welding, and wood shop, and students can go into these classes and get their DEP [DVS]. And they didn't have to graduate with the regular criteria that every other student has. But now it's... Every student has to learn by this book. And that's not a fact, it really isn't. And we don't have enough funding to help these extra students. But I find these French schools do have more money. You know, because, a lot of taxes, and parents don't know this... Our property taxes will go in your municipality to that [francophone] school. Unless you ask for it. And, like, you have to be in the mind to say: Oh, no, I want my taxes to go here. Because if you don't ask for your school taxes to go to whatever school, they automatically go to the school in your district, which 90 per cent of the time, will be a French school (Roxanne, guidance counsellor).

The development of the CLC and its activities is part of the school's efforts to play an active and decisive role in the cultural, educational and linguistic life of the anglophone community in its district and, more widely, in the region. The CLC collaborates on community projects that go well beyond the school setting, for example by engaging in prenatal education programs or activities with community seniors. The school seems to enjoy a good reputation in its community and is recognized for its important role in socializing young people in the English-speaking community.

Choice of English-language school

For some young people, such as Logan, opting for an English-language high school is a self-evident choice. For Logan and his parents, it is better to stay in their linguistic comfort zone. They believe there are several advantages to pursuing studies in English.

Well, English school was where I was most comfortable because, again, for my entire life up until I went in French school in kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2, I was completely anglophone. I sort of knew I had to speak French, but not really... So I was more comfortable going to English schools, because that is where I could communicate with people better. They just put me into French school for three years just so I would be able to speak and understand and, like I said, understand the French language and people who spoke it (Logan, youth).

Logan's testimony shows, however, that parents also consider the possibility of sending their children to French-language schools, particularly in the first years of schooling, in order to give them a foundation in French. Parents and students then seem to prefer to pursue high-school studies in English. As the principal of the school says, the opposite can also happen, that is to say that parents can choose to give their children a good foundation in English by sending them to elementary school in that language, but they then send them to the French sector to ensure the development of their French skills. In this sense, enriched French and French-as-a-mother tongue programs meet the needs of these parents and young people who have French skills deemed to be advanced and who could be attracted to the French sector:

The way that we work here is that in Grade 7 we have... Because one of the things you have to understand is that when I was principal here [...], one of the things was that: 'My son or daughter is coming to this school to learn English, but when they hit high school, we are going to go in the French high school.' So I heard that a lot when I first arrived here. What we offer here is, in Grade 7 we have français de base, français enrichi, français langue maternelle. Okay? In [Grade 8], because we can't do the hours the government asks for, so in [Grade 8] what we do is we have français de base, français enrichi, français langue maternelle programme local (Dylan, principal).

Other young people interviewed said they consider the option of English-language school a privilege that must be taken advantage of. These young people all come from families where at least one parent has French as their mother tongue and at least one parent was born in Québec. The fact that their parents or grandparents attended an English-language school makes them eligible to enroll in an English-language school. Every day these kids travel two hours to and from school. Despite the fact they find the journey tiring, the youths and their parents prefer they attend an English-language high school. They consider that their acquired-rights status is a privilege that distinguishes them from their francophone peers. They consider the opportunity to study in English will allow them to have a better future and that they must take advantage of this right. It should be noted that these young people take the French-as-first-language course at school, which shows that they continue to develop their French-language skills as part of their studies in English. Take the example of Maèva, whose father is French-speaking and mother is bilingual. Maèva has acquired rights because her parents studied in English at Paul-Underhill School. She says that studying in English is a privilege and that she is lucky to be able to study in a small school compared to major French-language high schools.

Both my parents actually came to this school here, so that both are bilingual, because they had the right to. Because they came to English school, I have the right to come here.... On my mother's side, they came from the United States, so, yes, they are anglophones, but on my father's side, no. It's only because my father's big sister, she went to an anglophone school the year that Bill 101 passed, that because of that my father could go to English school. But even if my father hadn't seen that my mother went, I could have gone anyway... I think it's a privilege because I talk to my friends, most of my friends go to French schools, there everyone is a little jealous, they all go to schools that are full, full, full of students while here we have, I think, 300 students. So when I walk in the hallways, all the teachers know me, all the students we know each other, so I think it's good (Maèva, youth).

Alycia's case echoes Maèva's. Both of Alycia's parents are French-mother-tongue. She was able to attend an English-language school because her father had attended an anglophone school. Alycia and her parents stress the benefits of studying English and developing French-English bilingualism for work and travel.

Yes, because my dad he went to an English school, and he speaks very well in English, and then he... My mom, not speaking in English, she worked in a hotel when she was really young. And she had to answer, like, phone calls and sometimes they were in English and she could manage to, like, communicate and take, like, the important information, but when it comes to, like, specific questions or sometimes she saw like more... She had more difficulties when it came to English, so that's why she... When she knew that we had the opportunity to go to an English school, she thought that it was really good because she knew that English would have helped her and now it's going to help us speaking two languages good, so. (Alycia, youth).

Well, for me, like, speaking English has always been, like, something, like, important when you... I used to travel a lot, well we still travel a lot, but we go to, like, Florida and things like that and they speak English. So, it's... When you communicate and even when you go... You realize that, like, most people speak English and it's easier to communicate with everyone because most people speak English. And when you go for, like, work, they ask you if you speak English or French and if you can write both or you can speak both so... And they are going to... like, prior you? If you speak English (Alycia, youth).

Among the parents surveyed who consider themselves anglophone, there is a negative depiction of French-language schools. These parents want to keep their children away from a francophone school context they consider inadequate, of poorer quality, even dangerous compared to the anglophone school. For example, Viviane is a mother who believes that students are less successful in the region's French high schools. She is afraid that anglophone students will feel intimidated in a francophone context. That is why, despite the travel distance, she prefers her children attend an English-language high school:

Research assistant: Okay. I have heard also like the reputations of the French schools in [the region] are not so good, but can you tell me a bit more about it?

Viviane: A lot of drugs. I have heard extreme amounts of bullying and that's a big thing. [...] Being an anglophone going to a school where... [The region] can be really anti-English. [...] Even though it was founded by the English. They tend to forget that part. [...] They can be very anti-English sometimes, so I can see like kids would have difficulties

(Viviane, parent).

Lisa, a Paul-Underhill student's mother, also prefers the English system for her children's education. Her discourse on the comparison of the anglophone and francophone elementary school systems presented earlier highlights the cultural differences she perceives between francophone and anglophone communities; differences she said can be reflected in the school environment. Her example shows that parents may prefer English-language schools that convey the values of anglophone parents; values that they consider to be more conservative and family-oriented compared to the values of francophone parents.

Academic success and future plans

Academic success is obviously a concern for faculty members and management at Paul-Underhill School. This concern is also shared by parents and young people interviewed. In general, getting a high school diploma is a significant achievement for the people we interviewed, but students are keen to pursue post-secondary education, particularly in CEGEP. Of the seven young people interviewed, four (Alycia, Logan, Laura and Elizabeth) aspire to pursue university studies. These young people reported having a good academic record and they want to study at a prestigious English-language university in Montréal or elsewhere in Canada. It should be noted that these young people also have in common parents who have a college or university education, as well as great hopes for their children. Lisa, Logan's mother, also points out that she and her partner have implicitly steered their children toward university studies:

We both have a master's degree. Our children are both very good, top students... You know high school is not enough, especially when they are capable of going on, and so I don't think it's... I think since they were little, the expectations... Their cousins have gone on to CEGEP and university. I think their aunts, my husband's brother and sisters, have all done university. My brother and sister did not, but I think that expectation is there, just as when I was growing up, there was never, never a discussion. It was just an assumption: of course I would go on. So I think that is with them, too (Lisa, mother of Logan).

Laura is a Paul-Underhill student who has done well in high school. She plans to study at the English-language Champlain CEGEP and then pursue university studies. Both parents have an

undergraduate degree. They are both native French speakers, which does not stop them from promoting English as a language of study. Laura anticipates being admitted to an English-language university outside Québec. Here she expresses her own motivation for continuing her studies:

Research assistant: *Is it important for you to continue your post-secondary?*

Laura: *Yes. And after college, university.*

Research assistant: *It comes from your parents? They encourage you or it comes from you?*

Laura: *They think that education is very important, but I want to learn and I want to continue my education and get a good job after university.*

[...]

Research assistant: *And you, for college, which college have you...?*

Laura: *Champlain, English, yes.*

Research assistant: *English. In which program?*

Laura: *Criminology, psychology, I don't know, along those lines.*

[...]

Research assistant: *Is it possible that for university you leave [this city] to go to Montréal, or other cities of Canada?*

Laura: *Yes. I have already started looking for post-college education and universities in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta. [...] I was thinking more McMaster University*

(Laura, youth).

Although the parents generally seem to encourage the pursuit of post-secondary education, there is a certain ambivalence in their discourse between the desire to push young people to higher education and the need to respect their choices and preferences. Parents encourage their children to do their best and find the path that will make them happy, even if it does not translate into post-secondary education. The young people met expressed some perplexity about this tension in the expectations of their parents, as the case below illustrates.

Elizabeth comes from a family where both parents declare French as their mother tongue but whose mother more often uses English on a daily basis. Elizabeth's parents are separated, so she stays with her mother, with whom she speaks English. Her mother has a postgraduate degree (Ph.D.). Education is important in her family, including the extended family (grandparents). Elizabeth has not yet finalized her program choices but for now, she wants to go to Champlain College before continuing her studies in English at university. She explains that she feels she has the support of her parents no matter what career choice she makes. At the same time, she wonders if this support and lack of pressure to succeed isn't masking a lack of interest or aspirations from her parents for her future.

From [Grade 7 to 10], I wanted to be a criminal lawyer, but this year I finished like all my lifeguarding courses and that deals a lot with health and first-aid and everything and I'm really passionate about kind of that sector, so I was thinking of going into maybe something health sciences, not necessarily a doctor, but something along those lines. So I'm kind of hesitating between the two of those... I have always told my parents, like, what I have been wanting to do and they support me in what I decide. I think at one point, when I was really young, I wanted to be an esthéticienne, and my grandma told me: 'Don't do that, you are too smart for that!' ... But [my parents] never tell me to do my homework. Like, they don't have expectations. Like I'll show them my report card and they will just be like: 'Good job!' I think if I was failing they would push me more, but I have never felt pressure from my parents. Like I put a lot of pressure on myself, but I have never felt pressure from my family or anyone else. I was thinking to do my CEGEP at Champlain just because it's closer and save up my money and go to McGill University depending if I... Because I know they have a law program there, but if I change, I'm not sure they have like a medicine program (Elizabeth, youth).

Maèva also expressed mixed feeling about the expectations of her parents. She says she has a very good academic record, is studious and strives for good grades. She stresses that she, not her parents, puts pressure on herself to succeed. However, her success is important for her parents: they want her to be happy in her choice, even if she decides not to pursue higher education. Maèva decided to do childhood education technology in CEGEP, since she enjoys working with kids and wants to quickly achieve financial independence. She hopes to open a daycare for

children in a model that suits her vision. She is not necessarily looking at studying at university, but it is still a long-term possibility.

Yes. Yes, but at the same time, we never know where it's going to lead us. But I'll start with CEGEP and after that we will see, but probably that... that's it. It's been almost six years I've been working with children. I'm a gymnastics coach, so I know that I like working with children, so I'll go to CEGEP in childhood education. I was accepted and everything. I'm going... Yes, that's it. I'll do that for three years then, after, I stop there... Because I always had a dream to open a daycare, but a bilingual sports-studies public daycare, tout le kit. Then, if it's not what I decide to do, I'll go to university and then I'll just have three years to go to be an elementary school teacher since the program takes... We don't really talk about that, but all they want... [My parents] always say: 'As long as you're happy, I'm happy.' I have to go... In my head, when they say that to be happy I have to have a job that I like to do, I have to go... I have to be happy, I have to have enough money to provide for my needs and all that. But, like, they never told me: 'You have to go to university there, otherwise we will be angry.' They never said that. But, for example, they told me: 'We already have the money put aside for you; if you don't go, it's okay, we'll just go on a big couple's trip together.' They told me that! There, I'm like, okay (Maèva, youth).

Of the seven young people surveyed, two come from families whose parents do not seem to place much value on post-secondary education, even though they consider education important. For them, success at high school would already be satisfactory, as long as their daughters are happy in their choices. The parents of these two (Kamille and Emma) have a high-school education. They also have in common difficulties within the family. Kamille, whose mother is anglophone and father is francophone, does not intend to go to CEGEP. She wants to finish high school, then she hopes to go to the United States to do theatre. Her profile highlights the discourse of a youth still seeking her career path:

My father, he thinks it's very important, education, I think because he never really had an education. But my mother, she just wants me to be happy, as long as I go to high school, because it's important. 'You will never get anything [if you don't finish high school].' But if I fail a class or I repeat a year, it doesn't matter as long as I do my best

and I'm happy. Then I won't go to CEGEP, but that doesn't matter. [...] Well I don't really have any reason to go to CEGEP. I'd go, then I'd have, like, I'd have nowhere to go. I'd have no courses to choose because I don't know what I want to do. I would rather wait a year or two to know what I want to do and, even that, if at the end of the line what I want to do I don't need to go to college for, it's better not wasting money, wasting my time doing this and then realizing that, for what I want to do, I don't need those courses... I've always been theatrical since I was very young, and when I was in first grade, in elementary school, there was a lady who came in and then she said: I'm doing theatre for very young people. Then, I went to do this play there, and since then I've been doing theatre. I never stopped doing theatre (Kamille, youth).

In the case of Emma, who has struggled in high school and whose parents do not seem to show (in her opinion) a great interest in post-secondary studies, she has already applied for admission to CEGEP, but she was not accepted. She still wants to pursue post-secondary education, but she sees another way to get there.

But, like, I applied for college and they didn't accept me because my academic performance in high school was too weak and I'm kind of upset about that, but at the same time I just try to stay positive and I changed my plans for the future and I'm completely fine with that. If I really, like, want to go to college, I'll just go later. I don't mind [...] And I really aspire to become a graphic designer because it has been very hard for me to find this career because I remember about two years ago, I think, we had this career class called pop class. I forgot what pop meant, but it's where they make you discover careers and stuff and explore, and that's where I found graphic design, because before that I had no idea what to do because I didn't find that I had any good talents to have a career or anything. So, like, this class really helped. So, yes, I want to be a graphic designer and maybe work for a company at first and hopefully freelance one day, and yes. That's about it (Emma, youth).

It is important to highlight the perplexity expressed by these young people about their parents' expectations, aspirations or plans for them, since they can have an impact on their academic success. Indeed, having academic and professional projects and aspirations, both for parents and youths, is considered part of the family's social-capital resources that have a positive influence

on educational success (Kanouté et al., 2008). The projects will act as motivation and investment factors for students. If they feel that their parents have few plans, aspirations or interest in their education, this could have a demotivating effect that will potentially have a negative impact on student retention.

As for success in the Ministry's Grade 11 French exam, the school does not seem to see any particular challenges. The parents we met also seem satisfied with the students' level of French. Given the profile of the school's students, for whom French is often the mother tongue or that of at least one of their parents, no one seemed particularly concerned about their success in French.

The rapport between languages and linguistic communities in l'Estrie

Many of the students we met said they are bilingual because they use English and French in their daily communication. English seems to be the language they use most, since it is the language of schooling and the preferred language among friends. For four of the seven young people interviewed, English is also the main language used in the home. Students have positive representations of English, which they see as an international, even universal, language that provides access to mobility and serves as a bridge and opening to other cultures. English is seen as an important asset for the labour market in Québec and Canada. English is, in their eyes, a prestigious language. They consider that they have the privilege of studying and mastering it according to the expected standards of native speakers.

French is used mainly in the family sphere and in sports and leisure activities in the community. The young people consider French an essential language in the Québec labour market, but one which they haven't mastered to the degree they would like. Many express a sense of linguistic anxiety when discussing their language skills. They felt that studying in French would be too difficult for them in a high school and post-secondary context, although some did part of their schooling in French at the elementary level.

I mean, English is more appealing to me. It's easier to talk and write and easier to understand than French is. I understand more when I read in English than when I do in French. I want to pursue my education in English, not in French (Laura, youth).

The form of bilingualism that seems largely valued by students and parents is that of “balanced”⁹ bilingualism, as illustrated by Alycia’s comments:

So, I think that those are the advantages, because you learn to speak two languages and write them perfectly. So those are the advantages. And, some people, of my friends in French school, they do speak English, but not as, like, well, and they don’t write it as well, they... Sometimes there are words that they don’t... Like, it’s not fluent. So I think that, well for me, those are the advantages that I saw coming [here]... (Alycia, youth).

This idealization of bilingualism, one which only recognizes the skills of native speakers, certainly contributes to students’ sense of linguistic insecurity. Since they do not always feel competent in French, they do not always dare to claim they are bilingual, despite their daily use of both languages.

In addition, youths and adults in their school community have a tense relationship with the anglophone and francophone linguistic communities in their region. They often share negative representations of the francophone community, which they counter with a more positive representation of the anglophone community. For example, they say francophone Quebecers are more closed to ethnocultural diversity and the francophone education sector encourages them to look inward via an academic program that focuses too much on Québec and on French. When they describe high school students in the francophone network, they do so in reference to lived or imagined experiences of bullying, violence and delinquency. They also consider that the quality of teaching is lower than in English-language schools.

I have always thought, like, French people, they were more like, they were meaner, maybe. But I mean everyone can be mean, but I have always thought that being in a French school would be worse because it’s harder, the education, but also the people. I don’t know (Emma, youth).

The young people and their parents also believe that Québec is a society distinct from the rest of Canada because of its culture, its French language and the so-called liberal values of the majority group.

⁹ Balanced bilingualism is “a concept of bilingualism as the perfect sum of two monolingualisms that are strictly juxtaposed and equivalent” (Billiez 2007, p.88).

Well, I feel like Québec is really separated from Canada, not geographically but culturally, and I don't know, I feel like Québec has always been not the same as the rest of Canada, just because, like, the people talk French and it's not the same culture. Like it's the French-Canadian culture in Québec and the rest of Canada is pretty much anglophone (Elizabeth, youth).

When the young people and adults describe the English-speaking community in Québec, they do so in much more positive terms. They consider that anglophones are more open to ethnocultural diversity and are more international in outlook. They believe that anglophones have more conservative values, closer to the family and are more supportive of young people. The adults, in particular, express strong roots in their local linguistic community, while feeling that they are also part of a larger and more inclusive whole through their attachment to Canada.

I would say strong and mighty. I think it is very... I was going to say entrenched, but that's not the right word. It's a small community, but I think it has really strong roots and I think in this area particularly, in the Eastern Townships, I think there is a sense, I think there is a sense of belonging to the community (Viviane, parent).

Many adults we met deplored the lack of services available in English in their community, as well as the financial precariousness of their school, which they experience as linguistic discrimination. They feel that English-speaking communities in Québec do not have the recognition they deserve in society. These adults consider that they are indeed part of a minority and minoritized linguistic community. While they recognize the need to protect French in Québec, they believe francophones should still make more efforts to learn and to speak English.

The young people met also spoke about the tension they observe between the francophone and anglophone communities. Like the adults, they believe it is up to francophones to make efforts to learn English and develop their bilingualism. According to these youths, it is through the attraction of English as an international language and the promotion of bilingualism that tensions between linguistic communities in Québec could be resolved.

Like my father, when he went there, it was really like: 'Oh, you are francophone and we are anglophone.' But right now, I think that, well, for me, I never saw anything that, like, separated French from English. In fact, I think people have realized that English is, like,

the... is an important language, and it's, like, the universal language that everybody talks. So I think that the francophones are realizing that English is important, especially, like, the younger ones. I know that my grandparents on my mother's side, they just, they are speaking French and for them English is not, like, that important and English is just, like... It's not really important for them. Rather than the younger ones who really see the importance of speaking English and knowing English. So I think, like, right now, there is no really tension and I don't see it in people. Because I think, before, people were seeing the disadvantages of English and people: 'Oh, you are not speaking French and you are not like'... But I think now people are seeing the advantages of speaking English, so I don't think this tension is, like, as... Like there is not as much tension as there was before (Alycia, youth).

Youth identity at Paul-Underhill School

This section presents the types of identification that arose in the discourse of the individuals surveyed. The testimony from the young people, their parents and their teachers identify three main categories of identity: "Canadian," "bilingual Canadian," and "bilingual Canadian and Québécois."

Self-identifying as Canadians

Among seven young people interviewed, two identify themselves mainly as Canadian: Logan and Kamille. Logan comes from a family where both parents identify strongly as anglophones, both linguistically and culturally.

I'm essentially a Canadian that speaks English. Whether they speak English, French, Spanish or whatever language... I am Canadian, I was born here, I have been raised here and I identify as Canadian, nothing more. I just happen to speak English, it's my primary language and that's it. I am Canadian and I live in Québec and I speak English. I was born here, raised here, that's just who I am (Logan, youth).

Kamille also identifies herself as Canadian, although she is also bilingual:

Well, I think all of Canada is... You know, me going from province to province is not like a big change for me. It's not like moving to the United States or Mexico City. It's really like, it's Canada for me. It's the same community... Well, I think there are sides of me

[...] from Québec, that people from another part of Canada might not understand, but when I think: Am I a Quebecer? No, I think I belong to all of Canada as a whole (Kamille, youth).

In both cases, the Canadian identity seems self-evident. Canadian national identity seems to be the most significant for these two young people and it includes their relationship to Québec, as well as their linguistic identity.

