

“But your face, it looks like you’re English”: LangCrit and the Experiences of  
Multilingual Japanese-Canadian Children in Montreal

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## Abstract

This inquiry explores how young multilingual, racialized children in Montreal, Quebec navigate and understand their multilinguality and multi-ethnicity. While the *visage linguistique* (linguistic face) of Montreal is now securely French in terms of language use in public space and public signage, as per the intentions of Bill 101, with increasing immigration from non-European (non-White) countries since the 1980s, the face of the carriers of the French language has become less and less White. Quebec's official monolingual French language policy (Bill 101), however, neatly divides people into three linguistic categories: Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone (speakers of languages other than French or English). These categories mask considerable linguistic diversity, especially in Montreal, the city that receives almost 95% of immigrants to Quebec. They also disavow the visible, or racialized aspects of identity. Nevertheless, it appears that identity for multilingual youth in Montreal is shaped by the intersections of the *subject-as-heard* and the *subject-as-seen* (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). As a result, the study of multilingualism and multilingual identities in Montreal needs to be informed by a theoretical perspective that can account for the intersections of audible and visible identities. Taking a social approach to multilingualism and drawing on language policy and critical race theory scholarship, I developed one such theoretical lens, which I have coined LangCrit (Critical Language and Race Theory).

I engaged in a qualitative and exploratory case study inquiry with four multilingual Japanese-Canadian children, ages four to six, in their homes in Montreal. The guiding principal of my methodology was a commitment to engaging in research *with* young children, rather than about them. Two interrelated streams of findings

emerged from data I generated with the children during home visits, one related to methodology, the other related to theoretical understandings of multilingualism. With respect to the first, I found four guiding criteria for doing research *with* young children: 1) fostering respectful relationships; 2) being playful; 3) using creative methods; and 4) carving out spaces to engage alone with the children. These created the contexts for conversations with the children about their understandings of their language practices. With respect to the latter, three common themes emerged: 1) strong multilingual and multiethnic identities; 2) fixed and fluid perceptions of language and languaging; and 3) intersections of audible and visible identity. In short, the children demonstrated a keen sense of what languages are appropriate to use with whom and where. These ideas seem to be shaped by their impressions of not only what language one speaks (subject-as-heard), but also how they look (subject-as-seen). The children use this knowledge to language flexibly as they follow or resist social expectations for language use. The thesis closes with a discussion of methodological, theoretical, and pedagogical implications of the inquiry.

## Résumé

Cette étude vise à expliquer la compréhension et la représentation du plurilinguisme et de la pluriethnicité chez des jeunes enfants plurilingues de différentes ethnicités dans le contexte de Montréal (Québec). Alors que la langue française représente le visage linguistique de Montréal dans la sphère publique, comme le dicte la loi 101, l'immigration non-européenne (c'est-à-dire, non-blanche) étant en croissance depuis les années 1980, le visage de la nouvelle francophonie est de moins en moins blanc. Toutefois, au Québec, la Charte de la langue française (communément appelée la loi 101) divise nettement la population en trois catégories : les francophones, les anglophones, et les allophones (ceux qui ne parlent ni le français, ni l'anglais). Ces catégories masquent considérablement la diversité linguistique de Montréal, une ville accueillant presque 95 % des immigrants du Québec. Elles renient également les aspects visibles (ou racialisés) de l'identité. Cela dit, il semble que l'identité des jeunes multilingues est définie par le croisement entre le *sujet-entendu* et le *sujet-vu* (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). Ainsi, l'étude du plurilinguisme et des identités plurilingues à Montréal doivent être vues par une perspective théorique qui considère les aspects identitaires auditifs et visuels. En étudiant le plurilinguisme sous un angle social et en m'inspirant de la théorie critique de la race (Critical Race Theory) et des politiques linguistiques, j'ai élaboré une approche critique que j'ai nommée LangCrit (théorie critique sur la langue et la race).

J'ai effectué une étude de cas qualitative et exploratoire avec quatre enfants (4 à 6 ans) canado-japonais et plurilingues. L'étude a été faite dans leur milieu familial. Ma méthodologie est principalement guidée par mon désir de faire de la recherche *avec* les enfants, au lieu de *sur* les enfants. Deux types de résultats proviennent des données que

j'ai recueillies lorsque j'ai visité les enfants chez eux : une émane de la méthodologie, l'autre de la compréhension théorique du plurilinguisme. À la lumière de la première, j'ai trouvé quatre critères directionnels pour faire de la recherche *avec* les enfants : 1) établir des relations de confiance, 2) s'amuser, 3) utiliser des méthodes créatives, et 4) créer des espaces pour discuter un-à-un avec les enfants. Ces normes ont contextualisé mes conversations sur la compréhension des pratiques langagières des enfants. Ainsi, trois thèmes principaux ont fait surface : 1) des identités plurilingues et pluriethniques prononcées, 2) des perceptions fixes et fluides de la langue et du langage, et 3) des croisements entre l'identité auditive et visuelle. Bref, les enfants ont démontré une bonne compréhension des contextes dans lesquels les langues doivent être utilisées et avec qui. Ces idées semblent être construites par leurs impressions de la langue parlée (sujet-entendu) et de l'image projetée (sujet-vu). Les enfants utilisent ces connaissances de la flexibilité de la langue lorsqu'ils suivent ou qu'ils résistent à des attentes sociales dans l'utilisation de la langue. La thèse se termine sur une discussion des implications méthodologiques, théoriques, et pédagogiques de l'étude.



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## Chapter One: Setting the Scene

“I speak *all* of the language!” (Elizabeth, age 4)

### Locating the Inquiry

I am writing this dissertation in Montreal, Quebec, about one of the most highly politicized issues in the province: language. Talk about language is everywhere. It matters what language(s) you speak, what you say about language, and who you say it to. There are laws that shape public language practices, with the goal of promoting and protecting French language and culture. The ubiquitous “Bonjour, Hi” that we hear in stores, for example, is not merely a greeting; it is direct response to Quebec language policy (Bill 101), which states that French must come first. In my local grocery store, employees are reminded on a whiteboard to “Greet customers in French first.” The franchise could be fined if inspectors from the Office Québécois de la Langue Française (OQLF) heard otherwise.

The way languages appear on store signs and menus is a common point of contention between businesses and the OQLF. The bakery in my neighbourhood had to put a sticker of the word *bakery* over the original word: The font on the original was too big in relation to the French word *boulangerie*. In February 2013, an inspector from the OQLF tried to fine an Italian restaurant owner for using Italian words, such as *pasta* and *bottiglia*, on his otherwise French menu. “Pastagate,” as this incident is now referred to, drew so much negative and international attention to the draconian measures taken by the OQLF to protect the French language that Louise Marchand, president of the OQLF, resigned in March (Canadian Press, 2013).