Self-identifying as a bilingual Canadian

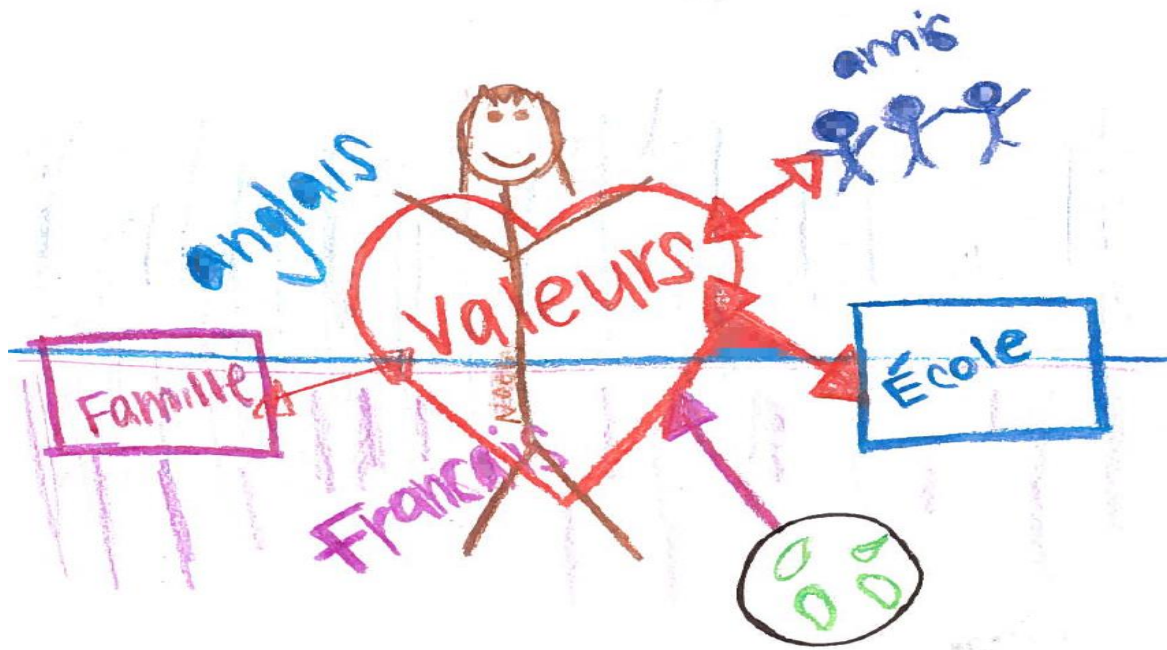
Two young people interviewed expressed a “bilingual Canadian” identification: Laura and Maèva. Their identity highlights a sense of belonging to anglophone Canada combined with a slight distancing from Québec identification, particularly in the case of Maèva. In addition, bilingual linguistic identity is more prominent in Maèva and Laura compared to the linguistic identity of Kamille and Logan, where it is subordinate or encompassed in Canadian national identity.

Both of Maèva’s parents are French-mother-tongue and born in Québec. She speaks with her parents and sister in French, but she mostly uses English with her friends. Her boyfriend, with whom she spends a lot of time, comes from an English-speaking African country. They speak English together. For Maèva, it seems that attending an English-language school has had a significant impact on her identification. This has led her to position herself as bilingual and to develop a Canadian identity. She is linguistically different from her friends who attend a school in the French sector. She also feels different from her parents, who she says are not open to ethnocultural diversity. His relationship with her boyfriend has contributed to a distancing from the Québec identity. She finds Québécois more closed, compared to Canadians:

I’d say bilingual there. Well, when I meet people, one of the first things I say is, ‘me, I go to English school.’ I’m proud of that, it’s not... You know, I’m pretty comfortable. I would say Canadian, you know. I don’t know... Even how Québécois speak, a little, I feel like [...], I have the impression that those who go to school just in French, like my friends there, they speak more with accents... Not accents, but with Québec phrases. [...] My parents, I think they are even more closed... Like the question you asked me earlier: Are you Canadian or a Québécois? For sure they would have answered Québécois, they are

Québécois in their heads. Then, they are not completely open to new things, new people, and that I do not understand because, me, I thought I was open more to that because I had gone to English school, but they went there, too. I don't know if it's the generation or what, but, yes, it's coming. They are starting to be more comfortable... (Maèva, youth)

MAÈVA'S DRAWING:



That's my English side. That's my French side. But there are none that... The two are separated, equally but English is like... it overlaps, it overlaps on... Like that. Because there is not one side of me that is more English or the other that is more French. Both are English-French, but when I want to use my English side, it is there and it can be useful. But when I want to use my French side, it is there, too. But if I want to use both sides, I can. My school is in the middle of both because I speak neither just French nor just English. It's both. Then my family... I would say it is a little more on the French side, for example, because they know that I speak English all day at school. Then, all that, that's my values because they are just as English, just as French, and my values come back with my family. They were influenced by my family and my school and my friends.

The world! Because I don't have more of a sense that in Québec or in the United States... I sometimes feel like returning... Wherever I am, I'm, like, at home (Maèva, youth).

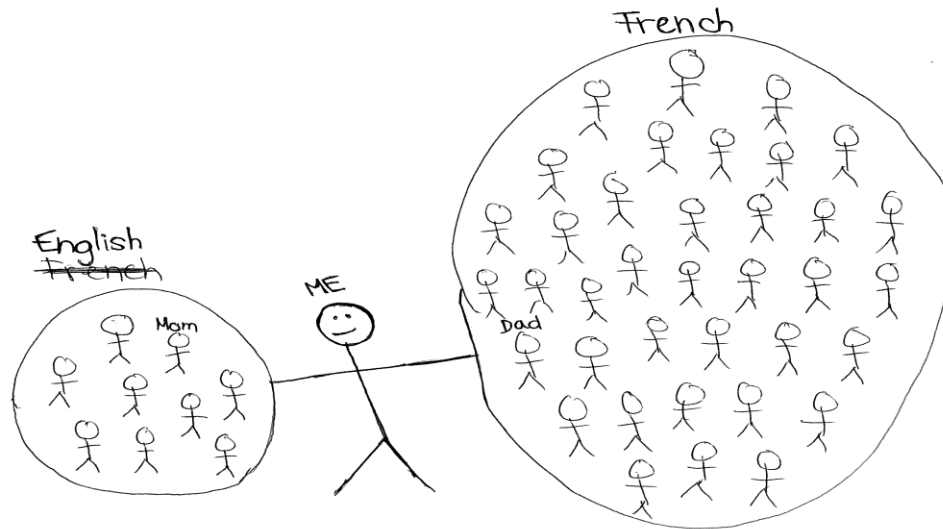
Laura's parents are also mother-tongue-French and were born in Québec. She is fluent in French but prefers to be interviewed in English, a language she particularly likes. At home, she prefers to speak in English with her parents and feels more proficient in this language than in French. They value the English language in general and encourage their daughter to pursue studies in English. Laura has developed an attachment to the English language and is bilingual, but distances herself from the French language.

Just Canadian. I mean, I live in Québec. I like English Canadians more than French Québécois or French Canadians... [...] I consider myself as bilingual, like I will speak French when I have to speak French, like I play hockey, I play soccer, I play ringette, and that environment is very francophone, so I will adapt to that, but whenever I get the chance to speak English, I will take it. And at work too, it's the same, it's a French-speaking environment so I will work and speak in French, but then when I go back to school or at home with my sister, it will be in English (Laura, youth).

Self-identifying as bilingual Canadian and Quebecer

The three other youths interviewed at Paul-Underhill School consider themselves “bilingual Canadians and Quebecers”: Elizabeth, Emma and Alycia. Of these, two are from families whose parents are mother-tongue-French and born in Québec (Elizabeth and Alycia). Emma's mother is bilingual and her father is francophone. These three young people have in common an identification that is expressed by a positioning both as Canadian and Québécois in terms of nationality and as bilingual linguistically. Elizabeth's drawing is a good illustration of how she is positioned between the two linguistic groups, one of which is associated with her mother, the other with her father. Note also in this drawing the representation of the anglophone community as a linguistic minority.

ELIZABETH'S DRAWING:



Well, I think if it was compared to the French population, the English-speaking community would be really small and then the French one would be bigger and I'd be kind of, like, in the middle of both of them. So, this is the English community in Québec, it's kind of smaller, and then the French community is way bigger than the English and I'm kind of like in both, because half my family is French and half my family is English. Also, I'm in the middle because I think there are kind of advantages and disadvantages to both. Like I hear... Because sometimes my parents, well on my dad's side, they kind of talk bad about English people and on my mom's side, well not as much, but sometimes they talk bad about French people, and since I'm kind of in both, I don't really know which one is true... Like I see both sides of it kind of (Elizabeth, youth).

These young people express a sense of belonging to their Québécois family and to their place of birth, Québec. Their Canadian identification corresponds rather to a global and inclusive identity, which they developed during their studies at the English-language school. This identification would confirm the active role of the school as an agent of linguistic and identity socialization. The three youths consider there are important cultural differences between Québec and the rest of Canada but claim to belong to both groups. Note that the two young people in this category whose parents are francophone and born in Québec, Elizabeth and Alycia, tend to use English more than French in their daily language practices.

I speak English and French, it depends on friends. I am bilingual. [...] And I think that, like, for now, I'm Québécoise, but I would maybe like to branch out into more Canadian places that speak English. Well, I identify to both. I'm Canadian and Québécoise (Elizabeth, youth).

We often talk together in English, I don't know, it's just preference I guess, and so I find myself talking a lot in English, and in school, obviously, you have to speak English in all your classes and homework when we go home. Well I think I identify obviously more to French, because of my family and, like, the background, but I think I identify more to the English compared to somebody like my friend who lives here and who speaks French. She is not English or whatever, but she speaks English, so she is bilingual because she speaks both and she can write both, but I think she won't identify as English as much as I will because I went to an English school and my family still went to an English school and there is a little bit of English background and my environment right now is really English or more focused on the English. So I think I mainly identify as French, but I still identify with English as somebody who is English or talks English or something like that. I don't know if it makes sense (Alycia, youth).

I relate to English I guess. It's easy to speak, so, but like I'm okay with both languages, French and English, but sometimes I forget words in French; sometimes I forget words in English. I speak and write both French and English just fine. [...] I think, culture-wise, I'm more like a French person, since I have been raised in Québec, so I got used to Québec culture and stuff, but I also could be, like, close to English culture, too, because, like, I like to visit like America, like all of it and maybe even live there someday, I'm not sure. But I don't know how to ... I don't know, I'm really both, like I'm really mostly both in culture and I'm bilingual, so, yes (Emma, youth).

Conclusion

Paul-Underhill School is located in a predominantly francophone region. This helps to explain why more of those with the right to attend English-language schools in this region have one or two French-mother-tongue parents. This school covers a vast territory, which creates transportation challenges as well as challenges related to declining enrolment. The school staff

interviewed mentioned the “financial precariousness” within which the school operates. They also highlighted the limited services available in English in the region. They resent a lack of recognition of the anglophone minority by the majority group. In a context of competition with francophone comprehensive schools, the school seems to value the existence of stratified programs in French (French mother tongue, French enriched and French as a second language) to attract parents and satisfy their need to develop French-English bilingualism in their children. Many parents and young people interviewed seem to consider that choosing an English-language school is a privilege they must take advantage of. They also consider that the English-language school promotes more conservative and inclusive values. Also, according to them, the English-language school is more “familial.” On the other hand, French-speaking comprehensive high schools are perceived as being more associated with drugs, violence, bullying and anti-English behaviors.

The young people interviewed from this school seem to have developed a positive relationship with the English language. They are generally bilingual, but feel a sense of linguistic insecurity vis-à-vis French. They observe tensions between francophones and anglophones. They perceive francophones as being closed to ethnocultural diversity, unlike anglophones, who are more inclusive. In terms of their sense of belonging, they are more bilingual and Canadian than francophone and/or Québécois. Although a majority of them have at least one parent with French as their mother tongue, a feeling of minoritization emerges from their discourse. The socialization role of the English-language school in producing their bilingual and Canadian identity seems to stand out in the testimony collected from these young people.

Section II: transversal findings of the three study regions

This section of the report presents the similarities and differences between the three study regions. This transversal approach will address the two main themes of the report, divided into four sections: 1) language rapport; 2) rapport with anglophone and francophone communities in Québec; 3) sense of belonging, positioning and identification of young people attending an English-language school in Québec; and 4) success in English-language high school. Finally, some recommendations and courses of action will be proposed in the close of the report.

Language rapport

The young people we interviewed shared their vision and their experiences with the use of French and English in their daily lives, as well as with French-English bilingualism. These relationships are expressed through the representations young people make of the languages, the use they make of them and their language experiences in school, family or community contexts. These themes will be examined in this section.

Rapport with French

The English-speaking youths we met have a tense relationship with French. They see positive and negative aspects, depending on the experiences they have had in that language and the contexts in which they use it.

First, these young people and their parents are virtually unanimous in considering that French is a useful and essential language in the job market. It is an undeniable asset when it comes time to enter the professional world, especially if it is mastered to the standards of native speakers. As mentioned earlier, the mastery of French is very often perceived by young people as a requirement for the Québec job market. Finally, French has a certain symbolic value with young people, and perhaps even more with their parents, as the second official language of the country. Even if the young people do not necessarily foresee using French outside Québec, they feel it can be useful for them.

The use that young people make of French varies greatly by region, school, family and individual. Depending on the case, French can be one of the family's languages, spoken with the parents, siblings or members of the extended family. For others, it is mostly a language spoken

with peers, friends of the same age. For some, French is the language of sports and recreation, where they must interact with francophones in their region. When these interactions are harmonious, young people have a more positive outlook. French is not always the language they prefer to use, but if they find themselves in contexts that require it or are in the presence of French speakers, they generally feel comfortable and open to speaking French.

French is unanimously associated with Québec patriotism, and even with political debates about Québec's independence. This association is not necessarily viewed favourably by students (or their parents), who do not see themselves in this nationalist representation of the French language. In fact, young people's testimony, even in the case of those with francophone parents, show a detachment from Québec's nationalist and identity debates. These young people say they can adopt French, and even a Québec identity, without supporting a political cause that they consider to be of another era — that of their parents.

For the large majority of these young people, French is the language of the community in which they live, although this is true to different degrees in different regions. In l'Outaouais, the Lloyd-Brasseur School is often viewed by the youths as an anglophone island in a francophone sea. Although a significant proportion of the population in the area speaks English, young people generally express a sense of linguistic isolation. For young people in l'Estrie, the situation varies according to their place of residence. In the area where Paul-Underhill School is located, the immediate community is very anglophone and the school's CLC puts great effort into promoting exchanges between students and members of this community. However, a significant number of students reside elsewhere in l'Estrie or in Centre-du-Québec, in francophone communities. In these cases, their situation is similar to that of students in l'Outaouais, where the school is the main anglophone nucleus in their daily lives. For the youths of the Jamie-David School in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, they live for the most part in the small anglophone community where the school is located. However, to access the various services and participate in sports or leisure activities, they must go to the neighbouring francophone community. Thus, they too feel somewhat isolated linguistically. This means that French is, for all students encountered, the language of the community, services, businesses and activities.

This predominance of the French language in the public space creates an ambivalent feeling among young people. They understand the reason and in general do not question Québec's

language policies. However, the consequence is that French is represented among young people as a majority and even dominant language, to the detriment of English. The omnipresence of French in the communities where anglophone youth live contributes to their feeling of linguistic minoritization and, for some, to their linguistic insecurity.

French is also seen by many young people as a language that is difficult to learn and master, especially for students enrolled in the regular second-language program. A significant number of the young people from l'Estrie and Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord areas feel that dissatisfied with their French skills. They often express a feeling of anxiety or linguistic insecurity vis-à-vis French, especially when they say they are not "totally bilingual." Even for young people in l'Outaouais who are enrolled in the immersion program, there is some linguistic insecurity, although it is less pronounced. This insecurity is reflected in the discourse of young people when they compare themselves to native French-speakers. While they freely call themselves bilingual in comparison to other French learners, they do not dare to do so when comparing themselves to unilingual francophones. Thus, even for students who are not otherwise worried about their French skills as part of their studies, there is a feeling of linguistic insecurity, since they feel that they cannot attain the standards and variation expected of a unilingual francophone Quebecer.

Rapport with English

The young people we met have generally very positive representations of the English language. They have had positive experiences with the language and it is for the large majority of them the language of choice in daily interactions. These young people attribute great value to English, both economically and symbolically.

English is indeed most often the main language of everyday use, whether in the school, with family, friends or in other settings. Students such as Sophie and Adam from l'Outaouais region, as well as Laura and Élizabeth in l'Estrie, declared French as their first language while also considering English their main language of daily use among family and with friends. However, this situation can cause conflicts or tensions between young people and parents who want their child to use French more often with the family. There are also students like Simon (Outaouais) and Ivy (Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord) who limit their use of French to the family

setting to meet the expectations and demands of their parents, while preferring English in other areas of their daily lives.

It should be noted that young people place great value in the English language, which they see as international and universal. Beyond their local context, they feel they are part of an international community of speakers of a prestigious language that is highly valued in the labour market in Québec, Canada and elsewhere. According to their testimonies, English is a language that allows them to be mobile for studies, work and travel. They certainly feel privileged to be able to study in English and to have the tools and context favorable to the development of skills deemed equivalent to those expected of native English speakers.

The use of English in the academic context contributes to young people's sense of attachment to the language. Indeed, since the possibility of using English in their area is often limited, school becomes the main perceived living space of the anglophone community. Young people and their parents feel the opportunity to study in English, thanks to their grandfathered status, is an advantage and a privilege that must be taken advantage of and, to a certain extent, protected. It should be noted that CLCs play an important role in promoting the use of English beyond the strictly academic context. CLCs at Paul-Underhill and Jamie-David schools create opportunities for youth to use the language in extracurricular, cultural and volunteer activities and in community exchanges, etc. Although the testimonies collected from young people do not allow us to evaluate the direct impact of these initiatives on their relationship to the English language, it is reasonable to believe that they have the potential to increase its symbolic value (attachment to language).

The English language is also represented among the young people of the three regions as inclusive, one that promotes openness to other cultures. Having the opportunity to study texts written outside Québec and to interact with English-speakers from different social and cultural contexts is a sign to these young people of the openness and diversity of English. This representation of English is contrasted with the representation of French as a language associated with Québec nationalism, cultural isolation and withdrawal. According to the young people met, the English language is inclusive. Moreover, young people generally do not express feelings of insecurity in relation to English. They feel quite competent, whether in the context of their schooling or in their interactions with native speakers.

Rapport with French-English bilingualism

Beyond the relationship young people have with the French and English languages, they also expressed a particular relationship with French-English bilingualism in terms of linguistic competence.

First, bilingualism is seen by all respondents as an essential asset in the labour market, in Québec and to a lesser extent in Canada. However, it is the idealized form of “balanced” bilingualism that prevails as valued and prestigious. Most of the young people say they are bilingual, since they use both languages in different contexts. However, they do not have the same sense of competence in both languages. The feeling of insecurity that many young people feel about their French skills leads them to instead say they are “almost bilingual.”

Secondly, many young people are proud to speak the country’s two official languages, rather than just one. Bilingualism is not only a tool for entering the labour market, but a way to identify oneself as Canadian, to project oneself as members of a broader community outside the local context. In this sense, it seems likely that schooling in English, by contributing to the development of bilingual skills, plays a role in promoting and valuing the Canadian identity for youths from both anglophone and francophone families. In this sense, young anglophones in minority situations in Québec share with many young francophones in minority communities outside Québec this representation of bilingualism as a Canadian value and as an identification tool that goes beyond the borders of their community (Levasseur, 2017).

Finally, bilingualism has an important social value for young people, as a tool to break down or at least cross the boundaries between the two linguistic groups. Having skills in both languages is seen by the young people as the best way to navigate between the two worlds and bring members of both communities closer together. What varies, however, from one person to the next, is the opinion as to which group, francophone or anglophone, should make the greatest effort in this regard. Indeed, some believe that rapprochement and reconciliation efforts should come from francophones, who are invited to open up to English and develop their bilingual skills. For others, it is the anglophones who should make this effort to learn the majority language of Québec and take initiatives for rapprochement. In all cases, French-English bilingualism is seen

as a powerful tool for cultural rapprochement and as a skill that should be prioritized throughout Québec.

Conclusion

Young people in the Outaouais, Estrie and Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord regions have a complex relationship with languages and bilingualism. They strongly value English, which they consider a prestigious and international language that they associate with mobility. They have a rather contradictory relationship with French: they recognize its utility and value as a public language in Québec, but young people have feelings and representations that are often negative because of their language experiences. This ambivalence does not prevent them from considering English-French bilingualism an important resource for entry into the labour market, and they consider bilingualism a tool for social cohesion in Québec.

It should be noted that the testimonies of the students encountered in the three regions studied tend to confirm research results published elsewhere (Lamarre, 2007) which found that enriched French programs, such as immersion programs, can contribute significantly to the development of bilingual skills of young people while reducing their feelings of anxiety and linguistic insecurity in French. Both in terms of representations and practical application, these enriched programs are privileged by young people, their parents and educators. Regular French-as-a-second-language programs are commonly described as insufficient models for young people to achieve the language objectives set out in the educational programs or for the use of French in a francophone context (Rebuffot, 1993; Early, 2008; Lamarre, 2007).