Though it may seem like language policy in Quebec is already strict, in 2013, the provincial government—the Parti Québécois (PQ)—tried to tighten language laws even more with Bill 14, an amendment to Bill 101. This Bill proposed to revoke bilingual municipalities’ bilingual status if the Anglophone population dropped below 50% and diminish the freedom for students to choose the language of their college (CEGEP) education by giving priority to Anglophone students in English CEGEPs, which would help keep French students in French CEGEPs. There was widespread opposition to Bill 14 and in late August 2013, the PQ’s leader, Pauline Marois, said they would let the Bill “die on the order paper” in order to focus their political energy on the Charter of Values (CBC News, 2013), which I will say more about in Chapter Two. Although Bill 14 was not passed, for the first half of 2013, its propositions stirred up intense debate around language and identity politics in Quebec. For example, an April issue of *Time Online* (Brenhouse, 2013) ran an article entitled “Quebec’s war on English: Language politics intensify in Canadian province.” The media was full of stories about the Anglophone community feeling under attack and the Francophone community feeling threatened. Yet, the notion of a culturally and linguistically homogenous Anglophone community has been criticized (Lamarre, 2007), and we have to ask who is included in the Francophone community. Does it include the many immigrant and immigrant-origin families whose children have been educated in the French school system? Likely not. These Others are grouped into a third language category, Allophones, defined as speakers of first languages other than French or English (Lamarre, 2007).

One response to Bill 14 was to resist the so-called war between French and English and emphasize instead a more harmonious position: Montreal’s *bilingual*

character (e.g., Berken, 2013). Still, it is important to note that to be bilingual in Quebec refers to only one way of being bilingual: it means to speak French and English. The notion of bilingualism has historically been seen as a threat to French unilingualism in Quebec, so it is almost an understatement to say bilingualism is a loaded term. To be bilingual also means to be invisible in the three language category options Quebecers get put into (not always easily): Francophone, Anglophone, or Allophone (Other).<sup>1</sup>

Of course, this talk, politics, and high emotion about language appear not only in academic and public discourse, but also as part of everyday conversation among parents. Because I have two young children, I have a lot of contact with other parents of young children, in parks, playgroups, daycares, and social activities. The question of who has the right to choose the language of education for their children is a hot topic, and with good reason. Parents talk about whether they will be sending their children to French or English school, whether they even have the choice, and whether they will dish out the money for private English school if their children are not eligible for English public school. If they are eligible for English school, some parents wonder if they should send

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<sup>1</sup> At the federal level, people who identify as members of communities other than White Anglophone or White Francophone are lumped into cultural groups whose languages are not recognized, yet who are celebrated for their diversity, for giving Canada its multicultural character. Feminist and postcolonial scholars have been very critical of the language of cultural diversity (e.g., Ahmed, 2007a, 2007b; Bhabha, 1994; Gunew, 2004). Ahmed, for example, argued that diversity locates difference in the bodies of others; it is something they are, so it becomes something we can claim without having to actually accept any difference.

their children to French school anyway, because they have doubts about the quality of French language their children will receive in immersion programs. These are socially and financially weighty decisions, which only some people get to make. Parents also talk about what language(s) they speak at home, and about how language was one of the criteria that influenced their choice of daycare. I hear parents expressing the desire for their children to grow up speaking more than one language. And I hear them discussing and comparing their strategies for how to encourage this to happen given the choices, or lack of choices, they have in terms of language of education. In other words, they are navigating the language policy context of Quebec and making decisions based on what they are allowed to do within that context, and based on a goal of providing their children with linguistic capital for their futures.

Yet, it is not only the parents who are noticing and talking about language. Children, too, have keen radars for interpreting their social settings (Maguire, 2005) and these understandings shape how they see themselves and others. For example, my daughter Mia, who is four years old, recently asked me why the stop signs in our neighbourhood are all different. Some say “Stop,” some say “Arrêt,” and some say “Arrêt Stop.” The stop signs are relics of different decades of language policy and backlash against English signage, and they make up part of the linguistic landscape (Dagenais, Moore, & Sabatier, 2008; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008) of Montreal. Of course, none of the stop signs say “止まれ” (*tomare*) in Japanese and Mia has never asked why. She already knows that Japanese is not a language used in most public spaces in Montreal, even though it is a language she understands and can speak. Children, just like adults,

quickly learn the place of their languages in different social contexts and adapt their language practices accordingly (L. Thompson, 2000).

I opened this thesis by painting a popular picture of Quebec, one that is entirely shaped by language policy and the politics around language. This picture feeds ideas into a social toolbox that is overflowing with language-laden discourses and ideologies. This picture locates all issues of identity and difference in Quebec in the realm of language. Yet, it does not take much to start to realize how inadequate the three linguistic categories (Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone) are for describing many Montrealers, and Lamarre (2013) has shown how Montreal youth resist these classifications. Nevertheless, these categories are powerful; among other things, they help determine who has the right to choose the language of education for their children. They also “mask considerable heterogeneity” (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 196) with respect to individual multilinguality,<sup>2</sup> and disavow the visible, or racialized aspects of identity. In Quebec academic discourse, “ethnicity and ‘race’ are often avoided in theorizing” (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007, p. 355), and just as in policy discourse, discussions of difference have been shifted onto the terrain of language (Haque, 2012). Yet, research with multilingual youth in Montreal has suggested that an individual’s *Quebequicité*, or sense of belonging in Quebec, is determined by the intersection of two axes: the audible (subject-as-heard) and the visible (subject-as-seen) (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). If this intersection is important to individuals’ sense of identity, then an analytical lens for understanding the

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<sup>2</sup> Hamers and Blanc (1983) proposed the bilinguality/ bilingualism distinction to distinguish between individual and societal level multiple language use, respectively. Aronin and O’Laoire (2004) extended this distinction to multilinguality/ multilingualism.

language practices and identities of multilingual individuals needs to account for both the subject-as-heard and the subject-as-seen. I develop one such lens in this thesis (see Chapters Three and Seven). This intersection of audible and visible also suggests that a written language policy document alone does not determine individuals' language practices. In order to understand the realities of a language policy, Shohamy (2009) called for more language policy research that would emphasize individual experiences. My inquiry responds to this call.

Drawing on an interpretive, qualitative sociolinguistic inquiry that I engaged in over a six-month period with four young multilingual children in Montreal, I have painted a different picture of language policy in Montreal from the one that opened this chapter. I will tell a different story. It is a story of local language practices within the context of Bill 101, and it is a story that highlights how young children navigate, negotiate, and perform their multilingual, racialized, and multiethnic identities in a city where talk about language is everywhere.