Another element that emerges from the analysis of language rapport and bilingualism is the significant influence that the quality of social relations and language experiences has on the representations of the French language by young people. When interactions with francophones are positive in the community, in the family and at school, this alleviates the feeling of linguistic insecurity and reduces the feeling of being discriminated against or marginalized. Harmonious relations with members of the francophone community and the establishment of a social network that includes French-speakers contribute to the appreciation of the French language and its use in various private and public spheres. That being said, the feeling of minoritization expressed by

the large majority of young people and adults encountered should not be underestimated, as will be discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

We believe we have seen, in the language rapport of the young people encountered, the influence of adult discourse on language representations, feelings of discrimination, linguistic experiences, the conditions of exposure to French, etc. It is likely that the language experiences of young people are similar to those of their elders, which would explain why they construct the same type of rapport with French, English and bilingualism. It is also quite possible that young people are influenced by the discourse shared by the adults around them, from whom they appropriate several elements. The data shows, however, that young people are active in building their language rapport. They make personal choices about which languages they use, depending on the context and the people with whom they are talking. These choices do not necessarily correspond to the wishes and expectations of parents and educators, which is sometimes a source of tension between young people and adults. Adults also often have to adapt to the linguistic practices and language preferences of the young people, which supports the idea that they do not just parrot the positions and views of adults in their communities.

Finally, in the context of this report, please note that we have not studied the rapport between young people and languages other than English and French. It would be relevant to explore the issue of multilingualism among young people attending English-language schools in the regions in future studies. This would provide a more complete picture of the current linguistic situation in Québec.

Rapport with Québec francophone and anglophone communities

The rapport of the young people interviewed with the anglophone and francophone linguistic communities in Québec reflects their relationship to languages and bilingualism. Their representations of the languages and their respective native speakers largely reflect the experiences they have had in both linguistic communities.

The rapport with francophone and anglophone communities expressed by the youth also seems to be influenced by the discourses, representations and experiences of their elders (parents, teachers). They describe situations that do not correspond directly to their own lived experiences, but which nevertheless influence their appreciation of each of these two communities, as well as

the relationships they have with them. In addition, the rapport between young people and official-language linguistic communities seems to be marked by stereotypes and prejudices commonly seen in Québec society. These elements are nonetheless essential components of the rapport of the young people interviewed with the language communities with which they are in daily contact.

Finally, it should be noted that relations with linguistic communities, as described by young people, take place at many levels. The young people interviewed think of themselves as actors in their community at school, community, local, regional, provincial, national and international levels. This ability to project themselves as members of communities that are more or less close to them, more or less abstract, is thus reflected in the analysis of their relationship to the francophone and anglophone communities in Québec.

Rapport with the francophone community

Québec's francophone community is widely represented in the discourse of the young people and adults interviewed as patriotic and inward-looking, one that defends its language, culture, identity and symbols. As a community, Québec francophones would position themselves as a majority, dominant, or even discriminating group compared to the English-speaking community, which feels minoritized. The young people interviewed share the feeling of belonging to a minority and isolated linguistic community. They feel that their linguistic community does not have the respect and recognition it deserves as a group that contributes to Québec society. At the cultural level, the Québécois and francophone community is described by the participants as being rather liberal, permissive, independent of religious values or principles.

One of the reasons often cited to justify the choice to study in the English sector rather than in the French sector concerns the self-isolating character associated with the francophone community. Young people feel that studies in French-language schools are too, if not solely, focused on Québec and the French language. The French school system is represented by young people as being closed to the diversity of Québec society as a whole. Added to this is the perception of a bad reputation among French-language schools that is widely shared among the youths and adult participants surveyed.

At the political level, Québec is still recognized by young people as a society distinct from the rest of Canada, culturally and linguistically. However, the young people say they do not subscribe to nationalist and separatist discourses associated with politics in the province. While adult anglophones reject or explicitly position themselves as opposed to the separation of Québec, young people seem to be relatively indifferent to the question. For them, the debates over the separation of Québec are passé, not relevant and belong to another era, that of their parents. Thus, even for students like Simon (l'Outaouais), whose father is described as a francophone Québec nationalist, the recognition of Québec's distinctiveness is not associated with a separatist political position. Similarly, young people recognize the need for the protection of French in Québec, although many believe that francophones should make more efforts to speak English. They do not seem to see any contradiction between the societal need to protect and enhance French and the need to develop bilingual skills at the individual level.

The testimonies collected from young people and adults tend to portray francophone Quebecers as a monolithic block. In the views of the participants, francophone Quebecers are closed to ethnocultural and linguistic diversity. Francophones are often described as disrespectful and likely to bully and even discriminate against those who do not correspond to their representation of the francophone identity. Francophones are also seen as people who do not like to hear English in the public space. They refuse to learn English and, even when they do, they refuse to use it. The young people interviewed often feel uncomfortable speaking English in the public sphere because they feel it is forbidden. The perception of a refusal by francophones in Québec to use English is particularly disturbing for young people when it involves foreign visitors who have nothing to do with language debates in Québec. Young anglophones thus seem to accept a state of tension between anglophones and francophones in Québec, but they find it unfair that tourists pay the price.

Despite these rather negative representations about the francophone community and its members, participants in the study of the three regions consider that exchanges and contact experiences with francophones can be beneficial for young people attending English-language schools in Québec. Contact between the two groups and the lived experiences in the community favour the development of bilingual skills, since the learning of French takes place in an authentic and immersive milieu. Lastly, many parents, particularly those in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-

Madeleine-Côte-Nord, believe that young people interact more often with members of the francophone community than in the past, which they consider positive.

Rapport with the anglophone community

The rapport that anglophone adults and youths have with their community and the representation they have of it are on the whole largely positive. Several adults, both parents and teachers, spoke of their great attachment to and, in some cases, their roots within their local community. The case of l'Outaouais region is a little different from the other two. A significant number of families here do not come from the region. The adults and several of the young people had resided elsewhere in Canada or Québec before settling in l'Outaouais. They therefore have more family and personal ties with anglophone and francophone communities elsewhere in the country, compared to adults in the other two regions studied.

The young people met during this study are also generally very attached to their local community. They talk about it as their group, their “us” in relation to “them” (francophones). Some of the youths straddle or cross ethno-cultural and linguistic boundaries, but appear to be usually closer to the anglophone community than to the francophone community. Others, such as Ivy (Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord), goes so far as to explicitly express a desire to continue to live in an anglophone community in the future, maintaining a distance in relation to the francophone community. In general, their only dissatisfaction concerns the lack of services, recreational activities and educational offering in English in their community, and more widely in Québec.

Study participants broadly share a sense of minoritization in relation to the francophone community and deplore what they perceive as a lack of recognition for their linguistic community. They consider themselves victims of discrimination and injustice because of Québec language policies. They consider they are not equal in rights when compared with francophones.

The feeling of minoritization felt outside school, however, is reversed within it, where they constitute the majority group. The school then becomes a key space for the anglophone community, which they believe must be protected and supported, mirroring the role attributed to minority-language schools outside Québec (Levasseur, 2017; Pilote, 2004). In the case of Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, the role of the school as a central institution of the

anglophone community is, however, mitigated by its representation as an outsider and “colonizer” of the fishing culture. Thus, the linguistic socialization of the anglophone minority seems to be subordinated to the family and cultural socialization associated with fishing.

With regard to family and cultural values of the members of the anglophones communities under study, the participants’ testimonies show a largely positive representation of anglophones. Anglophones in Québec are represented as people who share conservative, religious, family-oriented values. Anglophones are also described as being more open to ethnocultural and linguistic diversity. They consider themselves more mobile than francophones and more interested in discovering Canada and other countries. It should be noted that these same trends have been observed in a study of young people attending English-language schools in the Québec City region (Magnan, 2011).

Most of the young people interviewed felt they would be quite prepared to adapt to life in Canada outside Québec, even though they admit that they share certain references with their francophone fellow citizens. The lack of post-secondary educational offerings in English in their region also encourages young people to precipitately consider leaving the family home, their community, their region or their province in order to pursue their academic and professional goals.

Conclusion

The feeling of minoritization expressed by participants from the three regions studied is predominant, both in relation to languages and to linguistic communities. This is particularly striking in the case of Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, which can no doubt be explained by the great distance and isolation from other English-speaking communities in Québec.

It should be noted, however, that the mobility afforded by English and the ability to picture oneself at the Canadian and international level seems to reduce the effect of minoritization among the young people encountered. This trend was also observed in the Gérin-Lajoie (2016) study of young people attending English-language schools in the greater Montréal area. The young people we interviewed feel that they are not only part of their local language community, but that they are also part of a larger and more inclusive whole in which they are no longer a linguistic minority. For adults in the Outaouais region, this feeling of minoritization was less

pronounced, perhaps because of the proximity to Ontario. Participants manage to connect themselves to a majority Canadian and English-speaking community. Moreover, the neighboring provinces and Canada in general are represented as more open and less discriminating environments than Québec. For these young people, Canada outside Québec also offers study and living opportunities that represent concrete and accessible alternatives to Québec's urban centres. It should be noted that, in the case of Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, participants are often part of a community and family network that spans the Maritime region. Finally, the participants from the three regions relate to a larger global community thanks to the status of English as an international language. The feeling of minoritization is therefore perhaps more the result of a feeling of injustice from the neighboring francophone community rather than the reflection of a demographic decline or a fear of disappearing.

The tense relations between francophone and anglophone communities is a major concern for parents, educators and, to some extent, the youths. However, young people may tend to assimilate concerns that appear to be based on prejudices, on stereotypes about Québec francophones, or from adult discourse and experiences, as was seen in the case of many of the young people interviewed in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord. In other cases, such as in l'Outaouais, young people express concerns about intergroup relations that result from their own interactions with francophones in their region. The data also suggest that the bilingual skills of young anglophones and francophones greatly contribute to their ability to cross boundaries between language communities and to foster better relationships with others.

Youth feelings of belonging, positioning and identification

The young people met in the course of this study described their self-identification by referring to their connections to linguistic, national or other communities that have been relevant and significant in their lives. Beyond the individual identifications discussed earlier in the descriptions of the schools and their stakeholders, some common and divergent points emerge from the interviews. For the purposes of the discussion, the identity connections and positions mentioned will be grouped together on the basis of three criteria: linguistic identities, national or territorial affiliations, and other significant affiliations. Of course, as will be discussed later, we recognize that these groupings are tenuous, since these types of positioning and identity

markers tend to merge, overlap and influence each other in ways that are unique to each individual.

Linguistic identities

The young people interviewed were asked to elucidate their linguistic identities, as well as their feelings of belonging to the anglophone and francophone communities relevant to their own situation.

The attachment to the English language, expressed in terms such as being anglophone or English, is unsurprisingly dominant among most young people met. It is the language in which many feel most competent and one they use every day, at school, at home, with friends, etc. English is the language of their neighbourhood, their community, but it is also one of the country's two official languages, in addition to being an international language. Young people attribute a lot of value to the English language and this emerged strongly as a significant identity marker.

Attachment to the French language as a marker of identity is less apparent in the discourse and representations of these young people. When a francophone identity is claimed, it is most often combined with an English identity (to be both, or to be bilingual). It must be said that some of the young people have had difficult incidents during their interactions with members of the francophone community, or they have negative representations of French, which contributes to their rejection of the language as a category of identity. Those who have had more positive experiences, or who make greater use of French in their daily lives, especially in the family, seem to more easily brand themselves francophone or bilingual. However, speaking French on a daily basis does not guarantee that young people give it value as an identity. This is the case, for example, of Ivy, in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, who speaks French with her mother, but refuses any identification related to French.

Bilingual identity can be expressed in many ways among the young people we met. Some welcome this categorization, but others are more likely to say they are "both" or "in between" French and English, which is not exactly the same as saying "bilingual." Those who claim to be "both," for example, show an attachment to both languages and to both linguistic communities, while maintaining a separation between the two languages/groups. Those who say they are

bilingual seem to have a representation of identity that combines the two languages or communities in a more integrated whole.

It should be noted that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish with certainty, in their discourse and representations, between the moments when young people refer to “bilingual” as a skill versus when it is an identity positioning. These two characterizations can’t be dissociated, since one feeds the other. Indeed, many young people are reluctant to identify themselves as belonging to the “bilingual” group because of their language skills, which they consider insufficient, particularly in French. Thus, the data suggest that feelings of language competence and insecurity play a large role in the identification process of young people. These feelings seem more determinant than the use that young people make of these two languages on a daily basis. Thus, the more competent young people feel in performing according to the expected standards of native speakers, the more they seem ready to position themselves as bilingual.

National or territorial allegiances

With respect to national or territorial allegiances, particularly Québécois and Canadian identities, several portraits emerged from interviews with young people.

First, it should be mentioned that local or regional identities seem significant for several of the young people from the three regions under study, but that this seems even more significant in the case of the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord region. Young people in this region have a strong identification with the Maritimes, which traverses provincial boundaries. The dominance of the fishing culture, the remoteness from major urban centres, the close-knit social bonds, as well as family networks that extend across the greater Maritime region explain in particular this strong attachment at the local, regional and trans-provincial levels. Local and regional identities also emerged from earlier studies of young people attending English-language schools in the Québec City and Montréal regions (Magnan, 2008; Gérin-Lajoie, 2016).

As well, several young people in each region said they feel an attachment to Québec society as a whole. For these young people, their use of English and their sense of belonging to their English-language community are not barriers to national identification as Québécois. Many thus identify themselves explicitly as anglo-Québécois.

As well, several say they feel that they are both Québécois and Canadian. For these young people, the categories are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. They find significant elements in each with which they identify and that they manifest depending on the context, their interlocutor and degree of comparison to “the other.”

Others relate to Canada alone and express no particular sense of belonging to Québec. Some explicitly refuse to position themselves as Quebecers. It should be noted that, within the three regions, Canadian identity is often perceived more positively than the Québec identity because it is largely associated with greater openness to ethnocultural and linguistic diversity, greater social inclusion and a more global identity. The Québécois identity is also strongly associated with the French language, with which many young people do not manage to see or associate themselves.

Finally, the interviews reveal a need among some young people to go beyond the Québec-Canada duality and distance themselves from political debates relating to the province’s nationalist demands. For these youths, the “bilingual” or “citizen of the world” identity characterization is a more attractive alternative. The “citizen of the world” category seems to allow these young people to position themselves on a more global, international and inclusive level.

Other significant allegiances

Although relatively unexplored in this study, some young people mentioned other identity positioning or feelings of attachment that were not directly related to languages or territory. This is the case, for example, of young people from Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord who are very attached to fishing, the main economic activity of their community and the region. Beyond the career aspect, these young people and the adults around them describe the world of fishing as a culture in its own right, which is particularly stifled by school culture. As well, sexual identity, although evoked only marginally in the corpus, reminds us that young people ally themselves to varied and multiple communities and identities, which should not be limited to language or territory. These aspects should be explored more deeply in other studies.

Conclusion

This section reveals the complexity and the multiplicity of identity positions of the young people questioned. Young people feel that they belong to many linguistic and national communities —

some more significant than others, depending on the case. It turns out that these young people use overlapping identity markers and positions that can vary according to context and their interlocutors. The identity labels they use to define themselves appear to be the following: anglophone, Canadian, bilingual, Québécois, etc. However, the positive or negative experience they have with languages, often related to everyday interactions, has an impact on their identification or non-identification with linguistic and national communities. Similarly, the positive or negative stereotypes conveyed about linguistic and national communities also seem to affect their sense of attachment to these communities. However, let us recall one salient result of the data analysis: young people identify strongly and positively with the English language, which does not always prove to be the case in respect to the French language.

For some young people, transnational (citizen of the world), territorial and local identities are sometimes more important than linguistic identification. This trend was highlighted in an earlier study of youth attending English-language schools in the Québec City area (Magnan, 2008). For some young people, identification with the local area seems more meaningful and significant. Is it an identity strategy or is it rather a means to allow them to move beyond or away from the anglophone/francophone or Canada/Québec dichotomy as experienced and reported by their parents?

Success in English-language high school in Québec

From the elements and issues detailed in each of the three regions that make up this study, we will return to the notion of academic success in terms of graduation rates, the learning of French and prospects for post-secondary education. We will then look at future plans of young people attending English-language school, particularly in relation to the labour market. We will then discuss the possible links between the self-identification of the young people and their academic success, highlighting the factors that can influence the outcome. We will spotlight the commonalities and divergences among the three regions studied in order to draw an overall portrait that will better capture the experience of young students in the English sector from different regions of Québec.

High school graduation

Graduating from Grade 11 is a significant achievement for all study participants from all three regions (l'Estrie, l'Outaouais and Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord). For the students in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, it represents an even greater challenge than for the students of the other two regions, particularly because of the appeal of fishing. The dropout rate for students enrolled at Jamie-David School is a source of significant concern for the school administration, teachers and parents.

In contrast, for l'Outaouais students who participated in the study, high school graduation is not a major concern. These students, who are all enrolled in the immersion program, feel confident in their ability to complete high school. They are optimistic about their future. They consider themselves privileged compared to students in the regular program (French as a second language), since they feel that they have the resources they need to achieve their goals and graduate. These students seem to share an elitist representation of their program and classmates — a perception that they are generally better students, with greater aspirations, than their peers in the regular stream.

The majority of students interviewed at Paul-Underhill School did not identify any major barriers to high school graduation. Most reported having good academic records and say they are encouraged by their parents to complete their studies and pursue post-secondary education. The few students struggling to obtain a high school diploma generally attribute the situation to a less-favorable family or personal context. Although the school principal considers that the attractiveness of the trades and farm work is a barrier to high school graduation or post-secondary education, none of the young people interviewed mentioned any plans to head in those directions.

The three territories studied demonstrate significant disparities in terms of academic success. Depending on the social, demographic, economic and educational context, students in Québec's English-language schools do not experience the challenges of graduation in the same way. In Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, the participants identified several social obstacles (low appreciation of school by the community, low level of parents' education), linguistic hurdles (difficulties in French) and economic barriers (the lure of fishing, limited school resources) that contribute to the high drop-out rate. In contrast, students in l'Outaouais enjoy

more favourable conditions for academic success (higher level of parental education, enriched French program, diversity of professional options in the employment sector, appreciation of high school and post-secondary education, etc.). In l'Estrie, difficulties experienced by some students encountered were largely attributed to difficult family circumstances. However, we did see some perceived ambivalence among youth about their parents' plans and aspirations for their future. Although our data do not allow us to directly link this ambivalence or confusion to school experiences as described by the students, it could potentially affect the motivation of some young people and their commitment to their academic success, as suggested by Kanouté et al. (2008). Despite these differences, participants in all three regions agree that academic success requires a high school diploma and perseverance.

School staff at all three sites have implemented dropout prevention measures, as well as guidance and support measures for students in difficulty or who are deemed at risk of dropping out. These measures are tailored to each context, such as, for example, school hours adapted for fishing (Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord), Community Learning Centre activities (l'Estrie, Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord), special programs for students deemed at risk to drop out (l'Outaouais), etc. The diversity of measures shows the commitment of school communities to the success of English-language students by finding effective solutions adapted to their needs. These measures also show the importance of having a flexible and creative approach to academic success initiatives.

Success in French

For students in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord region and, to a certain extent, l'Estrie, success in French in high school is a major challenge. Many students and parents are worried about the mandatory Grade 11 French test required for high school graduation. They fear English-speaking youth will be poorly prepared and could fail, which would be a significant barrier to success at the high school and post-secondary levels. French is often described by young people and parents as a difficult language to acquire and as a largely academic language, little used in their everyday interactions. We have repeatedly noted a feeling of language anxiety among young people, except in the case of the Outaouais, a factor that can hinder academic

success. Obviously, there are significant individual differences among students based on parents' mother tongues and home language. The use of French among friends will also influence young people's appreciation of their skills and motivation to learn the language. In the case of l'Outaouais youths, all of whom were enrolled in immersion, they generally said they feel confident about their language skills in French and feel they are well prepared for the end-of-high-school tests.

Anxiety and linguistic insecurity have already been identified in research as factors that can hinder language learning, its use in real-life contexts and, more generally, in academic success (MacIntyre, 1995; Dewaele and Sevinç, 2017; Vézina, 2009). Given the importance of success in the Grade 11 French exam for student retention in English-language schools, the language anxiety and linguistic insecurity observed in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord and Estrie regions are of particular concern. Despite the absence of a clear correlation between these feelings and academic success, we believe language anxiety and linguistic insecurity may be relevant risk factors.

Although there are differences between regions and individuals, a feeling of injustice is also strongly felt and widely shared among young people regarding the level of French skills expected for graduation (Grade 11 French exam) compared to the expectations of English-as-a-second-language programs offered to students in French school boards. English-speaking youths in the three regions feel the expectations in terms of French-language skills are too high and represent a significant obstacle to graduation, particularly for students enrolled in regular French-as-a-second-language programs. They consider that, to do well on the French exam, you need to have skills that are close to those of native speakers, far superior to what is expected of students enrolled in ESL programs in French school boards. While they recognize the value and importance of French in Québec, they still feel that it is unfair to ask them to perform as well in French as native speakers.

It should be noted that, despite these concerns about French-language academic expectations, the large majority of parents interviewed, and many of the students, feel that French-English bilingualism is an asset. They consider that French-English bilingualism, which requires learning French, is important for studies, for work, for social inclusion and for full participation in Québec society. In fact, very few of the students interviewed reject the French language altogether or

refuse to learn it. When this is the case, for Dave and Ivy from Jamie-David School for example, it is explained by negative experiences in French-language school settings or, in the case of Gordon at Jamie-David School, by difficulties in learning the language. The rejection of French is then a consequence of difficult interactions with francophones or with French itself, rather than a lack of recognition of the social value of French in Québec.