### **The Trouble with Labels**

This thesis is my interpretation of an inquiry I engaged in with four Japanese-Canadian children (aged four to six years old), who are living in Montreal and are growing up multilingual. I should clarify what I mean by Japanese-Canadian, first of all by acknowledging that it is not a very accurate representation of most of the children I engaged with. Two of the children, who are brother and sister, have a British father, thus the Canadian part of the label is only true in the sense that the families live in Canada. All of the children have Japanese mothers, who were born in and grew up in Japan. My

use of Japanese-Canadian, then, refers to children who have one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent, and are living in Canada. This is an imperfect label.

So is mixed-race, which is also a common way to label children whose parents are of visibly different backgrounds (i.e., a child of a White German and a White Irish parent would not be considered mixed-race). As Iqbal (2005) argued, mixed-race suggests that a person is the sum of two monolithic halves. I do not want to suggest that this is the case, and have opted instead to refer to the children as racialized, which is what my reading of scholars drawing on critical race theories suggests I should do (e.g., Kubota & Lin, 2006; Onwuachi-Willig, 2009; Wallace, 2004). The label racialized reflects the social construction of identity, rather than the fixed half-and-half identity that mixed-race signifies. Yet, grammatically, the word racialized (the -ed participial) implies that the children are recipients of experiences of racialization, of being made to feel racialized. I do not know if this is part of the children's life experiences thus far, and it would be inappropriate to make this kind of assumption; it is not my place to decide whether an individual is or has been racialized or not. However, as Omi and Winant (2004) argued, it is important to look beyond individual experiences of racism and racialization and examine instead the historical and social processes of racial formation (see Chapter Three for more on this). While I cannot speak for the children's individual experiences as racialized or not, what I can discuss is how the elision of race in discourses and policies may or may not be shaping how Japanese-Canadian children understand themselves and others and how this may or may not be shaping their understandings of their multilinguality.

Another problem with labeling the children is how to refer to their multilinguality. Are they multilingual (Cummins, 2006; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004), plurilingual (Coste & Simon, 2009; Moore & Gajo, 2009), translingual (Pennycook, 2006, 2010), or polylingual (Jørgensen, 2008)? The question of how to talk about language practices in a non-structuralist way is ripe territory for debate amongst sociolinguists and applied linguists. I have chosen to refer to the children as multilingual and I justify this choice in Chapter Three.

One of the driving forces behind this thesis has been my desire to understand how children, who do not easily fit in the Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone categories, negotiate and perform their identities. As I show in the next section, this interest in how words do or do not fit lived experience is intricately tied to my own experiences growing up (see also Crump, 2010) and, more recently, as the mother of two Japanese-Canadian daughters.

### **Motivation for the Inquiry**

When I entered the PhD program, I was eight weeks pregnant with my first daughter. Pregnancy, motherhood, and raising multilingual, racialized children have had profound influences on the types of questions I have been asking throughout my doctoral studies and those I have explored in this inquiry: questions about multilingual, multiethnic, racialized identities; how identities are shaped, allowed, and negotiated in local policy contexts; how young children make sense of their own (and others') multilinguality and multiethnicity; how this influences the way they language in different social contexts. This inquiry was also motivated by a desire to listen to and validate children's experiences and perspectives, and to better understand what life might be like

for my children and others like them, what options they might see for themselves, what challenges they might face. I am sure that all parents ask questions like these: I have been extremely fortunate to be able to explore some of them in my doctoral research.

### **Who is Writing this Thesis?**

It is typical practice in qualitative writing to include a self-reflexive positioning piece somewhere near the beginning in order to locate the researcher in the inquiry. The emphasis on self-reflexivity in qualitative research has grown in tandem with the crisis of representation. The latter rose out of the ideological shift from seeing writing as a method that records cultures after they had been extensively observed to seeing writing as the construction of representations (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). As Geertz (1973) argued, “what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to” (p. 9). Thus, being self-reflexive and honest about our own subjectivities and biases in constructing representations of others should be a central part of qualitative methodology (Christiansen & James, 2008).

Nevertheless, it is not always clear how to be reflexive, how many details to include, and how to find a balance between the researcher’s voice and the participants’ voices (Finlay, 2002). To resolve the issue of how much reflexivity to include in a report, Tracy (2010) suggested that researchers interweave this throughout the research report, rather than writing a single piece that is set off from the rest of the report. Doing the latter suggests a singular self, which runs counter to the epistemologies of interpretive inquiry and to the sociocultural and poststructuralist theories that I have drawn on in my work. Furthermore, while self-reflexivity is an essential part of qualitative methodologies, as Yang (2012) pointed out, being overly self-reflexive can shift the focus too much onto



the researcher in reports that were meant to highlight participants' perspectives.

Nevertheless, with some hesitation and the above caveat, I include a brief narrative here to give you, the reader, a starting point for understanding who is writing this thesis. As you read on, I believe that you will see that my positioning(s) is (are) woven throughout, since this thesis is a record of my processes of selecting, interpreting, and representing.

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When thinking about who I am and what brought me to this inquiry, I am drawn back to memories of my childhood. I grew up in a small, predominantly White, Anglophone city in Southern Ontario. Yet through regular trips to Grandpa's house in a nearby city, hearing his tales of childhood as the son of missionaries in China, seeing the Asian tapestries on his walls, learning to use chopsticks, I learned to see my White Anglophone positioning as one of many options. Because of these cultural counterpoints, I knew early on that the representation of humanity that dominated my day-to-day life was not an entire picture.

Then, there were the annual visits to my father in Antigua, West Indies, that started when I was seven years old. I learned that the colour of a person's skin matters, and how one speaks (even the same language) also matters in shaping social interactions, power relations, and the ongoing and ever-shifting complexities of positioning and being positioned. In these childhood experiences, I see myself learning that the words used to categorize people and cultures do not capture the social constructedness of individual lived experiences and social practices. I see myself learning to question the status quo.

Jump forward to 2002, when I moved to Japan to teach English in a high school. As a White English speaker in the small community in which I lived, I was often put in a

privileged position compared to my Japanese colleagues. For instance, my salary was higher than many of the non-tenured staff, but I worked shorter hours and had much fewer responsibilities for the students and the school community. I was also often treated like an expert on English solely on the grounds of my native speaker status, yet the teachers with whom I worked were vastly more knowledgeable about teaching English to Japanese students. Living in Japan was a constant reminder of the power of racial hierarchy in shaping human experiences and possibilities in a way that I was not as attuned to in Anglophone Canada, where I blend in as part of the “invisible majority.” For example, there was a group of Brazilian-Japanese factory workers who would come to parties at my friend’s house in Japan. They spoke excellent Japanese, yet as they pointed out to me, they “make underwear and low wages,” whereas I had a well-paid, well-respected job just because of how I look and the language I can mark on a job application as my first. These experiences highlighted for me, once again, how much meaning is carried in labels and how powerful these can be in terms of opening up or restricting possibilities for individuals.