To promote youth bilingualism and the successful attainment of French-language objectives, the parents we met explained that they had put in place different strategies for exposure to and use of French for their children starting in the first years of schooling. One of the strategies often mentioned is to send children to spend anywhere from a few months to a few years in a francophone-sector elementary school. The parents hope that the child will acquire a “good base” in French in a real-life context, one which s/he will be able to build upon during high school studies and in social activities in the community. In the case of the Outaouais region, the availability of the immersion program represents an opportunity to educate children in French at the elementary level without having to go through the French sector.

Enrolment in French-sector institutions is a strategy rarely used for high school education. Parents seem to prefer enrolment in “enriched” French programs in English-sector schools (immersion, French-mother-tongue, enriched French), when these programs are available in their region. According to the testimonies collected, parents feel that sending their children to the French sector during high school could jeopardize their academic success. They worry students will have a hard time succeeding not only in French, but in other subjects as well, which could limit their options when entering post-secondary education. The fears expressed by participants about educating young people in French at the high school level corresponds to what has been observed in other studies. Indeed, Rebuffot (1993) and Lamarre (2007) found a significant decline in enrolment of English-speaking students with acquired rights in French-language programs as well as in high school immersion programs, for the same reasons as those mentioned earlier. This strategy of schooling children in French at the elementary and not at the high school level was also identified in a quantitative survey conducted in 2003. Mc Andrew and Eid (2003) ascribe this free choice of French-language school in elementary school to instrumental motivations, that is to say, by a desire for social mobility through the learning of the majority language, rather than a desire for rapprochement with the francophone outgroup. According to

Mc Andrew and Eid (2003), a return to the fold occurs at the high school level: “in adolescence, an age where identities crystallize, social networks develop and future educational projects and career plans are defined, one prefers to return to early allegiances” (260).

Finally, it should be noted that high schools in the francophone sector often have a bad reputation, according to the parents we interviewed. They believe French high schools are rather impersonal and too big in terms of enrolment, that they offer programs of lower quality and that there is more delinquency. Some parents, especially in l’Estrie and l’Outaouais, also consider that the family and social values conveyed in French-language schools do not correspond to their own and those they wish to pass on to their children. For these reasons, they clearly prefer that young people continue their education in the anglophone sector.

A second strategy adopted by several parents (and some young people) is to have children enrol in sports or leisure activities in French. This type of activity offers a linguistic context that is considered authentic, unilingual and immersive, where the child must use and develop his or her French-language skills. Through their participation in recreational activities in French, young people also have the opportunity to develop a network of friends with whom they will potentially continue to use French.

The youths themselves are not impassive about learning French or about being successful in that language. There are young people like Olivia (l’Outaouais) and Addison (Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord) who say they like speaking French, who build strong ties with members of the francophone community and who choose to speak French and make it their language of daily use with friends. Often, these students do very well in French and see the possibility of pursuing post-secondary studies in French. Others, on the other hand, decide to speak little or no French, regardless of their parents’ expectations and strategies. These students look to avoid situations that force them to use French and they usually surround themselves with friends with whom they speak in English only. These students refuse or have refused in the past to do some of their schooling in French and some admit they have difficulty meeting academic requirements in French.

Pursuing post-secondary studies

The prospect of post-secondary education appears to be valued by the large majority of study participants, both adult and youth, with the notable exception of boys in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord. The majority of participants we met, whether students, parents or educators, wanted the youths to continue studies at the college and university level, even students who had personal or academic difficulties.

In the case of boys at Jamie-David School, the attraction of the fishing industry is so strong that they sometimes decide to not continue their education beyond high school. However, they are strongly encouraged to look at a professional or technical program that will allow them to have a job that could complement the fishing trade. This opportunity to do trades-oriented studies is quite popular among the boys interviewed, which encourages them to persist in their schooling. In the case of Paul-Underhill School in l'Estrie, the school principal described a situation similar to that of Jamie-David School, where some youths consider dropping out of school early in order to take up farming, particularly to work on the family farm. No young people met during this study, however, expressed this desire. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of young people interviewed at this school were girls and that they are perhaps more encouraged to continue their studies than boys, as is the case in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord. It is also possible that the attraction of the agricultural trade is not as strong as that of fishing, because of potentially more difficult working conditions and relatively lower incomes. This line of inquiry would need to be advanced by other studies.

It should be noted that, in all three regions, parents generally consider the possibility of technical studies at the college level an acceptable alternative to university education for their children, if that is what they want to do. However, DVS-type professional programs are not encouraged, except as a supplement to fishing activities, in the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord region. We have also observed in our corpus that it is the parents with the most education, often the mothers, who are the most consistent in encouraging young people to pursue post-secondary studies. This trend is consistent with what has been observed in other studies (Kanouté et al., 2008; Watson et al., 2016).

Most of young people met plan to continue their studies in English, although some have said they want to go to francophone CEGEPs (Maèva from Paul-Underhill, for example). Only young people in the Outaouais region have the opportunity to study in English at the college level without having to move to another city. For young people from l’Estrie, there is the opportunity to study in Sherbrooke, which does not necessarily represent a great distance, but still forces them to leave the family home. For young people in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, the distances are greater. To continue their studies, they would have to leave their region to go to Sherbrooke, Québec or Montréal, or to change their province of residence. As for university studies, young people most often want to enter an English-language university they perceive as “prestigious” in Montréal (McGill) or elsewhere in Canada (University of Toronto, University of British Columbia, etc.). They consider that their knowledge of English offers them the opportunity to study wherever they want, whether in Québec or elsewhere. Thus, the choice of English as the language of study is strongly linked to the notion of “interprovincial” or “international” mobility. This choice of English can, however, be seen and experienced in two distinct ways: first as a constraint, or even an obstacle, when starting college (because of the smaller number of English CEGEPs in Québec), then as an opportunity when entering university (because of the high number of universities in Canada).

Future plans

In terms of future plans, young people, their parents and educators seem unanimous on one point: anything is possible. Young people are encouraged to find a job or profession of their choice that will make them happy and let them earn a living. Although the majority of the parents encourage their children to pursue post-secondary education, they are usually quite open to the idea that their children might choose another path. Parents, particularly mothers with a high level of education, certainly have high expectations for the education and career choices of the youths, but not at the cost of their happiness.

In the case of the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord region, future plans differ according to the gender of the respondents. Most boys are expected to work in the fishing industry and are encouraged to have a supplementary second job or trade. Girls are encouraged to continue their education and find a trade or profession outside the fishing industry. This situation can probably be explained by some cultural and socio-economic elements. Based on the testimony of our

participants, fishing is largely an activity perceived as male, which is lived and transmitted in families from father to son. Although some women work on boats, that does not seem to be the norm. No female interviewed — parent or youth — raised the possibility that girls at Jamie-David School might work in the fishing industry. Working at the processing plant is certainly possible, but as discussed earlier, the work is seasonal and considered to be low-pay. Thus, girls are encouraged to find other professions, although this means that they will have a harder time returning to work in their community after graduation.

When young people and their parents talk about future job opportunities, French seems like a significant asset. The participants in the three regions believe that French-English bilingualism is useful and valued in the labour market. Young people who say they speak both languages in a “balanced” way, that is, according to the standards of native speakers, consider that they have an advantage over unilingual francophones and anglophones. This benefit is particularly felt by youth in immersion programs in l’Outaouais and among youth with at least one parent who has French as their mother tongue. In the case of Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord and l’Outaouais, French-English bilingualism is considered a requirement rather than an asset for the labour market. They believe that bilingualism is the key to getting a good job in their respective regions. French therefore represents, for young people, an important resource that they intend to use and showcase in their search for future jobs.

Finally, the issue of mobility is an important issue for young people as they look to the future. Since many will have to leave their homes and even their region to pursue post-secondary education plans, the issue of a possible return to the community often remains unresolved. If they hope to take advantage of their language resources to study in large urban centres in Québec or Canada, they are unsure if they can then find a job of their choice in their community. Many believe that it will be impossible for them to do so and instead foresee professional lives elsewhere in Québec or in other Canadian provinces. Others will choose post-secondary institutions that are as close to their community as possible so as to limit estrangement and facilitate a return once they are established professionals. The difficulty of retaining young people or bringing them back to the regions after completing their studies necessarily has an impact on the vitality of English-speaking communities in the regions, as well as on enrolment

in anglophone-sector schools, as highlighted by Lamarre (2007). This represents a significant challenge and cause for concern for parents and school staff interviewed.

Academic success and self-identification of youth attending an English-language school

This qualitative and exploratory study does not, because of the nature of its data, allow for the determination or establishment of clear links between youth self-identification and academic success. However, we noted some factors that affect the rapport with languages and identity positioning that may have an impact on the academic and educational success of youth, which we will highlight here.

Kanoute et al. (2008) state that when students feel that their group is discriminated against or socially excluded, it can negatively affect their perseverance and academic success. We found that a significant proportion of young people met in these three Québec regions express strong feelings of linguistic minoritization. Many explained that they feel they are victims of academic and linguistic injustice, that there is a lack of recognition of their linguistic community in Québec society and that they feel isolated from the linguistic majority.

In addition, feelings of anxiety and language insecurity may contribute to a sense of social exclusion among second-language and minority-language users. Since young people in l'Estrie and Gaspésie-Iles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord expressed feelings of anxiety and linguistic insecurity about French at different levels, it is possible that this may have an effect on their feeling of minoritization in relation to the French-speaking majority.

While it is impossible to establish clear links between individual success and group perceptions of being a linguistic minority, victims of discrimination or social exclusion, we believe we must take into account intergroup relations in assessing factors for student success. The more egalitarian and harmonious the relations between francophone and anglophone communities in the different regions of Québec, the less likely it is that students' academic trajectories will be affected.

Moreover, the young people interviewed, although they feel minoritized in relation to the francophone majority in Québec, also feel that they belong to larger linguistic and national communities, as English-speakers and as Canadians. These identity positions are more positive and place them in more favourable power relations. It is therefore possible that this latter

positioning as members of groups perceived as majority or dominant will mitigate the possible negative effects of their identification as members of a minority group on their academic success. The complexity, multiplicity and overlap of identity positioning of young people attending English-language schools in Québec must not be underestimated. This is why we believe that the possible links between the self-identification of young people and their academic success must be analyzed with caution. More research in this area is needed to better understand the many possible intersections between academic achievement, linguistic identity, and feelings of anxiety and linguistic insecurity.

Conclusion

High school graduation seems to be important in the three regions studies. However, dropouts are proving to be a major issue for school staff in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord and, to a lesser extent, in Estrie. The challenge of passing the Grade 11 French exam was also highlighted in the three study locales. The difficulties are more pronounced in Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine-Côte-Nord, where most of the young people use English in daily life; this is why young people sometimes finish their French requirements in the less-demanding adult sector. In contrast, the Estrie and Outaouais schools have created selective “enriched” streams in French to satisfy the needs identified by some parents. The importance of French-English bilingualism for parents is apparent in the three study regions. They consider the French- and English-language skills developed by their children will further facilitate their future professional integration as well as their retention by or return to Québec.

Recommendations

The report results highlight tensions between anglophone and francophone communities, real or expressed. The analyses also raise a sense of minoritization, exclusion and linguistic insecurity vis-à-vis the majority group, which is perceived as “francophone, unilingual, nationalist, sovereigntist.” The feeling of not being as proficient in French as native speakers can provoke greater feelings of attachment to and identity positions more aligned with the English language, Canada, bilingualism and even more so to the local area or to a self-identification such as “citizen of the world.” However, the results also show a desire among young people to learn French and to nurture closer relations with the majority group and the *Francophonie*. These young people

value bilingualism as a means of fostering social cohesion in Québec. These conclusions lead us to ask the following question: How can we promote more harmonious relationships between students in English and French-language schools?

[Avenues for intergroup rapprochement](#)

Initiatives inspired by critical pedagogy could be envisaged by the academic milieu. An action plan could seek to make young people more aware of the role of language interactions in the construction of sometimes unequal inter-group categorization, on language ideologies that value unilingualism (especially when it is the majority's language) and the feeling of linguistic insecurity. This first stage of consciousness-raising, organized jointly by school staff and students, could lead young people to a sort of emancipation — one that predisposes them to engage in dialogue with students in French-language schools. Activities common to French and English schools could subsequently foster more harmonious and collaborative intergroup contacts (and thus focus less on the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion). The creation of joint projects for French- and English-language schools, already implemented in other regions of Québec as part of the PELIQ-AN project, could give young people the sense that they are contributing to the transformation of longstanding multigenerational linguistic relationships (Côté, 2016).

[Approaches to enable the deconstruction of the idealized “native French-speaker”](#)

School staff could also work on young people's confidence in their language skills by deconstructing the ideal of the “native French speaker.” Situating French skills on a continuum and that values partial skills in French could help the bilingual group identify with the francophone group and limit the sense of insecurity that can lead to feelings of alienation and minoritization among some young people.

[Rethinking streams that produce imbalanced success in French](#)

Finally, the Ministry of Education needs to reflect on the completion of the Grade 11 French exam. How can young people be better equipped to pass this test? It is also important to consider the inequity in exam preparation fostered by the selective streaming in English-language schools (immersion and enriched programs versus the regular French-as-a-second language stream). However, international literature indicates that selective and elitist streams tend to widen

educational inequalities between students more than they democratize academic success among all social groups (Kamanzi and Pilote, 2016). Educational systems that promote greater equity in education are those which know how to maintain a core curriculum for as long as possible in high school, without dividing school populations into selective programs (Dupriez, Monseur and Campenhoudt, 2012).

Bibliography

- Billiez, J. (2007). Être plurilingue: Handicap ou atout ? *Ecart d'identité*, (111), 88-90.
- Brubaker, R. et Junqua, F. (2001). Au-delà de l'identité. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 139(2), 66-85. doi: 10.3406/arss.2001.3508
- Commission scolaire Eastern Shore (2016). *Rapport annuel 2015-2016*. New Carlisle.
- Côté, B., Lamarre, P. et Razakamanana, A. (2016). Option études Châteauguay : Bilan de l'impact à moyen terme d'un programme de scolarisation commune d'élèves du secteur francophone et du secteur anglophone, sur les rapports intercommunautaires et l'identité. *Minorités linguistiques et société*, (7), 170–194.
- Darvin, R. and Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 36-56. doi: 10.1017/s0267190514000191
- Dewaele, J.-M. et Sevinç, Y. (2017). La double anxiété langagière des immigrants. *Babylonia Journal of Language Education*, 1, 26-30.
- Dupriez, V., Monseur C. et Campenhoudt, M.V. (2012). Le poids de l'origine socioculturelle des élèves et de leur environnement scolaire sur leurs aspirations d'études supérieures : les bases d'une comparaison internationale, *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle* [En ligne], 41(1) | 2012, mis en ligne le 07 mars 2015, consulté le 01 octobre 2016. URL : <http://osp.revues.org/3668> ; DOI :10.4000/osp.3668
- Early, M. (2008). Second and foreign language education in Canada. In N. H. Hornberger (ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 4: Second and Foreign Language Education, p. 197–208) New-York, London: Springer.
- Floch, W. and Pocock, J. (2008). Emerging Trends in the Socio-Economic Status of English-Speaking Quebec: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed. *The Vitality of ESC: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montréal: CEETUM, UdeM. Feb. 2008.
- Gérin-Lajoie, D. (2016a). *Negotiating Identities: Anglophones Teaching and Living in Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gérin-Lajoie, D. (2016b). Les jeunes dans les écoles de langue anglaise de la région de Montréal et leur rapport à l'identité, *Minorités linguistique et société*, 7, 48-69.
- Kamanzi, P. C., Pilote, A., Uzenat, M. et Gris, S. (2017). La démocratisation des études supérieures à l'aune de la différenciation et de l'individualisation des parcours scolaires au Québec, *Orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 46(4), 571-594.
- Kanouté, F., Vatz Laaroussi, M., Rachédi, L. & Tchimou Doffouchi, M. (2008). Familles et réussite scolaire d'élèves immigrants du secondaire1. *Revue des sciences de l'éducation*, 34(2), 265–289. doi:10.7202/019681ar
- Lamarre, P. (2007). Anglo-Quebec today: looking at community and schooling issues. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 185, 109-132.
- Lamarre P., Livingstone A.-M. and Langevin P. (2013). The Community Learning Centre Initiative for English Schools in Québec: Findings from a Process-based Evaluation. In N.S.

- Trépanier et L. Roy (eds.) *Plaidoyer pour une école communautaire/Making a case for community schools*, Montréal: Éditions Nouvelles, n.d.
- Ledent, J., Mc Andrew, M. & Pinsonneault, G. (2016). Le choix de la langue d'enseignement au cégep chez les élèves issus de l'immigration scolarisés en français au secondaire québécois : Une approche longitudinale. *Minorités linguistiques et société*, (7), 122–141.
doi:10.7202/1036419ar
- Levasseur, C. (2017). *“Moi j’suis pas francophone!”: Discours, pratiques langagières et représentations identitaires d’élèves de francisation à Vancouver*, Thèse de doctorat. Montréal : Université de Montréal
- MacIntyre, P.D. (1995). How Does Anxiety Affect Second Language Learning? A Reply to Sparks and Ganschow. *The Modern Language Journal*, 79(1), 90-99.
- MacIntyre, P. D. and Gardner, R.C. (1991). Methods and Results in the Study of Anxiety and Language Learning: A Review of the Literature. *Language Learning*, 41(1), 85-117.
- Magnan, M.-O. (2005), Pourquoi les Anglo-Québécois quittent-ils la province ? Bilan des connaissances. *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est*, (26), 9-30.
- Magnan, M.-O. (2008). Identité et rétention chez les anglophones de Québec : un changement générationnel. *Recherches sociographiques : revue pluridisciplinaire d'études sur le Québec et le Canada français*, 49(1), 69-86.
- Magnan, M.-O. (2011). *Éducation et frontières linguistiques au Québec : les parcours identitaires d'étudiants universitaires issus de l'école de langue anglaise*, Thèse de doctorat. Québec : Université Laval.
- Magnan, M.-O. et P. Lamarre (2013). Être jeune et ‘anglophone’ dans un Québec pluraliste. *Vivre ensemble*, 21(71 automne), 1-5.
- Magnan, M.-O., Pilote, A. et Vieux-Fort, K. (2013). Effet de pairs et logiques d'orientation aux études supérieures au sein du marché des établissements scolaires québécois. *L'Orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 42(4), 461-486.
- Mc Andrew, M., Tardif-Grenier, K. & Audet, G. (2012). La réussite éducative des élèves issus de l'immigration : regards contrastés : Présentation. *Diversité urbaine*, 12(1), 3–6.
doi:10.7202/1019208ar
- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1), 9-31.
- Canadian Heritage (2011). *A Portrait of the English-speaking Communities in Québec*, Official Languages Support Programs Branch.
- Pilote, A. (2004). *La construction de l'identité politique des jeunes en milieu francophone minoritaire : Le cas des élèves du centre scolaire communautaire Sainte-Anne à Fredericton au Nouveau-Brunswick*, Thèse de doctorat. Québec : Université Laval.
- Pocock, J. (2016). *Key Socio-demographic Characteristics of English-speaking Children, 2011 Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine and Census Divisions*, Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN).

- Poulin, R., Beaumont, C., Blaya, C., et Frenette, E. (2015). Le climat scolaire : Un point central pour expliquer la victimisation et la réussite scolaire. *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, 38(1), 1-23.
- Rebuffot, J. (1993). *Le point sur l'immersion au Canada*. Anjou: Centre éducatif et culturel.
- Roy, S. (2015). Discours et idéologies en immersion française. *La revue canadienne de linguistique appliquée*, 18(2), 125-143.
- Vézina, R. (2009). *La question de la norme linguistique*. Québec: Le Conseil supérieur de la langue française.
- Vieux-Fort, K. et Pilote, A. (2010). Représentations et positionnements identitaires chez des jeunes scolarisés en anglais à Québec : explorations méthodologiques. *Glottopol. Revue internationale de sociolinguistique*, 16, 81-99.
- Watson, S., Vernon, L., Seddon, S., Andrews, Y. and Wang, A. (2016). Parents influencing secondary students' university aspirations: A multilevel approach using school-SES. *Issues in Educational Research*, 26(4), 673-693.

Appendix 1: Ethics certificate – Université de Montréal

Université 
de Montréal

Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche

N° de certificat
CPER-16-090-D

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE

Le Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche (CPER), selon les procédures en vigueur, en vertu des documents qui lui ont été fournis, a examiné le projet de recherche suivant et conclu qu'il respecte les règles d'éthique énoncées dans la Politique sur la recherche avec des êtres humains de l'Université de Montréal.

Projet	
Titre du projet	Perception identitaire et réussite scolaire chez les élèves fréquentant une école d'une commission scolaire anglophone du Québec, en dehors des villes de Montréal et de Québec : perception des élèves, de leurs parents et de leurs enseignants
Chercheure requérant	Marie-Odile Mignan (C2147) Professeure agrégée, Administration et fondements de l'éducation - Faculté des sciences de l'éducation Université de Montréal
Financement	
Organisme	Ministère de l'éducation, du loisir et du sport
Programme	--
Titre de l'octroi si différent	--
Numéro d'octroi	350026887
Chercheur principal	--
No de compte	--
Approbation reconnue	
Approbation émise par	non
Certificat:	s.o.

MODALITÉS D'APPLICATION

Tout changement anticipé au protocole de recherche doit être communiqué au CPER qui en évaluera l'impact au chapitre de l'éthique.

Toute interruption prématurée du projet ou tout incident grave doit être immédiatement signalé au CPER.

Selon les règles universitaires en vigueur, un suivi annuel est minimalement exigé pour maintenir la validité de la présente approbation éthique, et ce, jusqu'à la fin du projet. Le questionnaire de suivi est disponible sur la page web du CPER.


Jean Poupart, Président
Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche
Université de Montréal

13 septembre 2016
Date de délivrance

1 octobre 2017
Date de fin de validité

Appendix 2: Interview guide – students (English and French)

Themes guiding the interview:

1. Life pathway until now
2. Perceptions of English schools
3. Identities
4. Future plans

To read to the respondent before beginning the interview

During this interview, you will be asked to tell your personal life story, pertaining to your family, your community and school experiences, your vocational choices and your sense of belonging.

You will not be asked to answer a list of survey questions, but to answer general questions about specific themes pertaining to your individual life course.

Thus, while doing the interview, I will ask you to tell me about your personal experience concerning these general questions. You will be free to answer it as you wish. Do not hesitate to tell me what you think might be interesting and pertinent and this, without feeling embarrassed.

Finally, I re-ensure that obviously all collected data will be published in a way that it won't be possible to identify you. Nevertheless, if you are not comfortable to share some information, please feel free not to answer.

We are now ready to start the interview!

I – Life pathway until now

1. To start with, I would like you to tell me about your life pathway: your origins, your family, your past experiences, moving(s) and/or change(s) of schools, etc.
 - ✓ Family members (parents, siblings, other family members, etc.)?
 - ✓ Place and date of birth?
 - ✓ Your parents' place of birth?
 - ✓ Mother(s) tongue(s) and language(s) spoken at home?
 - ✓ Your parents' mother(s) tongue(s)?
 - ✓ Your parents' level of education and work?

- ✓ Place(s) of residence (town, region, province, country), description (socioeconomic level, ethnic composition, public transportation, etc.) and reasons to have lived or moved?
- ✓ Parents' and sibling's way of relating to languages (namely French and English)?
- ✓ Participation and identification towards English-speaking communities (town, province of Quebec, Canada) (respondent and parents)?
- ✓ Participation and identification towards French-speaking communities (respondent and parents)?
- ✓ School(s) attended? Why choosing to attend an English school? Year of schooling and number of years in an English school?
- ✓ School(s) attended by your parents (language(s), town, province, country, etc.)?
- ✓ Extended family? Where do they live (city, province and country)? How would you describe your relations with them?

II – Perceptions of English schools

School characteristics

2. Which high school do you attend? Can you describe it?
 - ✓ Type(s) of curriculum taught (enriched, pedagogical projects, etc.)?
 - ✓ Different programs? In which program are you in? % of students in your program?
 - ✓ Status (school in disadvantaged area, etc.)?
 - ✓ Pupils' ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ School staff's ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ Educational services available?
 - ✓ Other services?
 - ✓ Area in which the school is located? Can you describe it?

School choice

3. Why did you (or your parents) choose this school?
 - ✓ Importance for you and your parents to attend an English school? Why?
 - ✓ Linked to your parents' sense of belonging to the English-speaking communities? Yours?
 - ✓ Linguistic motives (becoming bilingual)?
 - ✓ School reputation?
 - How did you (or your parents) know the school reputation?
 - ✓ School academic performance?
 - How do you (or your parents) know the school academic performance?
 - ✓ Specific school curriculum sought?
 - ✓ Desired school culture (disciplinary code, values sought, religion, etc.)?
 - ✓ Distance between house and school (residential choice)?
 - Relativisation of the distance?
 - ✓ Neighborhood school?
 - ✓ Sibling(s) that go/went to the school?
 - ✓ School chosen by other closed relatives (family members, friends etc.)?

- ✓ Pupils' ethnic and social backgrounds?
- ✓ Educational services available?
- ✓ Other services sought?
- ✓ School in continuation with the elementary school?
- ✓ Why not a French school?

Experiences at school

4. What do you think of your school?
 - ✓ Do you like to go there? What do you like? What do you like less?
 - ✓ What does your school mean to you (self-fulfilment, struggles, etc.)?
 - ✓ Sense of belonging towards your school?
 - ✓ Practiced activities? Outside of your school?
 - ✓ Ways of relating to school staff (teachers, principals, etc.) (language(s) spoken)?
 - ✓ Language and « culture » at school (rules related to languages (English and French)?
What do you think?
 - ✓ Available resources (library, specialized school staff, etc.)?

5. What do you think about the climate at your school?
 - ✓ Between students (violence, intimidation, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Between students and teachers (respect, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Focused on academic success?
 - ✓ Promote English? French? How?

6. Your academic performance?
 - ✓ Grades?
 - ✓ School subjects preferred/disliked? Why?
 - ✓ Experiencing any difficulties at school? In what school subject(s)?
 - ✓ English language skills (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ French language skills (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ Do you consider yourself being good at school? Compared to other students?
 - ✓ Changes in overall performance since the beginning of high school? In comparison to your school performance during elementary school?

7. How would you describe your experiences in classroom?
 - ✓ Pedagogical methods used?
 - ✓ Teachers' availabilities?
 - ✓ Class climate?
 - ✓ Level of academic performance?
 - ✓ Place given to English? To French?

8. Tell me about your friends?
 - ✓ Attending the same school?

- ✓ Group(s) of friends?
- ✓ Since when are they your friends?
- ✓ Language(s) spoken?
- ✓ Common activities? Interests?
- ✓ Ways of relating with English-speaking communities (city, province and country) and French-speaking communities?
- ✓ Projects for the future?

Representations of English schools and French schools

9. According to your experiences and knowledge, what do you think of English schools in Quebec? Your parents? Compared to ROC?

- ✓ Quality of education?
- ✓ Support given to students?
- ✓ Discipline?
- ✓ Curriculum?
- ✓ School culture?

10. What do you think of French schools? Your parents?

- ✓ Quality of education?
- ✓ Support given to students?
- ✓ Discipline?
- ✓ Curriculum?
- ✓ School culture?
- ✓ Compared to English schools?

III – Identities

Self-identity

11. If I simply ask you ‘Who you are?’, what would you answer spontaneously?

- ✓ Importance or not of language(s)?
- ✓ Importance or not of culture(s)?
- ✓ Attachment to Canada, to the province of Quebec, to a town, to a specific place, etc.?
- ✓ Self-identification to English-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
- ✓ Self-identification to French-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
- ✓ Bilingual? Multilingual?
- ✓ Importance of several characteristics such as age, sex, social class, friends, interests, etc.?
- ✓ Exterior influences (family, friends, media, etc.)?

Representations of linguistics communities

12. How do you perceive English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities?

IV – Future plans

13. What would you like for your future? If known, what are your plans?

- ✓ Projects?
- ✓ Would you like continuing your studies? If yes, at what level and in what program? In which city, province, country? In what language(s)?
- ✓ What profession would you like to do? In which city, province and country would you like to work? In what language(s)?
- ✓ Where would you like to live? Why?
- ✓ Other projects?

14. Why those aspirations/projects?

- ✓ Social status?
- ✓ Job(s) opportunities?
- ✓ Earning?
- ✓ Prestige?
- ✓ Links with the English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities?
- ✓ Other reasons?

15. What do your parents want for your future?

- ✓ Studies (level of education, program (wanted and not wanted), town, province, country, language(s), etc.)?
- ✓ Profession/work (professions wanted and not wanted, town, province, country, language(s), etc.)?
- ✓ Other projects?

16. Why those aspirations?

- ✓ Social status?
- ✓ Job(s) opportunities?
- ✓ Earning?
- ✓ Prestige?
- ✓ Links with the English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities?
- ✓ Other reasons?

Grands thèmes pour les questions de l’entrevue:

1. Parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant
2. Perceptions des écoles de langue anglaise
3. Identité
4. Autoprojection dans le futur

Mise en contexte à lire au répondant en débutant l’entrevue

Au cours de cette entrevue, vous serez amené à relater votre histoire de vie personnelle, en lien avec vos expériences.

Il ne s’agit pas d’une liste de questions auxquelles on répond comme dans un sondage, mais plutôt de certaines questions générales touchant à quelques thèmes spécifiques à votre parcours individuel et familial.

Ainsi, en cours de route, je vous demanderai de me raconter votre expérience personnelle relative à ces questions générales et vous laisserai évidemment libre de répondre à votre guise. N’hésitez donc pas à me raconter ce qui vous apparaît intéressant et pertinent sans gêne.

Enfin, je vous rappelle que, bien entendu, toutes les données de recherche récoltées seront publiées de façon à ne pas vous identifier. Néanmoins, si vous ne vous sentez pas à l’aise de me communiquer certains renseignements, sentez-vous libre de ne pas répondre.

Nous sommes maintenant prêts à commencer l’entrevue!

I – Parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant

1. Pour commencer, j’aimerais que tu me parles un peu de ton parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant : tes origines, ta famille, des expériences passées significatives, déménagements et/ou changement d’école, etc.”
 - ✓ Membres de la famille (parents, frères et sœurs, autres membres de la famille, etc.)?
 - ✓ Lieu et date de naissance?
 - ✓ Lieu de naissance des parents?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) et parlée(s) à la maison?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) des parents?
 - ✓ Scolarité et profession des parents?
 - ✓ Endroit(s) habité(s) (localité, province, pays, niveau socio-économique, composition ethnique, accessibilité des transports, etc.) et raisons du lieu de résidence ou raisons du déménagement?
 - ✓ Rapport aux deux langues officielles (français, anglais) (jeune et parents)?

- ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés anglophones (locale, Québec, Canada) (jeune et parents)?
- ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés francophones (jeune et parents)?
- ✓ Écoles fréquentées? Pourquoi l'école de langue anglaise? Niveau de scolarité et années de fréquentation de l'école de langue anglaise?
- ✓ Écoles fréquentées par les parents (langue, localité, province, pays, etc.)?
- ✓ Famille éloignée? Où habitent-ils (localité, province, pays)? Comment qualifies-tu tes relations avec ces personnes?

II – Perceptions des écoles de langue anglaise

Caractéristiques de l'école

2. Quelle école secondaire fréquentes-tu? Peux-tu me la décrire?
 - ✓ Type(s) de curriculum retrouvé(s) (enrichi, projets pédagogiques particuliers, etc.)?
 - ✓ Quels sont les différents programmes à ton école? Dans quel programme es-tu? % des élèves dans ton programme?
 - ✓ Statut spécifique (école en milieu défavorisé, etc.)?
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistique et sociale de la population étudiante?
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistique et sociale du personnel scolaire?
 - ✓ Services éducatifs offerts?
 - ✓ Autres services offerts?
 - ✓ Quartier dans lequel elle se trouve (description du quartier)?

Choix de l'école

3. Pourquoi cette école?
 - ✓ Importance pour toi et tes parents que tu fréquentes une école de langue anglaise? Pourquoi?
 - ✓ Motifs identitaires?
 - ✓ Motifs linguistique (devenir bilingue)?
 - ✓ Réputation de l'école?
 - Comment connais-tu la réputation de l'école?
 - ✓ Performance académique de l'école?
 - Connais-tu la performance académique de l'école? Si oui, décrivez-la.
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire spécifique recherché?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire recherchée (code disciplinaire, valeurs véhiculées, religion, etc.)?
 - ✓ Distance entre maison et école (choix résidentiel)?
 - Relativisation de la distance?
 - ✓ École de quartier (la plus près)?
 - ✓ Autre(s) enfant(s) de la fratrie y va/vont ou y est/sont allé(s)?
 - ✓ École choisie par d'autres parents (membres ou amis de la famille)?
 - ✓ Composition sociale, linguistique et ethnique de la population étudiante?
 - ✓ Services éducatifs recherchés?
 - ✓ Autres services recherchés (service garde, activités parascolaires, etc.)?
 - ✓ École en continuité avec l'école primaire?
 - ✓ Pourquoi pas une école francophone?

Expériences à l'école

4. Que penses-tu de ton école?
 - ✓ Aimes-tu y aller? Qu'aimes-tu? Qu'aimes-tu moins?
 - ✓ Qu'est-ce que ton école représente pour toi (lieu épanouissement personnel et scolaire, de difficultés, etc.)?
 - ✓ Ressens-tu (ou non) un sentiment d'appartenance à ton école?
 - ✓ Activités auxquelles tu participes à l'école? en dehors de l'école?
 - ✓ Relations avec tes enseignants et membres du personnel scolaire (notamment langue parlée)?
 - ✓ Langue et culture à l'école (règles sur la langue, rapport au français et autres langues, etc.)? Qu'en penses-tu?
 - ✓ Ressources disponibles (bibliothèques, personnel scolaire spécialisé, etc.)?

5. Que penses-tu du climat dans ton école?
 - ✓ Entre les élèves (violence, intimidation, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ Entre les élèves et les enseignants (respect, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ Favorable à la réussite scolaire?
 - ✓ Favorise la langue anglaise? Comment?

6. Performance scolaire au secondaire (réussite, difficultés, etc.)
 - ✓ Notes scolaires apparaissant sur le bulletin?
 - ✓ Matière(s) préférée(s)/détestée(s)? Pourquoi?
 - ✓ Matière(s) ayant de la facilité/difficulté?
 - ✓ Performance en anglais (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Performance en français (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Te considères-tu bon à l'école? Par rapport aux autres élèves?
 - ✓ Variations de la performance globale au cours du secondaire? En comparaison avec le primaire?

7. Comment décrirais-tu ton expérience en classe?
 - ✓ Type d'enseignement?
 - ✓ Enseignants disponibles?
 - ✓ Climat des classes?
 - ✓ Niveau de performance des élèves?
 - ✓ Place donnée à la langue anglaise? À la langue française?

8. Peux-tu me parler de tes ami(e)s?
 - ✓ Un seul ou plusieurs groupes d'ami(e)s?
 - ✓ Depuis quand sont-ils tes ami(e)s?
 - ✓ À l'école ou en dehors de l'école?
 - ✓ Langue(s) parlée(s)?
 - ✓ Activités réalisées avec eux? Intérêts?
 - ✓ Leurs relations avec les communautés anglophones (localité, province, pays) et francophones? Identifications aux communautés anglophones et francophones?
 - ✓ Leurs projets d'avenir?

Représentations du secteur anglophone et francophone

9. Selon tes expériences et ce que tu as entendu, que penses-tu des écoles de langues anglaises au Québec? Tes parents? par rapport au ROC?
- ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
10. Que penses-tu des écoles de langue française? Tes parents?
- ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
 - ✓ En comparaison avec les écoles de langue anglaise?

III – Identité

Identité pour soi

11. Si je te demande tout bonnement “Qui es-tu?”, quelle réponse te vient spontanément?
- ✓ Importance ou non de la langue anglaise?
 - ✓ Importance ou non de la culture anglaise?
 - ✓ Attachement au Canada, au Québec, à la localité, etc.?
 - ✓ Identification aux communautés anglophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changements depuis naissance de cette identification?
Changements selon les contextes?
 - ✓ Identification aux communautés francophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changement depuis naissance de cette identification?
Changements selon les contextes?
 - ✓ Identification bilingue? Multilingue?
 - ✓ Importance de divers éléments, tels âge, genre, classe sociale, activités, intérêts, ami(e)s, etc.?
 - ✓ Impact des autres (famille, ami(e)s, média, etc.) sur les perceptions identitaires?

Représentations des communautés linguistiques

12. Comment perçois-tu les communautés de langue anglaise? de langue française?

CONSIGNE POUR LE DESSIN : Dessinez la communauté anglophone du Québec telle que vous vous la représentez et indiquez où vous vous situez par rapport à elle.

IV – Autoprojection dans le futur

13. Comment vois-tu ton avenir?

- ✓ Quels sont tes principaux projets?
- ✓ Désires-tu poursuivre tes études (niveau et domaine)? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues?
- ✓ Quelle profession aimerais-tu exercer? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues idéalement?
- ✓ Où aimerais-tu vivre?
- ✓ Autres projets professionnels/personnels?

14. Pourquoi ces aspirations/projets?

- ✓ Pour le statut social?
- ✓ Pour les débouchés professionnels?
- ✓ Pour le salaire?
- ✓ Pour le prestige?
- ✓ Liens avec l'identification aux communautés anglophones? Francophones?
- ✓ Autres raisons?

15. Qu'est-ce que tes parents souhaitent pour ton futur?

- ✓ Études (niveau, programme (voulus et non voulus), endroit, langue(s), etc.)?
- ✓ Profession/travail (ville, province, pays, langue(s), etc.)?
- ✓ Autres projets?

16. Pourquoi ces aspirations?

- ✓ Pour le statut social?
- ✓ Pour les débouchés professionnels?
- ✓ Pour le salaire?
- ✓ Pour le prestige?
- ✓ Liens avec leur identification aux communautés anglophones? Francophones?
- ✓ Autres raisons?

Appendix 3: Interview guide – parents (English and French)

Themes guiding the interview:

1. Life pathway until now
2. Perceptions of English schools
3. Identities
4. Future plans for your child

To read to the respondent before beginning the interview

During this interview, you will be asked to tell your experiences and those of your child, pertaining to his/her sense of belonging, vocational choices and school experiences.

You will not be asked to answer a list of survey questions, but to answer general questions about specific themes pertaining to your individual and familial life course.

Thus, while doing the interview, I will ask you to tell me about your personal experience concerning these general questions. You will be free to answer it as you wish. Do not hesitate to tell me what you think might be interesting and pertinent and this, without feeling embarrassed.

Finally, I re-ensure that obviously all collected data will be published in a way that it won't be possible to identify you. Nevertheless, if you are not comfortable to share some information, please feel free not to answer.

We are now ready to start the interview!

I – Life pathway until now

1. To start with, I would like you to tell me about your life pathway: your origins, your family, your sense of belonging, your past experiences, moving(s), etc.
 - ✓ Family members (partner, child(ren), other family members, etc.)?
 - ✓ Place and date of birth (participant and partner)?
 - ✓ Your child(ren)'s place of birth?
 - ✓ Mother(s) tongue(s) and language(s) spoken at home?
 - ✓ Language(s) used on a daily basis?
 - ✓ Your parents' mother(s) tongue(s)?
 - ✓ Level of education and work (participant and partner)? Language(s) used at work?

- ✓ Place(s) of residence (town, region, province, country), description (socioeconomic level, ethnic composition, public transportation, etc.) and reasons to have lived or moved?
- ✓ Ways of relating to languages (namely French and English) (participant, partner and child(ren))?
- ✓ Participation and identification towards English-speaking communities (town, province of Quebec, Canada) (participant, partner and child(ren))?
- ✓ Participation and identification towards French-speaking communities (participant, partner and child(ren))?
- ✓ School(s) attended? Number of years in an English school? In a French school?
- ✓ Extended family? Where do they live (town, province and country)? How would you describe your relations with them?

II – Perceptions of English schools

School characteristics of your child

2. Which high school does your child attend? Can you describe it?
 - ✓ Type(s) of curriculum taught (enriched, pedagogical projects, etc.)?
 - ✓ Different programs? In what program is your child? Why?
 - ✓ Status (school in disadvantaged area, etc.)?
 - ✓ Pupils' ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ School staff's ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ Educational services available?
 - ✓ Other services?
 - ✓ Area in which the school is located? Can you describe it?

School choice

3. Why did you choose this school?
 - ✓ Importance that your child attends an English school? Why?
 - ✓ Linked to your sense of belonging to the English-speaking communities?
 - ✓ Linguistic motives (becoming bilingual)?
 - ✓ School reputation?
 - How did you know the school reputation?
 - ✓ School academic performance?
 - How did you know the school academic performance?
 - ✓ Specific school curriculum sought?
 - ✓ Desired school culture (disciplinary code, values sought, religion, etc.)?
 - ✓ Distance between house and school (residential choice)?
 - Relativisation of the distance?
 - ✓ Neighborhood school?
 - ✓ Sibling(s) that go/went to the school?
 - ✓ School chosen by other closed relatives (family members, friends, colleagues, etc.)?
 - ✓ Pupils' ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ Educational services available?
 - ✓ Other services sought?

- ✓ School in continuation with the elementary school?
- ✓ Why not a French school?

Your child's experiences at his/her school

4. According to you, what does your child think of his/her school?
 - ✓ Does he/she like to go there? What does he/she like? like less?
 - ✓ What does it mean for him/her to go to this school (self-fulfilment, struggles, etc.)?
 - ✓ Sense of belonging towards his/her school?
 - ✓ Practiced activities? Outside of the school?
 - ✓ Ways of relating to school staff (teachers, principals, etc.) (language(s) spoken)?
 - ✓ Language and « culture » at school (rules related to languages (English and French)? What do you think? What does your child think?
 - ✓ Available resources (library, specialized school staff, etc.)?

5. What do you think about your child's school?
 - ✓ Climate between students (violence, intimidation, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Climate between students and school staff (respect, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Focused on academic success?
 - ✓ Promote English? French? How?
 - ✓ Promote sense of belonging towards English-speaking communities? If yes, how?

6. Your child's academic performance?
 - ✓ Good at school? In comparison to other students?
 - ✓ Grades?
 - ✓ School subjects preferred/disliked? Why?
 - ✓ Experiencing any difficulties at school? In what school subject(s)?
 - ✓ English language skills (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ French language skills (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ Changes in your child's academic performance since the beginning of high school? In comparison to his/her performance during elementary school?

7. Are you involved in your child's school? If yes, why is it important? If no, why not?
 - ✓ Parents' committee?
 - ✓ Participation to organised activities?
 - ✓ Staying informed about what is going on in your child's school?
 - ✓ Meeting the teachers, principal or other staff members?
 - ✓ Other forms of involvement?