In the past five years, I have entered the amazing world of motherhood. My Japanese-Canadian daughters are being socialized through and into three languages: English, Japanese, and French. I have been fascinated to see how adept they are at using their languages in different social settings and how social circumstances shape the language choices they make. As a mother, I get to see in action what I have spent years reading about: that language and social interaction are central to children’s development and identity experiences. Yet, in light of my previous experiences, and the sporadic experiences of racism that my children’s Japanese father has experienced since moving to

Montreal, I also feel that language is not the only factor that shapes identity experiences and possibilities. People's comments about my daughters' physical traits, their hair colour, their eye colour, their skin colour, about which parts look Japanese and which parts look "like Mom," are also an important part of how they are coming to see themselves.

I come to this inquiry as a mother-researcher who has a learned skepticism about fixed categories and the types of labels commonly used to talk about people, and who believes that language, as well as how one looks, plays an important role in an individual's socialization and becoming.

### **Overview of Thesis**

Any sociolinguistic study of multilingualism in Montreal needs to be located in an understanding of 35 years of language policy planning (e.g., Bill 101) that was designed to protect and promote French language and culture. In Chapter Two, I look closely at the conditions that led to the emergence of Bill 101, and how this policy has shifted the *visage linguistique* (linguistic face) of Montreal. In Chapter Three, I develop the theoretical framework for my inquiry, which I have coined LangCrit, meaning Critical Language and Race Theory. Chapter Four details the methodology of the inquiry, which is founded on a principle of doing research *with* children, and not about them. In Chapter Five, I discuss four criteria that emerged from the data with regard to the methodological approach I laid out in Chapter Four and that constitute an independent set of findings related to this methodological approach. On the backdrop of these significant methodological learnings, in Chapter Six, I present and discuss data related to being and

becoming multilingual. Chapter Seven closes the thesis with a discussion of implications of the inquiry and suggestions for future directions.

## Chapter Two: The Shifting Linguistic Face of Montreal

“But your face, it looks like you’re English.” (Henry, age 6)

### Chapter Overview

I begin this chapter by providing an overview of the language policy context of Quebec and challenges in identity politics, with a focus on Montreal. This has been written about extensively (see for example, Coleman, 1981; Desbarats, 1967; Juteau, 2000; Larrivée, 2003; Levine, 1990; Maclure, 2003, McAndrew, 2010) and it is not my intention to try to summarize Quebec history in a brief chapter. Rather, my aim is to highlight significant moments that have influenced the linguistic face (*visage linguistique*)<sup>3</sup> of Montreal, and which created the conditions for the rise of language as the main political issue in Quebec in the 1970s. I consider what the resulting Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), passed in 1977, has meant for Quebec identity politics and what it now means, in light of increased immigration from non-European (non-

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<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I write about the shifting *visage linguistique* (linguistic face) of Montreal, in a general sense, with reference to who lives in the city and what languages they speak. In Quebec policy scholarship, *visage linguistique* has also been referred to as the linguistic landscape (LL), but this sense of LL is different. Scholarship on LL emerged in the 1990s and has focused specifically on language use on public signage (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Early LL work was interested in mapping out how language is used on public signs to indicate the vitality of a language. More recent and critical work sees LL as “a space of contestation and competition” (Lamarre, 2014, p. 136), where signs have symbolic and informational functions (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

White) countries. This chapter sets the stage for Chapter Three, in which I develop the theoretical framework for my inquiry, which accounts for both the subject-as-heard and the subject-as-seen; in other words, how one sounds and how one looks.

### **The English Face of Montreal**

#### **1760-1960: Two centuries of English rule.**

Since the British Conquest of New France in 1760, when a small number of British elites took control of more than 65,000 Francophones (then called Canadiens) across the province of Québec, there has been a fairly consistent Francophone majority in Montreal. With such a great imbalance of numbers at the time of the conquest and no foreseeable influx of English settlers, a policy of assimilation seemed impossible, and in 1774, the British passed the Quebec Act, which allowed Francophones to continue practicing the Catholic religion and using French civil law (Larrivée, 2003).

Over the next 70 years, several waves of immigration to Montreal (American Loyalists in the early 1800s, and then immigrants from the British Isles between 1820 and 1850) briefly shifted the demographic majority in favour of Anglophones. However, this numeric majority did not last long. Economic crisis in rural Quebec in the 1860s drew hundreds of thousands of Francophones to Montreal, the urban and economic center of Quebec. Despite being a numerical minority, the English were in power and held the city's economy firmly in their hands. As a result, until the 1960s, Montreal's *visage linguistique*, or linguistic face, was decidedly English. And until that point, this had remained relatively uncontested as French Catholics and English Protestants generally co-existed as "two solitudes" (MacLennan, 1945), with separate schools, hospitals, and other social institutions (Larrivée, 2003). The separation of educational systems along

religious lines created a *de facto* guarantee of language rights (Levine, 1990), which helped keep language out of the political arena until the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.

Whereas Anglophones firmly controlled the economy of Montreal, they showed little interest in provincial politics; this arena was filled by Francophones. Francophones who tried to edge into the economy of the city in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century faced severe structural disadvantages, namely, linguistic barriers and an increasingly heavy-handed Church-based nationalism promoted in the ideology of *la survivance*, which emphasized agrarianism and an aversion to capitalist values (Levine, 1990; Warren, 2003). *La survivance* was meant to ensure the cultural survival of the French by “avoiding contamination by urban, English Montreal and maintaining French-Catholic purity in rural Quebec” (Levine, 1990, p. 33). The economic disparity between English and French speaking Montrealers in 1961 is revealing: Anglophones were making more than double the wages of French speakers (Levine, 1990).

New waves of immigration in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (first Jews and Italians, then post-WWII immigrants from southern and eastern Europe) turned Montreal into a multiethnic city (Levine, 1990). These immigrants by and large joined the English-speaking community, as this was where economic possibilities lay. This shift of immigrants towards the Anglophone community resulted not only in a multicultural (and multilingual) English-speaking population in Montreal, but it also led to the emergence of what would become a major source of Francophone insecurity in the 1960s: immigrant Anglicization. A key factor in immigrant Anglicization was the confessional education system, put in place in 1875, through an amendment to the British North America Act of 1867. This system endured until 1998, when the Quebec Education Act reorganized

school boards along linguistic lines (Smith, Foster, & Donahue, 1999). Due to the Anglophone hold on the economy, the English Protestant schools received a disproportionate share of public funds. The promise of a better education, along with the status of English as a language of business and economic possibilities, drew immigrants to the Anglo-Protestant schools.

For the first half of the century, this status quo was for the most part uncontested. In 1956, however, the Tremblay Commission on the status of French-Canadian culture pointed to a fragile future for French culture and language (Larrivée, 2003). Increasing discontent with the English face of Montreal led some Francophone groups in the 1950s to rally to have French and English on public signs. Though these efforts did not result in any immediate changes, they lit the spark for a language-based nationalism that would lead to dramatic changes in the coming decades. By the end of the 1950s, however, the economy of the city was still firmly in the hands of Anglophones, and the English face of Montreal remained intact (Larrivée, 2003; Levine, 1990).

### **The quiet revolution of the 1960s.**

In the 1960s, racial divisions defined U.S. cities and class tensions defined European cities: By the end of the 1960s, it was language that had become *the* political issue of Quebec (Levine, 1990). Quebec journalist Desbarats (1967) offered a perspective on the changes of the 1960s from within that decade in his book *The State of Quebec*. He wrote that the Quiet Revolution was a revolution “by French Canadians against the conservative Catholic ideals of a poor agricultural society and against dull acceptance of their position as a minority group rather than as an equal partner in Confederation” (p. xv). Where they once felt that they could survive by virtue of their



“cultural and spiritual superiority” (p. 9) alone, the emerging Francophone middle class in Montreal felt that their position would be jeopardized without a strong hand in the economy. No longer was the future of Francophones in rural, agrarian Quebec, but in joining the modern world in the metropolis of Montreal. The Quiet Revolution was fuelled by this sense of economic *rattrapage* (catching up) (Coleman, 1981).

As French-Canadians rejected an identity defined by the Church, their status needed to be defined along different lines, and those lines were linguistic (May, 2001). The freshly secularized and increasingly powerful state replaced the ideology of *la survivance*, and nationalist Francophones started to mobilize behind the idea of becoming *maîtres chez nous* (masters in our own house) (Levine, 1990). Of course, it would be impossible to become masters without the French language as a dominant force. Yet, in Montreal, French Canadians “crash[ed] against the ‘English fact’ at every turn” (Desbarats, 1967, p. 74). In the wake of an increasing “*québécoisité* (an intense pride in French Quebec)” (Levine, 1990, p. 48), English started to be viewed as a threat to French language and culture, and Francophones started to put increasing pressure on the government to take seriously the issue of language.

In 1961, Liberal Premier Jean Lesage took a major step towards improving not only the status, but also the quality of the French language, in establishing the Office de la Langue Française (OLF). In 1965, the OLF presented Lesage with a White Paper on cultural policy. In addition to the corpus planning focus of the White Paper, it also made a strong argument for making French the “priority language in Quebec” (Levine, 1990, p. 54). Though the document was not clear on what this priority status would mean or how

it would be achieved, it represented the first attempt from within the government to develop a language policy for French in Quebec.

Nationalist groups, who saw themselves now as Quebecers and not French-Canadians, continued to rally behind their demands for a language policy that would put such a shift in status into effect. This shift in Francophone identity in Quebec is significant as it created a divide between French speakers inside and outside Quebec that persists, and that continues to colour nationalist rhetoric. The early 1960s saw the formation of the FLQ (Front du libération du Québec), a left-wing separatist group that was responsible for many acts of violence and terrorism, including eight deaths between 1963 and 1970. The urgency of nationalist demands was fuelled by a declining Francophone birthrate, caused by the backlash against the Catholic Church and the advent of birth control in the 1960s. This, coupled with a continual influx of immigrants, 98% of whom put their children in English schools in the late 1960s, led to heightened fears of becoming demographic minorities (Levine, 1990; Sarkar, 2005). Immigrants were wary of French schools, and most were denied entry anyway, as the Catholic schools deterred immigrant integration to ensure that “non-Francophones did not ‘contaminate’ French-Catholic schools as places in which French-Canadian values could be transmitted” (Levine, 1990, p. 59). Nevertheless, with the shrinking Francophone population and increasing immigrant Anglicization, freedom of choice in language of education became an explosive issue in the late 1960s. This was triggered by the Saint Leonard crisis, which moved language issues from left-wing politics into the center of the public arena.

Until the mid-1950s, Saint Leonard was a small Francophone municipality, but with the construction of the Metropolitan highway came a swift influx of residents,

largely from Montreal's Italian community. As a result, the previously French-only Catholic school board opened bilingual elementary schools in Saint Leonard to ensure that students would develop French as well as English, in the hopes that this would encourage Francization. Almost the entire Italian community sent their children to these bilingual schools, yet it became clear that bilingual education was not slowing the rate of Anglicization. Most students in the late 1960s were still entering English secondary schools (Levine, 1990). In response to this continuing trend, in 1967, the French Catholic school board eradicated bilingual schools, and by 1968, the local school board declared that French would be the language of instruction in all elementary schools. Parents were outraged with this loss of freedom of choice and threatened to keep their children out of school and withhold school taxes. This outright resistance to French schooling by the Italian community gave language activists the leverage to mobilize. The *Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire* (MIS) emerged in full force, organizing street riots in Saint Leonard under the banner of unilingual French language education. As the MIS gained steam and supporters, it boasted an aim to create similar crises across the entire province of Quebec. The Saint Leonard crisis made it clear that language policy decisions could not and should not be handled independently by school boards, but needed the intervention of the provincial government. Language politics therefore shifted from a local to a province-wide issue. This opened the door in 1967 for an independence movement within the political arena that took up language as a key issue in sovereignty. René-Levesque's *Mouvement Souveraineté Association* (MSA) merged a year later with two other independence movements, *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (RIN) and *Ralliement national* (RN), to create the *Parti Québécois* (Levine, 1990).

In response to the Saint Leonard crisis, the government tried to appease linguistic tensions through several means. First, in 1968, Premier Bertrand appointed linguist Jean-Denis Gendron as chair of a commission to study the language problem and make recommendations for language policy (Levine, 1990). The final report was published in 1973 and so, for the moment, it was only symbolic of government attention to the linguistic conflicts. More significantly, Bertrand took a first stab at legislating a language policy. Bill 85 would require that everyone in Quebec graduate with a “working knowledge” of French. However, this proposal was strongly attacked by Francophones as maintaining a status quo that saw immigrants opting for English education, and therefore, undermining the status and future of French. In opposing this language bill, Francophone nationalism, centered on the issue of language of education, was ignited.

One year later, pressured by the continuing Saint Leonard crisis, Bertrand tried again, with Bill 63. This was similar in content to Bill 85, but emphasized promoting French, albeit without stating clearly how this would be achieved, and still offered parents the freedom of choice in terms of language of education. Not surprisingly, this Bill did not satisfy nationalists; it provoked a more vociferous demand for unilingual French education, expressed in marches, teacher strikes, and student demonstrations. Yet, despite the many thousands of protesters against Bill 63, despite the declarations that freedom of choice would lead to “Francophone *minorisation*” (Levine, 1990, p. 81; emphasis in original), and despite critiques that this was a hastily drafted bill, Bertrand passed the law on the vote of a strong majority in a move to secure his relationship with Anglophone leaders. Though Bill 63 put an end to the Saint Leonard crisis, since Italian parents were once again allowed to send their children to English schools, it did little to

rein in the now citywide language conflicts, and it did nothing to deter immigrant Anglicization.