8. How would you describe your relations with the school staff? Language(s) spoken?
 - ✓ Teachers?
 - ✓ Principal?
 - ✓ Other school staff members?

Representations of the English sector and French sector

9. According to your experiences and knowledge, what do you think of English schools in Quebec? Your child? In comparison to ROC?
- ✓ Quality of education?
 - ✓ Support given to students?
 - ✓ Discipline?
 - ✓ Curriculum?
 - ✓ School culture?
10. What do you think of French schools? Your child?
- ✓ Quality of education?
 - ✓ Support given to students?
 - ✓ Discipline?
 - ✓ Curriculum?
 - ✓ School culture?
 - ✓ Compared to English schools?

III – Identities

Self-identity

11. If I simply ask you ‘Who you are?’, what would you answer spontaneously?
- ✓ Importance or not of language(s)?
 - ✓ Importance or not of culture(s)?
 - ✓ Attachment to Canada, to the province of Quebec, to a town, to a specific place, etc.?
 - ✓ Self-identification to English-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
 - ✓ Self-identification to French-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
 - ✓ Bilingual? Multilingual?
 - ✓ Importance of several characteristics such as age, sex, social class, profession, interests, etc.?

Your child’s identity

12. If I simply ask you ‘Who is your child?’, what would you answer spontaneously?
- ✓ Importance or not of language(s)?
 - ✓ Importance or not of culture(s)?
 - ✓ Attachment to Canada, to the province of Quebec, to a town, to a specific place, etc.?
 - ✓ Self-identification to English-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
 - ✓ Self-identification to French-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time? Depends on the contexts?
 - ✓ Bilingual? Multilingual?
 - ✓ Importance of several characteristics such as age, sex, social class, friends, interests, etc.?

- ✓ Exterior influences (family, friends, media, etc.)?

Representations of the linguistic communities

13. How do you perceive English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities? In Quebec? In Canada?
14. How does your child perceive English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities? In Quebec? In Canada?

Transmission of English language, English culture and sense of belonging

15. Do you find important that your child:
- ✓ Knows English?
 - ✓ Knows English culture?
 - ✓ Identity him/herself to the English-speaking communities?
16. If yes, why? What do you do or did do to make it happen?
- ✓ Speaking in English at home?
 - ✓ Watching tv in English?
 - ✓ Involvement in the English-speaking communities?
 - ✓ Role of the English school in this matter?

IV – Future plans for your child

17. What would you like for your child's future?
- ✓ Studies? If yes, at what level and in what program? In which city, province, country? In what language(s)?
 - ✓ Profession? In which city, province, country? In what language(s)?
 - ✓ Other projects for your child?
18. Why those aspirations/projects?
- ✓ Social status?
 - ✓ Job(s) opportunities?
 - ✓ Earning?
 - ✓ Prestige?
 - ✓ Links with the English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities? Other reasons?

Grands thèmes pour les questions de l’entrevue:

1. Parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant
2. Perceptions des écoles de langue anglaise
3. Perception identitaire
4. Projets futurs pour votre enfant

Mise en contexte à lire au répondant en débutant l’entrevue

Au cours de cette entrevue, vous serez amené à relater votre histoire de vie personnelle, en lien avec vos expériences et celle de votre enfant.

Il ne s’agit pas d’une liste de questions auxquelles on répond comme dans un sondage, mais plutôt de certaines questions générales touchant à quelques thèmes spécifiques à votre parcours individuel et familial.

Ainsi, en cours de route, je vous demanderai de me raconter votre expérience personnelle relative à ces questions générales et vous laisserai évidemment libre de répondre à votre guise. N’hésitez donc pas à me raconter ce qui vous apparaît intéressant et pertinent sans gêne.

Enfin, je vous rappelle que, bien entendu, toutes les données de recherche récoltées seront publiées de façon à ne pas vous identifier. Néanmoins, si vous ne vous sentez pas à l’aise de me communiquer certains renseignements, sentez-vous libre de ne pas répondre.

Nous sommes maintenant prêts à commencer l’entrevue!

I – Parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant

1. Pour commencer, j’aimerais que vous me parliez un peu de votre parcours de vie jusqu’à maintenant : origines, famille, expériences passées significatives, déménagements et/ou changement d’école de vos enfants, etc.”
 - ✓ Membres de votre famille (conjoint(e), enfants, autres membres de la famille, etc.)?
 - ✓ Lieu et date de naissance?
 - ✓ Lieu de naissance de vos enfants?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) et parlée(s) à la maison?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) de vos parents?
 - ✓ Scolarité et profession (répondant et conjoint(e))? Langue(s) au travail?
 - ✓ Endroit(s) habité(s) (localité, province, pays, niveau socio-économique, composition ethnique et linguistique, accessibilité des transports, etc.) et raisons du lieu de résidence et/ou déménagement?

- ✓ Rapport aux deux langues officielles (français, anglais) (répondant, conjoint(e), enfant(s))?
- ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés anglophones (locale, Québec, Canada) (répondant, conjoint(e), enfants, parents)?
- ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés francophones (répondant, conjoint(e), enfants, parents)?
- ✓ Écoles fréquentées? Nombre d'années de fréquentation de l'école de langue anglaise ou de l'école de langue française?
- ✓ Famille éloignée? Où habitent-ils (localité, province, pays)? Comment qualifiez-vous vos relations avec ces personnes?

II – Perceptions des écoles de langue anglaise

Caractéristiques de l'école de votre enfant

2. Quelle école secondaire votre enfant fréquente-t-il? Pouvez-vous me la décrire?
 - ✓ Type(s) de curriculum retrouvé(s) (enrichi, projets pédagogiques particuliers, etc.)?
 - ✓ Différents programmes dans l'école? Dans quel programme est votre enfant? Pourquoi?
 - ✓ Statut spécifique (école en milieu défavorisé, etc.)
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistique et sociale de la population étudiante?
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistiques et sociale du personnel scolaire?
 - ✓ Services éducatifs offerts?
 - ✓ Autres services offerts?
 - ✓ Quartier dans lequel elle se trouve (description du quartier)?

Choix de l'école

3. Pourquoi cette école?
 - ✓ Importance que votre enfant fréquente une école de langue anglaise? Pourquoi?
 - ✓ Motifs identitaires?
 - ✓ Motifs linguistique (devenir bilingue)?
 - ✓ Réputation de l'école?
 - Décrivez-moi la réputation de l'école?
 - ✓ Performance académique de l'école?
 - Connaissez-vous la performance académique de l'école? Si oui, décrivez-la.
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire spécifique recherché?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire recherchée (code disciplinaire, valeurs véhiculées, religion, etc.)?
 - ✓ Distance entre maison et école (choix résidentiel)?
 - Relativisation de la distance?
 - ✓ École de quartier (la plus près)?
 - ✓ Autre(s) enfant(s) de la fratrie y va/vont ou y est/sont allé(s)?
 - ✓ École choisie par d'autres parents (membres ou amis de la famille)?
 - ✓ Composition sociale, ethnique ou linguistique de la population étudiante?
 - ✓ Services éducatifs recherchés?
 - ✓ Autres services recherchés (service garde, activités parascolaires, etc.)?
 - ✓ École en continuité avec l'école primaire?
 - ✓ Pourquoi pas une école francophone?

Expériences de votre enfant à l'école

4. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que votre enfant pense de son école?
 - ✓ Aime-t-il(elle) y aller? Qu'aime-t-il(elle)? Qu'aime-t-il(elle) moins?
 - ✓ Qu'est-ce que l'école représente pour votre enfant (lieu épanouissement personnel et scolaire, de difficultés, lieu d'appartenance identitaire, etc.)?
 - ✓ Activités auxquelles votre enfant participe à l'école? En dehors de l'école?
 - ✓ Relations avec les enseignants et membres du personnel scolaire (notamment langue parlée)?
 - ✓ Langue et culture à l'école (règles sur la langue, rapport au français et autres langues, etc.)? Qu'en pense-t-il?

5. Que pensez-vous de l'école de votre enfant?
 - ✓ Climat entre les élèves (violence, intimidation, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ Climat entre les élèves et les enseignants (respect, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ Favorable à la réussite scolaire?
 - ✓ Favorise la langue anglaise? Comment?
 - ✓ Favorise le sentiment d'appartenance aux communautés anglophones? Comment?
 - ✓ Ressources disponibles (bibliothèques, personnel scolaire spécialisé, etc.)?

6. Performance scolaire au secondaire de votre enfant (réussite, difficultés, etc.)
 - ✓ Est-il(elle) bon(ne) à l'école? Par rapport aux autres élèves?
 - ✓ Notes scolaires apparaissant sur le bulletin?
 - ✓ Matière(s) préférée(s)/détestée(s)? Pourquoi?
 - ✓ Matière(s) ayant de la facilité?
 - ✓ Matière(s) ayant de la difficulté?
 - ✓ Performance en anglais (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Performance en français (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Variations de la performance globale de votre enfant au cours du secondaire? En comparaison avec le primaire?

7. Êtes-vous impliqué dans l'école de votre enfant? Si oui, pourquoi c'est important?
 - ✓ Comité de parents?
 - ✓ Participation activités organisées?
 - ✓ S'informer de ce qui est fait dans l'école?
 - ✓ Aller aux rencontres parents-enseignants?
 - ✓ Autres implications?

8. Comment décririez-vous vos relations avec le personnel scolaire? Dans quelle(s) langue(s)?
 - ✓ Les enseignants?
 - ✓ La direction?
 - ✓ Autres membres du personnel scolaire?

Représentations du secteur anglophone et francophone

9. Selon vos expériences et ce que vous avez entendu, que pensez-vous des écoles de langues anglaises au Québec? Votre enfant? par rapport au ROC?
- ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
10. Que pensez-vous des écoles de langue française? votre enfant?
- ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
 - ✓ En comparaison avec les écoles de langue anglaise?

III – Identité

Identité pour soi

11. Si je vous demande tout bonnement “Qui êtes-vous?”, quelle réponse vous vient spontanément?
- ✓ Importance ou non de la langue anglaise?
 - ✓ Importance ou non de la culture anglophone?
 - ✓ Attachement au Canada, au Québec, à la localité, etc.?
 - ✓ Identification aux communautés anglophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changements depuis naissance de cette identification?
Changements selon les contextes?
 - ✓ Identification aux communautés francophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changement depuis naissance de cette identification?
Changements selon les contextes?
 - ✓ Identification bilingue? Multilingue?
 - ✓ Implications dans les communautés anglophones? francophones? Si oui, quelle est en la nature?
 - ✓ Importance de divers éléments, tels âge, sexe, classe sociale, profession, intérêts, ami(e)s, etc.?
 - ✓ Impact des autres (famille, ami(e)s, média, etc.) sur la formation de l'identité?

Identité de votre enfant

12. Si je vous demande tout bonnement “Qui est votre enfant?”, quelle réponse vous vient spontanément?
- ✓ Importance ou non de la langue anglaise?
 - ✓ Importance ou non de la culture anglophone?
 - ✓ Attachement au Canada, au Québec, à la localité, etc.?
 - ✓ Identification aux communautés anglophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changements depuis naissance de cette identification?

- ✓ Identification aux communautés francophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changement depuis naissance de cette identification?
- ✓ Identification bilingue?
- ✓ Implications dans les communautés anglophones? francophones? Si oui, quelle est en la nature?
- ✓ Importance de divers éléments, tels âge, sexe, classe sociale, profession, intérêts, ami(e)s, etc.?
- ✓ Impact des autres (famille, ami(e)s, média, etc.) sur la formation de l'identité?

Représentations des communautés linguistiques

13. Comment percevez-vous les communautés anglophones au Québec? Francophones au Québec et au Canada?
14. Comment votre enfant perçoit-il les communautés anglophones au Québec? Francophones au Québec et au Canada?

Transmission langue et identité anglophone

15. Est-ce important pour vous que votre enfant :
- ✓ Connaisse la langue anglaise?
 - ✓ S'identifie aux communautés anglophones?
16. Si oui, pourquoi? Comment cela se concrétise-t-il?
- ✓ Parler anglais à la maison?
 - ✓ Regarder tv en anglais?
 - ✓ Implications de votre enfant dans les communautés anglophones?
 - ✓ Place de l'école anglaise dans cette transmission?

IV – Projets futurs pour votre enfant

17. Comment envisagez-vous l'avenir de votre enfant?
- ✓ Études (niveau et domaine)? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues?
 - ✓ Profession désirée? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues idéalement?
 - ✓ Où aimeriez-vous que votre enfant demeure?
 - ✓ Autres projets professionnels/personnels pour votre enfant?
18. Pourquoi ces aspirations/projets?
- ✓ Pour le statut social?
 - ✓ Pour les débouchés professionnels?
 - ✓ Pour le salaire?
 - ✓ Pour le prestige?
 - ✓ Liens avec l'identification aux communautés anglophones? francophones?
 - ✓ Autres raisons?

Appendix 4: Interview guide - school staff (English and French)

Themes guiding the interview:

1. Professional pathway and ways of relating towards linguistic communities
2. School and pupils' characteristics
3. Role and challenges faced by school staff and the school
4. Perceptions of your students' identities
5. Perceptions of your students' future plans

To read to the respondent before beginning the interview

During this interview, you will be asked to tell your experiences and those of your students, pertaining to their sense of belonging, vocational choices and school experiences.

You will not be asked to answer a list of survey questions, but to answer general questions about specific themes pertaining to your professional pathway and experiences in an English school.

Thus, while doing the interview, I will ask you to tell me about your personal experience concerning these general questions. You will be free to answer it as you wish. Do not hesitate to tell me what you think might be interesting and pertinent and this, without feeling embarrassed.

Finally, I re-ensure that obviously all collected data will be published in a way that it won't be possible to identify you. Nevertheless, if you are not comfortable to share some information, please feel free not to answer.

We are now ready to start the interview!

I – Professional pathway and ways of relating towards linguistic communities

1. To start with, I would like you to tell me about your life and professional pathway
 - ✓ Place and date of birth?
 - ✓ Mother(s) tongue(s) and language(s) spoken at home?
 - ✓ Your parents' mother(s) tongue(s)?
 - ✓ School(s) attended (elementary and high school)? In what language(s)?
 - ✓ Place(s) of residence (town, region, province, country), description (socioeconomic level, ethnic composition, public transportation, etc.) and reasons to have lived or moved?
 - ✓ Ways of relating to languages (namely French and English)?

- ✓ Participation and identification towards English-speaking communities (town, province of Quebec, Canada)?
 - ✓ Participation and identification towards French-speaking communities?
2. Could you tell me about your work here at _____ (school' name)?
- ✓ Position(s) held (present and past)?
 - ✓ Since when?
 - ✓ Position(s) held in other schools?
 - ✓ Why did you choose to work at an English school?

II – School and pupils' characteristics

3. Could you describe the school where you work?
- ✓ Number of students, teachers?
 - ✓ Type(s) of curriculum taught (enriched, pedagogical projects, etc.)?
 - ✓ Status (school in disadvantaged area, etc.)?
 - ✓ Pupils' ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ School staff's ethnic and social backgrounds?
 - ✓ Educational services available?
 - ✓ Other services?
 - ✓ Role of the school in the community?
 - ✓ Activities?
 - ✓ Area in which the school is located? Can you describe it?
 - ✓ Place accorded to English and French (rules, ways of relating to them, etc.)? What do your students think of it? And you?
4. What do you think about the climate in the school?
- ✓ Between students (violence, intimidation, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Between students and school staff (respect, mutual aid, etc.)?
 - ✓ Focused on academic success?
 - ✓ Promote English? French? How?
 - ✓ Promote sense of belonging towards English-speaking communities? If yes, how?
5. Academic performance of your students?
- ✓ Averages? In comparison with other English schools? With French schools?
 - ✓ School subjects preferred/disliked? Why?
 - ✓ School subjects with the most and less difficulties?
 - ✓ English language skills of your students (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ French language skills of your students (written, speaking, comprehension, reading)?
 - ✓ Other specific challenges faced by your students?
6. Do you see any changes through time in students' academic performance at your school? If yes, what are they?

7. How would you describe your relations with the students attending your school? Language(s) spoken?
8. How would you describe your interactions in the classroom with the students? Language(s) spoken?

Representations of English and French schools

9. According to your experiences and knowledge, what do you think of English schools in Quebec? In comparison to ROC? What do your students think?
 - ✓ Quality of education?
 - ✓ Support given to students?
 - ✓ Discipline?
 - ✓ Curriculum?
 - ✓ School culture?
10. What do you think of French schools? Your students?
 - ✓ Quality of education?
 - ✓ Support given to students?
 - ✓ Discipline?
 - ✓ Curriculum?
 - ✓ School culture?
 - ✓ Compared to English schools?

III - Role and challenges faced by school staff and the school

11. What challenges does your school face?
12. Do you consider having a role towards the transmission of English language and the English culture?
 - ✓ Specificities linked to your school? To your town?
 - ✓ Would it be different if the school was in a bigger or smaller town?
13. Do you remember having received a specific formation on teaching in an English school in Quebec? Do you think it would be helpful? Why?
14. Would you say that the students are proud to speak English? What about the school staff?
15. How is English and English culture promoted at your school?
 - ✓ By the teachers?
 - ✓ By the principal?
 - ✓ By other staff members?

16. What are the principal challenges linked to be a teacher (or principal) in an English school in region?

IV – Perceptions of your students’ identities

Students’ identities

17. If I simply ask you ‘Who are your students?’, what would you answer spontaneously?

- ✓ Importance or not of language(s)?
- ✓ Importance or not of culture(s)?
- ✓ Attachment to Canada, to the province of Quebec, to a town, to a specific place, etc.?
- ✓ Self-identification to English-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time?
- ✓ Self-identification to French-speaking communities? If yes, which one(s) (town, province, country, etc.)? Changes through time?
- ✓ Bilingual?
- ✓ Importance of several characteristics such as age, sex, social class, interests, friends, etc.?

Representations of the linguistic communities

18. How do you perceive English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities? In Quebec? In Canada?

19. How do your students perceive English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities? In Quebec? In Canada?

IV – Perceptions of your students’ future plans

20. According to you, what are your students’ future plans?

- ✓ Studies? If yes, at what level and in what program? In which city, province, country? In what language(s)?
- ✓ Profession? In which city, province, country? In what language(s)?
- ✓ Other common projects pursued?

21. According to you, why those aspirations/projects?

- ✓ Social status?
- ✓ Job(s) opportunities?
- ✓ Earning?
- ✓ Prestige?
- ✓ Links with the English-speaking communities? French-speaking communities?
- ✓ Other reasons?

Grands thèmes pour les questions de l’entrevue:

1. Parcours professionnel et rapports aux communautés linguistiques
2. Caractéristiques de l’école et des élèves
3. Rôle et enjeux du personnel scolaire et de l’école dans les commissions scolaires anglophones
4. Perceptions identitaires de vos élèves
5. Perceptions des projets futurs de vos élèves

Mise en contexte à lire au répondant en débutant l’entrevue

Au cours de cette entrevue, vous serez amené à relater votre histoire de vie personnelle, en lien avec vos expériences.

Il ne s’agit pas d’une liste de questions auxquelles on répond comme dans un sondage, mais plutôt de certaines questions générales touchant à quelques thèmes spécifiques à votre parcours professionnel et expérience dans les écoles anglophones.

Ainsi, en cours de route, je vous demanderai de me raconter votre expérience relative à ces questions générales et vous laisserai évidemment libre de répondre à votre guise. N’hésitez donc pas à me raconter ce qui vous apparaît intéressant et pertinent sans gêne.

Enfin, je vous rappelle que, bien entendu, toutes les données de recherche récoltées seront publiées de façon à ne pas vous identifier. Néanmoins, si vous ne vous sentez pas à l’aise de me communiquer certains renseignements, sentez-vous libre de ne pas répondre.

Nous sommes maintenant prêts à commencer l’entrevue!

I – Parcours de vie et rapports aux communautés linguistiques

1. Pour commencer, j’aimerais que vous me parliez un peu de vous?
 - ✓ Lieu et date de naissance?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) et parlée(s) à la maison?
 - ✓ Langue(s) maternelle(s) des parents?
 - ✓ Écoles fréquentées (primaire et secondaire)? Quelle langue d’enseignement?
 - ✓ Endroit(s) habité(s) (localité, province, pays, niveau socio-économique, composition ethnique, accessibilité des transports, etc.) et raisons du lieu de résidence et déménagement?
 - ✓ Place de l’anglais et du français?
 - ✓ Rapport aux deux langues officielles (français, anglais)?
 - ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés anglophones (locale, Québec, Canada)?
 - ✓ Participation et identification aux communautés francophones?

2. Pouvez-vous me parler un peu de votre travail ici à l'école _____ (nom de l'école)
- ✓ Position(s) occupée(s) (présente et passée)?
 - ✓ Depuis combien de temps?
 - ✓ Travail dans d'autres écoles?
 - ✓ Pourquoi avoir choisi de travailler dans une école de langue anglaise?