The 1960s in Montreal was a decade characterized by mounting violence in riots, demonstrations, and bombings against Anglophone businesses and homes, much of it attributed to the FLQ (Front du libération du Québec). This culminated in the terrorist violence of the FLQ in the October Crisis in 1970, which involved the kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner, James Cross, and the murder of Quebec Labour Minister, Pierre Laporte. Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa requested that Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau enact the War Measures Act. With this in place, all normal activities in the city came to a halt, federal troops were deployed, and Quebec was given far-reaching powers to make arrests. Public support for the FLQ waned after the terrorist violence of the October Crisis, but the independence movement was still going strong and this opened the door for the rise of the separatist Parti Québécois in the political arena (Levine, 1990). The dramatic and rapid social and political shifts that took place during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s also cemented language as the central issue in Quebec identity politics.

Of course, none of this was happening in isolation from the rest of Canada, where significant changes in language policy were also taking place, in large part as a reaction to what was happening in Quebec.

### **1960s: The Federal Response to the Language Issue in Montreal**

The linguistic tensions and conflicts of the 1960s in Montreal spurred federal debates about language and identity in Canada. When Pierre Elliot Trudeau was elected as Prime Minister in 1968, one of his major platforms was Canada-wide bilingualism.

This was founded on the publication of the preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B and B) Commission that his Liberal predecessor, Lester B. Pearson, had established in 1963. The B and B Commission was in part a “response to a growing nationalist sentiment among French Canadians in Quebec” (Haque, 2012, p. 5). It was also a reflection of a shifting Canadian face that came with the 1962 changes in immigration policy. Between 1885 and 1962, immigration law was “explicitly racist in wording and intent” (p. 32): selection was based on race or geography. The 1962 changes reframed immigration in terms of skills and education.

The B and B Commission aimed to lead to recommendations on how to develop an “equal partnership between the two founding races” of Canada (Canada, 1967, cited in Haque, 2012, p. 12). The original terms of reference (i.e., the supposed “two founding races”) were strongly opposed by Aboriginal groups, as well as other non-English and non-French Canadians during the public hearings of the commission (Haque, 2012). As Haque has argued, this created a problem for Canada: it needed to find a way to maintain its White-settler identity with racialized Others placed lower on the hierarchy, but without an explicitly race-based discourse. The solution was a redefinition of a racial ordering of Canadians in terms of language (bilingualism) and culture (multiculturalism).

The B and B Commission lay the groundwork for framing the Canadian policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, which was enshrined in the Official Languages Act (1969) and the Multiculturalism Policy (1971). The federal language policy of official bilingualism, however, did little to assuage language politics in Montreal. If anything, it increased nationalist and separatist sentiment. Bilingualism, for sovereigntists, was seen as a threat to French language and culture, as it would sustain the

status quo that kept French at a structural disadvantage compared to English. Under a policy of bilingualism, English would continue to encroach on the city that nationalists were fighting to establish as French public space. Multiculturalism, too, was and still is, “on the whole, a dirty word in Québec” (Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012, p. 3); it represents “a betrayal of Québec’s historical status within the Canadian federation and undermines Québec’s grounds for seeking greater political autonomy from Canada” (p. 3). Unhappy with federal solutions to a national Quebec problem, the Quebec government continued to argue that matters of language policy in Quebec should be dealt with provincially.

### **The French Face of Montreal**

#### **1970s: Language policy takes centre stage.**

The April 1970 election in Quebec marked the coming of age of the René Levesque-led Parti Québécois (PQ). Although the Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ) won the election with a strong majority, the PQ found itself as the main opposition party. Premier Robert Bourassa was “in no hurry to venture into the turbulent waters of language policy during his first mandate (1970-1973)” (Levine, 1990, p. 93), and he vowed to await the analysis of the Gendron Commission before taking any action. Based on the findings of the commission, in 1974, Bourassa tabled Bill 22, the Official Languages Act. The bill declared French as the official language of Quebec and deemed that all public signs were to be in French. Thus, it was a firm move towards creating, through policy, a French face of Montreal. The bill also tried to quell linguistic tensions by putting an end to the explosive issue of freedom of choice in language of education that had prompted the Saint Leonard Crisis in the 1960s. English education would now be open only to those

who passed a test that proved they had “sufficient knowledge of English” (p. 102).

However, reaction to Bill 22 was negative from all sides. Anglophones argued that it was a denial of their rights and they were incensed about the changing “linguistic landscape” (p. 109) of Montreal; Francophones argued that the tests would be used symbolically and, in practice, would not stop the flow of immigrants into English schools; and Allophones (as all non-French and non-English speaking Others were now referred to) criticized the idea of high-stakes testing of their young children and set up basement Saturday schools to prepare their children to pass the language tests (Levine, 1990).

Nevertheless, Bill 22 became law in 1974, voted in by Bourassa’s majority government. This law was in place for two years until the PQ rose to power in the 1976 provincial election, based on an election campaign that vowed to deal with the language of education issue more aggressively. The PQ aimed to continue with the impetus that the Quiet Revolution had put into motion, and, just nine months after being voted in, the PQ passed Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, which is in place to this day (Coleman, 1981). Bill 101 marks a significant turning point in the language and identity politics of Montreal. Immigrants and Allophones, once denied entrance to Catholic French schools, overnight became fodder for the survival and future of French language and culture (Sarkar, 2005).

Bill 101 was drafted by PQ Minister of State for Cultural Development, and psychiatrist, Dr. Camille Laurin. According to Levine (1990), Laurin undertook this assignment with “‘messianic’ fervor” (p. 114) and as a historic mission that would affirm Francophone nationalism and shed the legacy of the British Conquest. Laurin saw language policy as just the kind of psychotherapy the Francophone collective needed to



give them a “sense of their identity, and bring the English-speaking community ‘to its real proportions’” (Levine, 1990, p. 113). Like Bill 22, Bill 101 decreed French language public signage to ensure a French face in Montreal. But the key article that defined Bill 101 was the end of freedom of choice in language of education for immigrants. It included a Quebec clause that limited English education to children whose parents had received their elementary education in English in Quebec.<sup>4</sup> The bill was passed on August 26, 1977, just days before the beginning of the new school year. A French school system that had until then been populated by White-Francophone Quebecers, was suddenly given the responsibility of educating and integrating children of immigrants, many of whom spoke no French. The solution was to put these children in *classes d’accueil* (welcome classes), intensive French language classes that were designed to quickly integrate this new population of students into mainstream classes.<sup>5</sup> Immigrant Anglicization was now in check. English schools were suddenly empty, due in part to the mass exodus of immigrants from English schools, but also because many Anglophones, who had started to see themselves as linguistic minorities, left the province (Landry & Forgues, 2007). Those who stayed were facing a new definition of their identity as minorities navigating a French city.