II – Caractéristiques de l'école et des élèves

3. Pouvez-vous me décrire un peu l'école _____ (nom de l'école)
- ✓ Nombre d'élèves, d'enseignants?
 - ✓ Type(s) de curriculum?
 - ✓ Statut spécifique (école en milieu défavorisé, etc.)?
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistique et sociale de la population étudiante?
 - ✓ Composition ethnique, linguistique et sociale du personnel scolaire?
 - ✓ Services éducatifs offerts?
 - ✓ Autres services offerts?
 - ✓ Quartier dans lequel elle se trouve (description du quartier)?
 - ✓ Rôle de l'école dans la communauté?
 - ✓ Activités sportives ou communautaires?
 - ✓ Activités culturelles (Manifestations de l'élément "culturel" anglophone)?
 - ✓ Célébrations, journées spéciales
 - ✓ Place des langues anglaise et française dans l'école (règles, rapports aux langues officielles, etc.)? Qu'est-ce que les jeunes en pensent? Et vous?
4. Que pensez-vous du climat dans votre école :
- ✓ entre les élèves (violence, intimidation, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ entre les élèves et les enseignants ou autres membres personnel scolaire (respect, entraide, etc.)?
 - ✓ Favorable à la réussite scolaire?
 - ✓ Favorise la langue et la "culture" anglaise? Comment?
 - ✓ Favorise le sentiment d'appartenance envers les communautés anglophones? Si oui, comment?
5. Performance scolaire des élèves qui fréquente votre école (réussite, difficultés, etc.)
- ✓ Moyennes? Comparaison autres écoles de langues anglaises? de langues françaises?
 - ✓ Matières avec plus de difficultés? Moins de difficultés?
 - ✓ Performance globale en anglais (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Performance globale en français (écrit, parlé, compréhension, lecture)?
 - ✓ Autres enjeux?
6. Voyez-vous des changements dans les performances scolaires des élèves au fil du temps? Si oui, quels sont-ils?
7. Comment décririez-vous vos relations avec les élèves qui fréquentent votre école? Dans quelle(s) langue(s)?

8. Comment décririez-vous vos interactions avec les élèves en classe ou dans l'école en général?
9. Selon vos expériences et votre connaissance, que pensez-vous des écoles de langues anglaises au Québec? par rapport au ROC? Vos élèves?
 - ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
10. Que pensez-vous des écoles de langue française? Vos élèves?
 - ✓ Qualité de l'éducation?
 - ✓ Encadrement scolaire?
 - ✓ Encadrement disciplinaire?
 - ✓ Curriculum scolaire?
 - ✓ Culture scolaire?
 - ✓ En comparaison avec les écoles de langue anglaise?

III – Rôle et enjeux du personnel scolaire et de l'école dans les commissions scolaires anglophones

11. Pensez-vous avoir un rôle par rapport à la transmission de langue et de la "culture" anglophone?
 - ✓ Est-ce qu'il s'agit d'un rôle qui dépasse les murs de l'école?
 - ✓ Spécificité de votre école? localité? Est-ce que ça serait différent si vous habitiez dans une (petite ou grande) ville ?
12. Est-ce que vous vous souvenez avoir reçu une formation particulière qui touche spécifiquement l'enseignement dans les commissions scolaires anglophones?
13. Est-ce que vous diriez que les élèves sont fiers de parler anglais? Est-ce que c'est comme ça pour les enseignants aussi?
14. Est-ce que la transmission de l'identité et de la culture anglophone est importante à votre école?
 - ✓ au niveau des enseignants?
 - ✓ de la direction de l'école?
 - ✓ du conseil d'établissement?
15. Comment la promotion de la langue et de la culture anglophone est réalisée à votre école?
 - ✓ au niveau des enseignants?
 - ✓ de la direction?
 - ✓ Autres membres du personnel scolaire?

16. Quels sont les principaux enjeux pour le personnel scolaire œuvrant dans les commissions scolaires anglophones en région?

IV – Perceptions identitaires de vos élèves

Identité des élèves

17. Si je vous demande tout bonnement “Qui sont vos élèves?”, quelle réponse vous vient spontanément?

- ✓ Importance ou non de la langue anglaise?
- ✓ Importance ou non de la culture anglophone?
- ✓ Attachement au Canada, au Québec, à la localité, etc.?
- ✓ Identification aux communautés anglophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changements depuis naissance de cette identification?
- ✓ Identification aux communautés francophones? Si oui, laquelle(lesquelles) (local, Québec, Canada, autre)? Changement depuis naissance de cette identification?
- ✓ Identification bilingue?
- ✓ Implications dans les communautés anglophones? francophones? Si oui, quelle est en la nature?
- ✓ Importance de divers éléments, tels âge, sexe, classe sociale, profession, intérêts, ami(e)s, etc.?
- ✓ Impact des autres (famille, ami(e)s, média, etc.) sur la formation de l’identité?

Représentations des communautés linguistiques

18. Comment percevez-vous les communautés anglophones au Québec? Francophones au Québec et au Canada?

19. À votre avis, comment les élèves perçoivent-ils les communautés anglophones au Québec? Francophones au Québec et au Canada?

V – Perceptions des projets futurs de vos élèves

20. À votre avis, quels sont les projets futurs de vos élèves?

- ✓ Études (niveau et domaine)? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues?
- ✓ Profession? Dans quelle ville, province, pays? Dans quelles langues idéalement?
- ✓ Autres projets professionnels/personnels?

21. À votre avis, pourquoi ces aspirations/projets?

- ✓ Pour le statut social?
- ✓ Pour les débouchés professionnels?
- ✓ Pour le salaire?
- ✓ Pour le prestige?
- ✓ Liens avec l’identification aux communautés anglophones? francophones?
- ✓ Autres raisons?

Appendix 5: Sociodemographic profile – students (English and French)

Respondent number:

Gender:

Age:

School year:

Mother tongue(s):

Language(s) of use on a daily basis:

Parents' mother tongue(s): mother _____ father _____

Parent's language(s) of use on a daily basis: mother _____ father _____

Parents' level of education: mother _____ father _____

Parent's civil status:

Married

Living with a common-law partner

Divorced

Separated, but still legally married

Widowed

Single (never been married)

Number of siblings:

Parents' jobs: mother _____ father _____

Annual family income (before taxes):

No income

Between \$1 and \$9,999

Between \$10,000 and \$14,999

Between \$15,000 and \$19,999

Between \$20,000 and \$29,999

Between \$30,000 and \$49,999

\$50,000 and more

I prefer to not answer this question

I do not know

Numéro du participant :

Sexe :

Âge :

Année scolaire :

Langue(s) maternelle(s) :

Langue(s) d'usage au quotidien :

Langue(s) maternelle(s) des parents : mère_____ père_____

Langue(s) d'usage au quotidien : mère_____ père_____

Niveau d'éducation des parents :

État civil des parents :

Mariés

Vivant en union libre (conjoint de fait)

Divorcés

Séparés, mais toujours légalement mariés

Veuf(ve)

Célibataire (jamais marié(e))

Nombre de frères et sœurs :

Emploi(s) occupé(s) par les parents : mère_____ père_____

Revenu familial annuel brut (avant impôt) :

Aucun revenu

Entre 1 \$ et 9 999 \$

Entre 10 000 \$ et 14 999 \$

Entre 15 000 \$ et 19 999 \$

Entre 20 000 \$ et 29 999 \$

Entre 30 000 \$ et 49 999 \$

50 000 \$ et plus

Je préfère ne pas répondre

Je ne sais pas

Appendix 6: Sociodemographic profile – parents (English and French)

Respondent number:

Gender:

Age:

Mother tongue(s): participant _____ partner _____

Language(s) of use on a daily basis: participant _____ partner _____

Parent's mother tongues: participant _____ partner _____

Parent's language(s) of use on a daily basis: participant _____ partner _____

Level of education:

Civil status:

Married

Living with a common-law partner

Divorced

Separated, but still legally married

Widowed

Single (never been married)

Number of children:

Job(s) occupied:

Annual family income (before taxes):

No income

Between \$1 and \$9,999

Between \$10,000 and \$14,999

Between \$15,000 and \$19,999

Between \$20,000 and \$29,999

Between \$30,000 and \$49,999

\$50,000 and more

I prefer to not answer this question

Numéro du participant :

Sexe :

Âge :

Langue(s) maternelle(s) : participant(e)_____ conjoint(e)_____

Langue(s) d'usage au quotidien : participant(e)_____ conjoint(e)_____

Langue(s) maternelle(s) des parents : participant(e)_____ conjoint(e)_____

Langue(s) d'usage au quotidien des parents : participant(e)_____ conjoint(e)_____

Niveau d'éducation : participant(e)_____ conjoint(e)_____

État civil :

Marié(e)

Vivant en union libre (conjoint de fait)

Divorcé(e)

Séparé(e), mais toujours légalement marié(e)

Veuf(ve)

Célibataire (jamais marié(e))

Nombre d'enfants :

Emploi(s) occupé(s) :

Revenu familial annuel brut (avant impôt) :

Aucun revenu

Entre 1 \$ et 9 999 \$

Entre 10 000 \$ et 14 999 \$

Entre 15 000 \$ et 19 999 \$

Entre 20 000 \$ et 29 999 \$

Entre 30 000 \$ et 49 999 \$

50 000 \$ et plus

Je préfère ne pas répondre

Appendix 7: Sociodemographic profile - school staff (English and French)

Respondent number:

Gender:

Age:

Place of birth:

Mother tongue(s):

Language(s) of use on a daily basis:

Level of education:

University(ies) attended:

Program(s) studied:

Job(s) occupied (present and past) in your school:

Job(s) occupied (present and past) in other schools:

Numéro du participant :

Sexe :

Âge :

Lieu de naissance :

Langue(s) maternelle(s) :

Langue(s) d'usage au quotidien :

Niveau d'éducation :

Lieu(x) de formation universitaire :

Discipline(s) du(des) diplôme(s) acquis :

Poste(s) occupé(s) (présent et passé) dans l'école :

Autres poste(s) occupé(s) (présent et passé) dans autres écoles :

Appendix 8: Consent form – students (English and French)

CONSENT FORM CHILD’S PARENT OR TUTOR

Research Title: Identity perceptions and school success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec: perceptions of youths, their parents and their teachers.

Research project requested by: ministère de l’Éducation et de l’Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

Researcher mandated by the ministry: Marie-Odile Magnan, Associate Professor, Département d’administration et fondements de l’éducation, Faculté des sciences de l’éducation, Université de Montréal.

Funding: ministère de l’Éducation et de l’Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

A) INFORMATIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

Before accepting that your child participate in this research project, please take the time to read and understand the following informations. This consent form explains the goals of this research project, its proceedings, advantages, disadvantages and risks. Please feel free to ask all the questions you deem useful to the person who gives you this document.

1. Research purposes

This project aims at better understanding the relationships between perceptions of identity and the academic success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec.

2. Research Participation

Your child’ participation to this research consists of meeting the main researcher, Marie-Odile Magnan, or one of her assistants for an individual semi-structured interview (open questions) of approximately 90 minutes. The interview will be conducted at his/her school and at a time that we agree on. This interview will pertain to his/her identity perceptions with regard to linguistic communities and to his/her academic success. Finally, we will focus on his/her expectations for the future. The audio of the interview will be recorded and transcribed integrally. The interview will be conducted in English or French, depending on his/her choice.

3. Confidentiality

The informations your child will give us will remain confidential. A number will be assigned to each research participant and only the main researcher and her assistants will have access to the list of participants with the corresponding numbers. Moreover, the information will be put in a locked up file-cabinet in the office of the main researcher at Université de Montréal (a lockable, enclosed office) until the end of the project (March 2018). Electronic documents (such as interview recordings) pertaining to this project will be kept in a locked computer (an access code will be known only by the researcher and her assistants). By no means we will publish informations that could disclose your child’ identity. The researchers will also make sure that your child’ identity is not disclosed indirectly, by cross reference. Personal informations will be destroyed at the end of the project (including the back-up copy which contains your personal informations). Only data that do not disclose your child’ identity will be kept for 5 years and this, for research purposes. All data sent to the ministère de l’Éducation et de l’Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec will be anonymous.

4. Advantages and Disadvantages

By participating to this research, your child do not run specific risks and he/she will contribute to the advancement of knowledge on the relationships between identity perceptions and academic success of youths attending English schools outside Montreal and Quebec. His/her research participation could also give him/her the opportunity to think about his/her identity perceptions (with regard to linguistic communities) and his/her educational and professional pathway; it could allow him/her to take a reflexive hindsight. However, it is possible that making an account of his/her experiences engenders some reflections or memories that are emotional or displeasing. If this is the case, your child will be able to inform the researcher. Your child can at any time refuse to answer a question or end the interview without giving explanations. If necessary, we will help him/her finding the help needed. Here are some organisms that you, or your child, could contact if needed:

Telephone lines (open 24 hours/7 days):

- Tel-Jeunes : phone number : 1-(800)-263-2266 ; texto (entre 8h et 23h) : (514) 600-1002
- Jeunesse, J'écoute : 1-(800)-668-6868

5. Right to withdraw

Your child' participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your child from this research at any time by simple verbal notice, without prejudice and without justifying your decision. He/she is free to withdraw from this research at any time by simple verbal notice, without prejudice and without justifying your decision. If you, or your child, decide to withdraw from the research, you, or your child, can contact the researcher at the phone number appearing at the end of this consent form. If you, or your child, withdraw from this research, all the informations we collected concerning your child will be deleted. However, once the publishing process is started, it will be impossible to destroy the analysis and results based on your child' data.

6. Compensation

A monetary compensation of 20\$ would be given to your child following his/her participation to this research.

7. Dissemination of results

The participants who want to know the research results are invited to write their email address at the end of this document, in the B) and C) (consentment sections). These personal informations will remain strictly confidential and will only be used to send the research results. Thus, we will inform participants by email when scientific articles will be published or when we will use other means of knowledge transfer.

8. Appreciation of your participation

Your child' collaboration is precious in order to realize this study and we are grateful for your, and his/her, participation.

B) CONSENTMENT (PARENT OR TUTOR)

I (parent or tutor) assert that I have read all the informations on this consent form, that I have obtained all the answers to my questions pertaining to my research participation and that I understand the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research.

After reflection and a reasonable delay, I consent freely to let my child participate to this research. I know that I can withdraw my child at any moment without prejudice, by simple verbal notice and without having to justify my decision.

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Name: _____ First name: _____
Email address: _____

C) CONSENTMENT (CHILD)

I (child) assert that I have read all the informations on this consent form, that I have obtained all the answers to my questions pertaining to my research participation and that I understand the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research.

After reflection and a reasonable delay, I consent freely to participate to this research. I know that I can withdraw at any moment without prejudice, by simple verbal notice and without having to justify my decision.

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Name: _____ First name: _____
Email address: _____

I (researcher) assert that I have explained the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research and that I have answered questions to the best of my knowledge. I also agree to respect the confidentiality of the participant and conditions specified in this form.

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Name: _____ First name: _____
Email address: _____

A copy of this signed consent form must be handed to the participant's parent or tutor and to the participant.

If you have any question pertaining to this research or to withdraw from this project, please communicate with Associate Professor Marie-Odile Magnan, main researcher, at the following number : (514) 343-6111 extension 6158 or at this email address : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Any complaint concerning your participation to this research can be directed, in strict confidence, to the University of Montreal's Ombudsman at the following number (514) 343-2100 or at this email address: ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**the Ombudsman accepts collect calls**).

For any concerns about your rights or researchers' responsibilities regarding your participation to this project, please communicate with Comité plurifacultaire en éthique de la recherche at cper@umontreal.ca or (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. You could also consult this web site: <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT AUTORISATION DES PARENTS OU DU TUTEUR À LA PARTICIPATION DE L'ENFANT

Titre de la recherche: Perception identitaire et réussite scolaire chez les élèves fréquentant une école d'une commission scolaire anglophone du Québec, en dehors des villes de Montréal et de Québec : perception des élèves, de leurs parents et de leurs enseignants.

Projet conduit à la demande de: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

Chercheure mandatée par le ministère: Marie-Odile Magnan, Professeure agrégée, Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal.

Source de financement: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS ET À LEURS PARENTS

Avant d'accepter que votre enfant participe à ce projet de recherche, veuillez prendre le temps de lire et de comprendre les renseignements qui suivent. Ce document vous explique les objectifs de ce projet de recherche ainsi que ses procédures, avantages, risques et inconvénients. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la personne qui vous présente ce document.

1. Objectifs de la recherche

Ce projet vise à mieux comprendre les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec.

2. Participation à la recherche

La participation de votre enfant à cette recherche consiste à rencontrer pour une entrevue individuelle semi-dirigée (questions ouvertes) d'environ 90 minutes la chercheure mandatée ou l'une de ses assistantes de recherche. L'entrevue aura lieu à l'école de votre enfant et s'effectuera au moment le plus opportun. Cette entrevue portera sur ses perceptions identitaires à l'égard des communautés linguistiques au Québec et sa réussite scolaire. Finalement, l'entrevue portera sur ses projets futurs. L'entrevue sera enregistrée en audio, puis transcrite intégralement. L'entrevue se déroulera dans la langue de son choix (en anglais ou en français).

3. Confidentialité

Les renseignements que votre enfant donnera demeureront confidentiels. Chaque participant à la recherche se verra attribuer un numéro. La chercheure principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, et ses assistantes de recherche seront les seules à avoir accès à la liste des participants et des numéros qui leur auront été attribués. De plus, les renseignements personnels papiers seront conservés dans un classeur sous clé dans le bureau de la chercheure principale à l'Université de Montréal (un bureau fermé à clé) jusqu'à la fin du projet de recherche (mars 2018). Les dossiers électroniques, dont les entrevues audio, concernant le projet auront un accès restreint grâce à un code d'accès connu seulement par la chercheure principale et ses assistantes de recherche. Aucune information permettant d'identifier votre enfant d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. Nous nous assurerons également qu'aucun participant ne puisse être identifié de façon indirecte, par recoupements. Les renseignements personnels seront détruits à la fin du projet de recherche (y compris la copie de sauvegarde incluant les renseignements personnels). Seuls les documents anonymisés pourront être conservés après cette date, pour une durée de 5 ans, le temps

nécessaire à leur utilisation pour des fins de recherche. Seules les données anonymisées seront envoyées au ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec.

4. Avantages et inconvénients

En participant à cette recherche, votre enfant ne court pas de risque particulier. Il contribuera cependant à l'avancement des connaissances sur les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec. Sa participation à la recherche pourrait également lui donner l'occasion de réfléchir à ses perceptions et identifications aux communautés linguistiques ainsi qu'à son parcours scolaire et professionnel passé, présent et futur.

Par contre, il est possible que certaines questions sur ses expériences éveillent des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, il pourra le mentionner à la personne conduisant l'entretien. Il pourra à tout moment refuser de répondre à une question ou même mettre fin à l'entrevue. Si le besoin s'en fait ressentir, la personne qui conduira l'entretien pourra aider votre enfant à trouver l'aide dont il a besoin. Voici quelques organismes auxquels vous, ou votre enfant, pouvez faire appel:

Lignes téléphoniques d'aide (ouvertes 24 heures/7 jours):

- Tel-Jeunes : téléphone : 1-(800) 263-2266 ; texto (entre 8h et 23h) : (514) 600-1002
- Jeunesse, J'écoute : 1-(800) 668-6868

5. Droit de retrait

La participation de votre enfant est entièrement volontaire. Il est libre de se retirer en tout temps sur simple avis verbal, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier sa décision. Vous êtes également libre de retirer votre enfant en tout temps sur simple avis verbal, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous, ou votre enfant, décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse au numéro de téléphone indiqué à la fin de ce formulaire de consentement. Si vous, ou votre enfant, décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, tous les renseignements qui auront été recueillis concernant votre enfant seront détruits au moment de votre retrait. Cependant, après le déclenchement du processus de publication, il sera impossible de détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur les données anonymisées.

6. Compensation

Une compensation monétaire de 20\$ sera donnée à votre enfant suite à sa participation à cette recherche.

7. Diffusion des résultats

Si vous, ou votre enfant, désirez connaître les conclusions de la recherche, veuillez inscrire vos adresses électroniques aux parties B) et C) (consentements), à la fin de ce document. Les coordonnées divulguées resteront strictement confidentielles et ne serviront qu'aux fins de transmission des résultats. Ainsi, nous pourrons vous informer par courriel lors de la publication d'articles scientifiques ou autres moyens de diffusion des résultats.

8. Remerciements

Votre collaboration et celle de votre enfant est précieuse pour la réalisation de cette recherche ainsi que pour l'avancement des connaissances et nous vous remercions d'y participer.

B) CONSENTEMENT DES PARENTS OU DU TUTEUR

Je (parent ou tuteur) déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions concernant la participation de mon enfant à la recherche et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

Après réflexion et un délai raisonnable, je consens librement à ce que mon enfant prenne part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux le retirer en tout temps de la recherche sans aucun préjudice, sur simple avis verbal et sans devoir justifier ma décision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____
Adresse électronique : _____

C) CONSENTEMENT DE L'ENFANT

Je (enfant) déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions concernant ma participation à la recherche et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

Après réflexion et un délai raisonnable, je consens librement à prendre part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux me retirer en tout temps de la recherche sans aucun préjudice, sur simple avis verbal et sans devoir justifier ma décision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____
Adresse électronique : _____

Je (chercheure) déclare avoir expliqué le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de l'étude et avoir répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées. Je m'engage aussi à respecter la confidentialité du participant et les conditions stipulées dans le formulaire.

Signature de la chercheure : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Pour toute question relative à la recherche ou pour vous retirer du projet, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheure principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 6158 ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée, en toute confidentialité, à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-2100 ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés**).

Pour toute préoccupation sur vos droits ou sur les responsabilités des chercheurs concernant votre participation à ce projet, vous pouvez contacter le Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Montréal par courriel à l'adresse suivante : cper@umontreal.ca ou par téléphone au (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. Vous pouvez également consulter le portail des participants de l'Université de Montréal à l'adresse suivante : <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

Une copie signée du présent formulaire a été remise au parent ou tuteur de l'enfant ainsi qu'à l'enfant.