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<sup>4</sup> The Supreme Court of Canada overturned the Quebec clause in 1984 and replaced it with the Canada clause. This states that any child with one parent who received their elementary education in Canada in English is eligible for English school.

<sup>5</sup> *Classes d’accueil* were started by the Catholic school board of Montreal in 1969 (Levine, 1990).

### **1980s to present: The new French face of Montreal.**

With Bill 101 in place, the French face of Montreal was intact in public space. Signs and advertisements are in French, or at least with French more prominently displayed if coupled with another language; French is the language of education for most Quebecers (only those with a Certificate of Eligibility can opt for English education in public schools); and French is the *de jure* language of public interaction. Bill 101 has largely achieved its goal of raising the status of French in public space (May, 2001). Yet, with increasing immigration in the 1980s from developing (non-White) nations, immigration that was needed to keep the population of Quebec from dwindling, the French face of Montreal started to take on a new look, and this appearance of non-White Others provoked “U.S.-style racial inequalities and discrimination” (Levine, 1990, p. 219). Somehow, though, this consequence of Bill 101 came as a surprise to the people who drafted the Bill. For them, “the possibility that French society might be profoundly influenced by immigrants it was forcibly integrating did not even cross [their] minds” (p. 144). So focused were they on securing the fate of the French language by countering immigrant Anglicization that they forgot to consider that turning a school system, which had been decidedly White-Francophone for almost 200 years, into a multiethnic and plural one almost overnight might present some challenges. Another unexpected consequence of Bill 101 has been an increase in multilingualism, not French unilingualism, among Montrealers. Yes, people are learning and speaking French, but they are also responding to a strong pull towards English as the language of the Canadian and international economy. And, they are trying to maintain heritage languages, which are markers of family and community belonging (Lamarre, 2003).

Over two decades ago, in 1990, Levine argued that while “[l]anguage will always be an issue in Montreal. . . . Francophone Montreal now faces an internal ‘cultural question’ that may prove as vexing and conflictual as *la question linguistique*” (p. 147; emphasis in original). It turns out, he was right, though I would argue that he was using culture as a proxy for race and ethnicity. Quebec needed a policy that would help it integrate immigrants into its society, yet was staunchly critical of Canada’s Multiculturalism Policy (1971) for not recognizing the status of Francophones as one of the host societies, nor its efforts to become an autonomous state (McAndrew, 2007; Waddington et al., 2012). Multiculturalism in Canada promotes unity in diversity and has been described as a mosaic approach to managing diversity. Quebec’s Interculturalism Policy, passed in 1978, on the other hand, is based on a model of integrating immigrants into a common civic society with French as the common language. Waddington et al. (2012) used a metaphor of adoption to describe interculturalism; the adoption of new family members changes the dynamic of the family, but because these new members become integrated into the core of the family (by learning and speaking French, as per Bill 101), their arrival and integration does not cause a complete overhaul of the culture.

The primary tool for integrating immigrants has been to put them in *classes d’accueil* (welcome classes) to teach them French. Students are considered ready to integrate into mainstream French classes when they show sufficient French language skills. Although *accueil* classes are supposed to be ten-month francisation courses for immigrants, many students end up there for longer, thus, some students start to see the French language as a barrier to education, rather than as a gateway for possibilities (Allen,

2006). Once they do make it to the mainstream, there is little to no support for these students, who are now considered to be integrated. Allen (2006) argued that the current approach to integration follows a model of exclusion; that is, socialization into mainstream Quebec society takes place in isolation from that society, in separate classes, and often in separate schools (Breton-Carboneau, 2011). The idea with *classes d'accueil* is that if newcomers can learn French, they will be ready to be a part of and contribute to a plural and diverse Quebec society. Yet, belonging is not as simple as speaking the right language: As Sarkar, Low, and Winer (2007) argued, there may be a sliding scale of belonging ascribed to youth, depending on the kind of French they speak, and also how they look. In 2013, this was made abundantly clear in the shortlived ban on turbans for (French-speaking) Sikh soccer players in Quebec, and the PQ's proposed Charter of so-called Secular Values. I will say more about these shortly.

Because Bill 101 created such rapid changes in Quebec society, serious questions have been raised about how effectively schools and teachers have been equipped to integrate newcomers to Quebec society. Steinbach (2010), for example, conducted focus groups with secondary school Francophone Quebecers and found a very strong Us versus Them discourse, marked by a sense that immigrants were a threat to their cultural identity. As Levine (1990) predicted, this question of cultural identity has become a significant one in this century. The main locus of tension in the cultural question has become the religious practices of Quebec's cultural communities as symbolic of a challenge to the secularism of the state (Waddington et al., 2012). With a fairly secure French linguistic face, issues of difference are no longer stated in terms of language alone, but also in terms of cultural differences between Quebec culture and immigrant (non-White) culture.

Once seen as a threat to French language because they were too Anglicized, Allophones and immigrants have again been positioned as a threat, not to French language, but to Quebec culture and values. Of course, overt racism and discrimination are taboo, but as Haque (2012) and Marhouse (2010) have argued, shifting discussions of difference onto the terrain of language and culture is simply a new, less explicit way of being racist, one that still perpetuates racialized hierarchies. This is symbolic of what May (2001) called new racisms.

In 2006, intersecting issues of interculturalism, secularism, and identity were thrown into the media in what became known as the reasonable accommodation debates. These were sparked by a Supreme Court of Canada overturning of a 2004 Quebec Court of Appeal decision that forbade a Sikh boy from wearing a kirpan (small ceremonial knife) to school. This brought many other similar cases into the media (Waddington et al., 2012). However, it was the small rural town of Hérouxville and its adoption of a set of Standards of Conduct in 2007 that really drew media attention to the issue of reasonable accommodation. The Standards are meant to help immigrants know what behaviours are and are not acceptable in the town, in the name of easing their integration into the town. As Nieguth and Lacassagne (2009) argued, however, the Standards construct immigrants as different from a stable White Francophone majority, and equate religious and cultural practices with immigrant practices, which are incongruent with a pluralist, secular Quebec culture. The discrimination that is implicit in the Standards highlights that speaking French is not enough for immigrants to be perceived as integrated.