Appendix 9: Consent form – parents (English and French)

CONSENT FORM PARENTS

Research Title: Identity Perceptions and School Success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec: perceptions of youths, their parents and their teachers.

Research project requested by: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

Researcher mandated by the ministry: Marie-Odile Magnan, Associate Professor, Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal.

Funding: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

A) INFORMATIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

Before accepting to participate in this research project, please take the time to read and understand the following informations. This consent form explains the goals of this research project, its proceedings, advantages, disadvantages and risks. Please feel free to ask all the questions you deem useful to the person who gives you this document.

1. Research purposes

This project aims at better understanding the relationship between identity perceptions and academic success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec.

2. Research Participation

You are invited to take part in our research because your child has participated. Your participation to this research consists of meeting the main researcher, Marie-Odile Magnan, or one of her assistants for an individual semi-structured interview (open questions) of approximately 90 minutes. The interview will be conducted at your school and at a time that we agree on. This interview will pertain to your perceptions and those of your child towards linguistic communities. It will also address the academic success of your child. Finally, we will focus on the expectations you have for your child in the future. The audio of the interview will be recorded and transcribed integrally. The interview will be conducted in English or French, depending on your choice.

3. Confidentiality

The informations you will give us will remain confidential. A number will be assigned to each research participant and only the main researcher and her assistants will have access to the list of participants with the corresponding numbers. Moreover, the information will be put in a locked up file-cabinet in the office of the main researcher at Université de Montréal (a lockable, enclosed office) until the end of the project (March 2018). Electronic documents (such as interview recordings) pertaining to this project will be kept in a locked computer (an access code will be known only by the researcher and her assistants). By no means we will publish informations that could disclose your identity. The researchers will also make sure that your identity is not disclosed indirectly, by cross reference. Personal informations will be destroyed at the end of the project (including the back-up copy which contains these personal informations). Only data that do not disclose your identity will be kept 5 years and this, for research purposes. All data sent to the ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec be anonymous.

4. Advantages and Disadvantages

By participating to this research, you do not run specific risks and you will contribute to the advancement of knowledge pertaining to the relationships between identity perceptions and academic success of youths attending English schools outside Montreal and Quebec. Your research participation could also give you the opportunity to think about your identity perceptions and those of your child (with regard to linguistic communities) and the educational and professional pathway of your child; it could allow you to take a reflexive hindsight. However, it is possible that making an account of your experiences engenders some reflections or memories that are emotional or displeasing. If this is the case, please do not hesitate to inform the researcher. You can at any time refuse to answer a question or end the interview without giving explanations. If necessary, we will help you finding the help you need. Here are some organisms that you could contact if needed:

Telephone lines (open 24 hours/7 days):

- Tel-Aide : (514) 935-1101
- Tel-Écoute : (514) 493-4484
- LigneParent : 1-(800) 361-5085

5. Right to withdraw

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from this research at any time by simple verbal notice, without prejudice and without justifying your decision. If you decide to withdraw from the research, you can contact the researcher at the phone number appearing at the end of this consent form. If you withdraw from this research, all the informations collected concerning you will be deleted at the time of your withdrawal. However, once the publishing process is started, it will be impossible to destroy the analysis and results based on your data.

6. Compensation

A monetary compensation of 20\$ would be given following your participation to this research.

7. Dissemination of results

The participants who want to know the research results are invited to write their email address at the end of this document, in the B) Consentment section. These personal informations will remain strictly confidential and will only be used to send the research results. Thus, we will inform these participants by email when scientific articles will be published or when we will use other means of knowledge transfer.

8. Appreciation of your participation

Your collaboration is precious in order to realize this study and we are grateful for your participation.

B) CONSENTMENT

I (participant) assert that I have read all the informations on this consent form, that I have obtained all the answers to my questions pertaining to my research participation and that I understand the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research.

After reflection and a reasonable delay, I freely consent to participate to this research. I know that I can withdraw at any moment without prejudice, by simple verbal notice and without having to justify my decision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Name : _____ First name : _____
Email address: _____

I (researcher) assert that I have explained the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research and that I have answered questions to the best of my knowledge. I also agree to respect the confidentiality of the participant and conditions specified in this form.

Researcher's
signature : _____ Date : _____
Name : _____ First name : _____

A copy of this signed consent form must be handed to the participant.

If you have any question pertaining to this research or to withdraw from this project, please communicate with Associate Professor Marie-Odile Magnan, main researcher, at the following number : (514) 343-6111 extension 6158 or at this email address : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Any complaint concerning your participation to this research can be directed, in strict confidence, to the University of Montreal's Ombudsman at the following number (514) 343-2100 or at this email address: ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**the Ombudsman accepts collect calls**).

For any concerns about your rights or researchers' responsibilities regarding your participation to this project, please communicate with Comité plurifacultaire en éthique de la recherche at cper@umontreal.ca or (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. You could also consult this web site : <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT PARENTS

Titre de la recherche: Perception identitaire et réussite scolaire chez les élèves fréquentant une école d'une commission scolaire anglophone du Québec, en dehors des villes de Montréal et de Québec : perception des élèves, de leurs parents et de leurs enseignants.

Projet de recherche conduit à la demande de: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

Chercheure mandatée par le ministère: Marie-Odile Magnan, Professeure agrégée, Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal.

Source de financement: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

Avant d'accepter de participer à ce projet de recherche, veuillez prendre le temps de lire et de comprendre les renseignements qui suivent. Ce document vous explique les objectifs de ce projet de recherche ainsi que ses procédures, avantages, risques et inconvénients. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la personne qui vous présente ce document.

1. Objectifs de la recherche

Ce projet vise à mieux comprendre les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec.

2. Participation à la recherche

Vous êtes invités à prendre part à la recherche car votre enfant y a déjà participé. Votre participation à cette recherche consiste à me rencontrer pour une entrevue individuelle semi-dirigée (questions ouvertes) d'environ 90 minutes. L'entrevue aura lieu à l'école de votre enfant et s'effectuera au moment qui vous sera le plus opportun. Cette entrevue portera, tout d'abord, sur vos perceptions identitaires ainsi que celles de votre enfant à l'égard des communautés linguistiques. Ensuite, elle abordera la réussite scolaire de votre enfant. Finalement, l'entrevue portera sur les projets futurs que vous avez pour votre enfant. L'entrevue sera enregistrée en audio, puis transcrite intégralement. L'entrevue se déroulera dans la langue de votre choix (en anglais ou en français).

3. Confidentialité

Les renseignements que vous donnerez demeureront confidentiels. Chaque participant à la recherche se verra attribuer un numéro. La chercheuse principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, et ses assistantes de recherche seront les seules à avoir accès à la liste des participants et des numéros qui leur auront été attribués. De plus, les renseignements personnels papiers seront conservés dans un classeur sous clé dans le bureau de la chercheuse principale à l'Université de Montréal (un bureau fermé à clé) jusqu'à la fin du projet de recherche (mars 2018). Les dossiers électroniques, dont les entrevues audio, concernant le projet auront un accès restreint grâce à un code d'accès connu seulement par la chercheuse principale et ses assistantes de recherche. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. Nous nous assurerons également qu'aucun participant ne puisse être identifié de façon indirecte, par recoupements. Les renseignements personnels seront détruits à la fin du projet de recherche (y compris la copie de sauvegarde incluant ces renseignements personnels). Seuls les documents anonymisés pourront être conservés après cette date, pour une durée de 5 ans, le temps nécessaire à leur utilisation

pour des fins de recherche. Seules les données anonymisées seront envoyées au ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec.

4. Avantages et inconvénients

En participant à cette recherche, vous ne courrez pas de risque particulier. Vous contribuerez à l'avancement des connaissances sur les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec. Votre participation à la recherche pourrait également vous donner l'occasion de réfléchir aux liens entre les perceptions et identifications aux communautés linguistiques et la réussite scolaire de votre enfant.

Par contre, il est possible que certaines questions sur vos expériences éveillent des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, n'hésitez pas à m'en parler. Vous pourrez à tout moment refuser de répondre à une question ou même mettre fin à l'entrevue. S'il y a lieu, je vous aiderai à trouver l'aide dont vous avez besoin. Voici quelques organismes auxquels vous pouvez faire appel :

Lignes téléphoniques d'aide (ouvertes 24 heures/7 jours) :

- Tel-Aide : (514) 935-1101
- Tel-Écoute : (514) 493-4484
- LigneParent : 1-(800) 361-5085

5. Droit de retrait

Votre participation est entièrement volontaire. Vous êtes libre de vous retirer en tout temps sur simple avis verbal, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse au numéro de téléphone indiqué à la fin de ce formulaire de consentement. Si vous vous retirez de la recherche, tous les renseignements qui auront été recueillis vous concernant seront détruits au moment de votre retrait. Cependant, après le déclenchement du processus de publication, il sera impossible de détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur vos données.

6. Compensation

Une compensation monétaire de 20\$ vous sera donnée suite à votre participation à cette recherche.

7. Diffusion des résultats

Si vous désirez connaître les conclusions de la recherche, veuillez inscrire votre adresse électronique à la partie B) Consentement, à la fin de ce document. Vos coordonnées resteront strictement confidentielles et ne serviront qu'aux fins de transmission des résultats. Ainsi, nous pourrions vous informer par courriel lors de la publication d'articles scientifiques ou autres moyens de diffusion des résultats.

8. Remerciements

Votre collaboration est précieuse pour la réalisation de cette recherche ainsi que pour l'avancement des connaissances et nous vous remercions d'y participer.

B) CONSENTEMENT

Je (participant) déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions concernant ma participation à la recherche et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

Après réflexion et un délai raisonnable, je consens librement à prendre part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux me retirer en tout temps sans aucun préjudice, sur simple avis verbal et sans devoir justifier ma décision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____
Adresse électronique : _____

Je (chercheuse) déclare avoir expliqué le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de l'étude et avoir répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées. Je m'engage aussi à respecter la confidentialité du participant et les conditions stipulées dans le formulaire.

Signature de la chercheuse : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Pour toute question relative à la recherche ou pour vous retirer du projet, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 6158 ou à l'adresse courriel : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée, en toute confidentialité, à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone (514) 343-2100 ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés**).

Pour toute préoccupation sur vos droits ou sur les responsabilités des chercheurs concernant votre participation à ce projet, vous pouvez contacter le Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Montréal par courriel à l'adresse suivante : cper@umontreal.ca ou par téléphone au numéro suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. Vous pouvez également consulter le portail des participants de l'Université de Montréal à l'adresse suivante : <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

Une copie signée du présent formulaire m'a été remise.

Appendix 10: Consent form – school staff (English and French)

CONSENT FORM SCHOOL STAFF

Research Title: Identity perceptions and school success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec: perceptions of youths, their parents and their teachers.

Research project requested by: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

Researcher mandated by the ministry: Marie-Odile Magnan, Associate Professor, Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal.

Funding: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) of Québec in virtue of the Canada-Québec Agreement.

A) INFORMATIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

Before accepting to participate in this research project, please take the time to read and understand the following informations. This consent form explains the goals of this research project, its proceedings, advantages, disadvantages and risks. Please feel free to ask all the questions you deem useful to the person who gives you this document.

1. Research purposes

This project aims at better understanding the relationships between identity perceptions and academic success of youths attending English schools outside of Montreal and Quebec.

2. Research Participation

Your participation to this research consists of meeting the main researcher, Marie-Odile Magnan, or one of her assistants for an individual semi-structured interview (open questions) of approximately 90 minutes. The interview will be conducted at your school and at a time we agree on. This interview will pertain to your student identity perceptions towards linguistic communities. Then, it will address the academic success and future expectations of your students. The audio of the interview will be recorded and transcribed integrally. The interview will be conducted in English or French, depending on your choice.

3. Confidentiality

The informations you will give us will remain confidential. A number will be assigned to each research participant and only the main researcher and her assistants will have access to the list of participants with the corresponding numbers. Moreover, the information will be put in a locked up file-cabinet in the office of the main researcher at Université de Montréal (a lockable, enclosed office) until the end of the project (March 2018). Electronic documents (such as interview recordings) pertaining to this project will be kept in a locked computer (an access code will be known only by the researcher and the research supervisor). By no means we will publish informations that could disclose your identity. The researchers will also make sure that your identity is not disclosed indirectly, by cross reference. Personal informations will be destroyed at the end of the project (including the back-up copy which contains your personal informations). Only data that do not disclose your identity could be kept 5 years and this, for research purposes. All data sent to the ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec will be anonymous.

4. Advantages and Disadvantages

By participating to this research, you do not run specific risks and you will contribute to the advancement of knowledge on the relationships between identity perceptions and academic success of youths attending English schools outside Montreal and Quebec. Your research participation could also give you the opportunity to think about the identity perceptions of your students (with regard to linguistic communities) and their educational and professional pathway; it could allow you to take a reflexive hindsight. However, it is possible that making an account of your experiences engenders some reflections or memories that are emotional or displeasing. If this is the case, please do not hesitate to inform the researcher. You can at any time refuse to answer a question or end the interview without giving explanations. If necessary, we will help you finding the help you need. Here are some organisms that you could contact if needed:

Telephone lines (open 24 hours/7 days) :

- Tel-Aide : (514) 935-1101

- Tel-Écoute : (514) 493-4484

5. Right to withdraw

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from this research at any time by simple verbal notice, without prejudice and without justifying your decision. If you decide to withdraw from the research, you can contact the researcher at the phone number appearing at the end of this consent form. If you withdraw from this research, all the informations we collected concerning you will be deleted at the time of your withdrawal. However, once the publishing process is started, it will be impossible to destroy the analysis and results based on your data.

6. Compensation

A monetary compensation of 20\$ would be given following your participation to this research.

7. Dissemination of results

The participants who want to know the research results are invited to write their email address at the end of this document, in the B) Consentment section. These personal informations will remain strictly confidential and will only be used to send the research results. Thus, we will inform these participants by email when scientific articles will be published or when we will use other means of knowledge transfer.

8. Appreciation of your participation

Your collaboration is precious in order to realize this study and we are grateful for your participation.

B) CONSENTMENT

I (respondent) assert that I have read all the informations on this consent form, that I have obtained all the answers to my questions pertaining to my research participation and that I understand the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research.

After reflection and a reasonable delay, I consent freely to participate to this research. I know that I can withdraw at any moment without prejudice, by simple verbal notice and without having to justify my decision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Name : _____ First name : _____
Email address: _____

I (researcher) assert that I have explained the goal, content, advantages, risks and disadvantages of this research and that I have answered questions to the best of my knowledge. I also agree to respect the confidentiality of the participant and conditions specified in this form.

Researcher's
signature : _____ Date : _____
Name : _____ First name : _____

A copy of this signed consent form must be handed to the respondent.

If you have any question pertaining to this research or to withdraw from this project, please communicate with Associate Professor Marie-Odile Magnan, main researcher, at the following number : (514) 343-6111 extension 6158 or at this email address : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Any complaint concerning your participation to this research can be directed, in strict confidence, to the University of Montreal's Ombudsman at the following number (514) 343-2100 or at this email address: ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**the Ombudsman accepts collect calls**).

For any concerns about your rights or researchers' responsibilities regarding your participation to this project, please communicate with Comité plurifacultaire en éthique de la recherche at cper@umontreal.ca or (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. You could also consult this web site: <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT PERSONNEL SCOLAIRE

Titre de la recherche: Perception identitaire et réussite scolaire chez les élèves fréquentant une école d'une commission scolaire anglophone du Québec, en dehors des villes de Montréal et de Québec : perception des élèves, de leurs parents et de leurs enseignants.

Projet conduit à la demande de: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

Chercheure mandatée par le ministère: Marie-Odile Magnan, Professeure agrégée, Département d'administration et fondements de l'éducation, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal.

Source de financement: ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec en vertu de l'Entente Canada-Québec.

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

Avant d'accepter de participer à ce projet de recherche, veuillez prendre le temps de lire et de comprendre les renseignements qui suivent. Ce document vous explique les objectifs de ce projet de recherche ainsi que ses procédures, avantages, risques et inconvénients. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la personne qui vous présente ce document.

1. Objectifs de la recherche

Ce projet vise à mieux comprendre les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec.

2. Participation à la recherche

Votre participation à cette recherche consiste à me rencontrer pour une entrevue individuelle semi-dirigée (questions ouvertes) d'environ 90 minutes. L'entrevue aura lieu à l'école où vous travaillez et s'effectuera au moment qui vous sera le plus opportun. Cette entrevue portera, tout d'abord, sur les perceptions identitaires de vos élèves à l'égard des communautés linguistiques. Ensuite, elle abordera la réussite scolaire de vos élèves. Finalement, l'entrevue portera sur les perceptions des projets futurs de vos élèves (orientation scolaire et professionnelle à venir). L'entrevue sera enregistrée en audio, puis transcrite intégralement. L'entrevue se déroulera dans la langue de votre choix (en anglais ou en français).

3. Confidentialité

Les renseignements que vous donnerez demeureront confidentiels. Chaque participant à la recherche se verra attribuer un numéro. La chercheuse principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, et ses assistantes de recherche seront les seules à avoir accès à la liste des participants et des numéros qui leur auront été attribués. De plus, les renseignements personnels papiers seront conservés dans un classeur sous clé dans le bureau de la chercheuse principale à l'Université de Montréal (un bureau fermé à clé) jusqu'à la fin du projet de recherche (mars 2018). Les dossiers électroniques, dont les entrevues audio, concernant le projet auront un accès restreint grâce à un code d'accès connu seulement par la chercheuse principale et ses assistantes de recherche. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. Nous nous assurerons également qu'aucun participant ne puisse être identifié de façon indirecte, par recoupements. Les renseignements personnels seront détruits à la fin du projet de recherche (y compris la copie de sauvegarde incluant ces renseignements personnels). Seuls les documents anonymisés pourront être conservés après cette date, pour une durée de 5 ans, le temps nécessaire à leur utilisation pour des fins de recherche. Seules les données anonymisées seront envoyées au ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES) du Québec.

4. Avantages et inconvénients

En participant à cette recherche, vous ne courrez pas de risque particulier. Vous contribuerez cependant à l'avancement des connaissances sur les liens entre les perceptions identitaires et la réussite scolaire des élèves fréquentant des écoles anglophones à l'extérieur des villes de Montréal et de Québec. Votre participation à la recherche pourrait également vous donner l'occasion de réfléchir aux liens entre les perceptions et identifications aux communautés linguistiques et la réussite scolaire des élèves qui fréquentent votre école et aux actions qui pourraient être effectuées afin d'améliorer la situation.

Par contre, il est possible que certaines questions sur vos expériences éveillent des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, n'hésitez pas à m'en parler. Vous pourrez à tout moment refuser de répondre à une question ou même mettre fin à l'entrevue. S'il y a lieu, je vous aiderai à trouver l'aide dont vous avez besoin. Voici quelques organismes auxquels vous pouvez faire appel :

Lignes téléphoniques d'aide (ouvertes 24 heures/7 jours) :

- Tel-Aide : (514) 935-1101
- Tel-Écoute : (514) 493-4484

5. Droit de retrait

Votre participation est entièrement volontaire. Vous êtes libre de vous retirer en tout temps sur simple avis verbal, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse au numéro de téléphone indiqué à la fin de ce formulaire de consentement. Si vous vous retirez de la recherche, tous les renseignements qui auront été recueillis vous concernant seront détruits au moment de votre retrait. Cependant, après le déclenchement du processus de publication, il sera impossible de détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur vos données.

6. Compensation

Une compensation monétaire de 20\$ vous sera donnée suite à votre participation à cette recherche.

7. Diffusion des résultats

Si vous désirez connaître les conclusions de la recherche, veuillez inscrire votre adresse électronique à la partie B) Consentement, à la fin de ce document. Vos coordonnées resteront strictement confidentielles et ne serviront qu'aux fins de transmission des résultats. Ainsi, nous pourrions vous informer par courriel lors de la publication d'articles scientifiques ou autres moyens de diffusion des résultats.

8. Remerciements

Votre collaboration est précieuse pour la réalisation de cette recherche ainsi que pour l'avance des connaissances et nous vous remercions d'y participer.

B) CONSENTEMENT

Je (participant) déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions concernant ma participation à la recherche et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

Après réflexion et un délai raisonnable, je consens librement à prendre part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux me retirer en tout temps sans aucun préjudice, sur simple avis verbal et sans devoir justifier ma décision.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____
Adresse électronique : _____

Je (chercheure) déclare avoir expliqué le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de l'étude et avoir répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées. Je m'engage aussi à respecter la confidentialité du participant et les conditions stipulées dans le formulaire.

Signature de la
chercheure : _____ Date : _____
Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Pour toute question relative à la recherche ou pour vous retirer du projet, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheure principale, Marie-Odile Magnan, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 6158 ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : marie-odile.magnan@umontreal.ca.

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée, en toute confidentialité, à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone suivant : (514) 343-2100 ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés**).

Pour toute préoccupation sur vos droits ou sur les responsabilités des chercheurs concernant votre participation à ce projet, vous pouvez contacter le Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Montréal par courriel à l'adresse suivante : cper@umontreal.ca ou par téléphone au numéro suivant : (514) 343-6111 poste 1896. Vous pouvez également consulter le portail des participants de l'Université de Montréal à l'adresse suivante : <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

Une copie signée du présent formulaire m'a été remise.