Questions about reasonable accommodation have not been resolved by the Bouchard-Taylor report, “Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation” (2008), which

followed in response to the Hérouxville situation. In June 2013, the debates were back in the media spotlight when the Quebec Association of Soccer banned an 18-year-old Sikh boy, Aneel Samra, from wearing his turban on the soccer field, in the name of the safety and security of the players. In a CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Company] interview with Anna-Maria Tremonti (2013) on the Current, a daily radio program that deals with issues that affect Canadians, Aneel said, “it was a bit embarrassing that they wouldn’t allow integration. . . what kind of a message does that send to young kids?” Aneel has been living in Quebec his whole life and speaks French, and cannot understand why Quebec will not accommodate him. As Pagé (2006) wrote “Parler français implique un engagement à contribuer au visage français du Québec” (p. 36). It appears, however, that while linguistic contributions are necessary, they are not sufficient for marking belonging in Quebec society. And to me, this indicates that the French face of Quebec is no longer about just language, but also the physical face of the carriers of language. Instead of accommodating French-speaking Sikh players, the director of the Quebec Association of Soccer, Brigitte Frot, relegated Sikhs to playing “in their own backyards” (Tremonti, 2013). Quebec was the only province in Canada to have such a ban, and FIFA and the Canadian Soccer Federation urged Quebec to change its ruling.

Though the ban was lifted after a few weeks due to increasing international pressure, the incident is indicative of the difficulty of defining the limits of a Quebec collective identity. As Dr. Rachad Antonius, Professor of Sociology at UQAM and deputy director of the Research Chair in Immigration, Ethnicity and Citizenship said on the Current (Tremonti, 2013), a society starts to create limits in places where it feels its own identity is threatened, and Quebec has an issue with the rise of minority identities.

This insecurity is being directed not only towards Sikh boys by the Soccer Association, but also towards Others, in general, by the Parti Québécois, which in Fall 2013, proposed Bill 60, a law to protect Quebec values.<sup>6</sup> The Charter of Secular Values was couched in terms of religious neutrality and increasing gender equality among all Quebecers. If passed, the charter would have banned public workers from wearing large and overt religious symbols (e.g., hijab, turban, kirpan, crucifix). In light of the reaction to turbans on the soccer field, the PQ's attempt to legislate secularism raised serious questions about whose values would be enshrined in law if the charter had passed.<sup>7</sup> Whereas in the 1970s,

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<sup>6</sup> The PQ lost the April 2014 provincial election. The Quebec Liberal Party won majority government, and the Charter of Secular Values (Bill 60) was laid to rest.

<sup>7</sup> Further discussion of the efforts to create a secular state goes well beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is worth mentioning that such efforts pre-date the arrival of non-European immigrants to Quebec. Before the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, there was a strong desire to keep religious (French) and state (English) affairs separate, which, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, contributed to the existence of “two solitudes.” The irony of the Charter of Values, whose apparent justification was secularism, was that it marginalized immigrants, since they are the ones who are bringing their religious beliefs and practices into a largely secular society. Meintel and Mossière (2013) argued that, in contrast to the secularism that the PQ was trying to convey, Montreal, in fact has more religious diversity and openness, what they call religious cosmopolitanism, than it did prior to the Quiet Revolution. Thus, most religious practices go unnoticed, and only certain (racialized) ones have been involved in media frenzies and the PQ's secularization agenda.

the PQ succeeded in transforming the linguistic face of Quebec, in particular in Montreal, the same party more recently to define, in law, the values of Quebec society, and the acceptable characteristics and ways of being a part of the new audible and physical French face.

Since the British Conquest in 1760, the linguistic face of Montreal has been defined by which language is more predominantly displayed and heard in public space. To this extent, Bill 101 has done a good job of transforming a city with its pre-1960s English feel, to one where French is the prominent language, which, ironically, removed the greatest justification for Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, as the so-called cultural (racial) debates of the past decade have shown, the French face is being threatened, as it becomes less and less White. Though immigrants are speaking French as a result of schooling, the way they look is a constant reminder to White Francophones of the fragility of their language, culture, and values. I do not want to point fingers at some imaginary collective of Francophones and suggest that it is made up of individuals who are racist, while everyone else is not. In fact, as Kathleen Weil, head of the Quebec Liberals in the National Assembly (provincial legislature) said on the Current (Tremonti, 2013), individual Quebecers are known to be very open and inclusive and tolerant; however, when they "have to make decisions on accommodation, they lose their way; they lose their moral compass."

Clearly, having a culturally and ethnically pluralist, but French-speaking and secular society, is a significant challenge for the Quebec identity. Political theorist Jocelyn Maclure (2003) pushed for a position on Quebec identity that draws on a discourse of pluralism and sees identities not as fixed and bounded constructs, but as



ongoing interpretations of lived experience. Oakes (2006) argued that this is happening to some extent, as Quebec is in the process of transitioning from an ethnically-based French-Canadian identity to one that is defined by civic nationalism, founded on the notion of respect for the individual rights of all Quebecers. However, as evidenced by the reasonable accommodation debates of the first decade of this century, the recent backlash against turbans on the soccer field, the PQ's proposed Charter of Secular Values, and research with youth in *classes d'accueil* (Allen, 2006, 2007; Breton-Carbonneau, 2011; Steinbach, 2010), this has not been an entirely smooth transition. Furthermore, it raises questions about the extent to which Quebec language policy is equipped to deal with an increasingly pluralist and multilingual society.

### **Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I have shown how language became the main political issue in Quebec, and how this led to Bill 101, a coercive language policy that has drastically redefined the *visage linguistique* of Montreal. I have argued that the notion of a French face can no longer be interpreted on the basis of language alone. As the so-called cultural debates of the past couple of decades have shown, the French face is also being challenged and redefined in terms of visible difference. I also mentioned that one of the unintended effects of Bill 101 has been an increase in multilingualism in Montreal.

The discussion in this chapter has hovered almost entirely above the question of individual experiences and how individuals are navigating the language policy context of Montreal. In Chapter Three, which follows, I begin by reviewing sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in Montreal in order to bring the discussion to the level of the individual. From there, I build the theoretical framework for my inquiry.

### **Chapter Three: Developing LangCrit**

“When I’m going to be big, I’m going to talk in Italian.” (Taichi, age 4)

#### **Chapter Overview**

In Chapter Two, I pointed out that one of the effects of Bill 101 has been an increase in multilingualism in Montreal. Shifting the focus to individual experiences, this chapter begins with a brief review of multilingualism research in Montreal. Based on this, and the context laid out in Chapter Two, I begin to articulate the theoretical framework that I feel is necessary for my inquiry. This framework is founded on a particular conceptualization of identity, which I define shortly. Most of the remainder of the chapter is divided into two overarching sections: Subject-as-heard and Subject-as-seen. Pulling threads from these two sections, in the penultimate section, I propose a theoretical and analytical framework, which I have coined LangCrit (Critical Language and Race Theory). I close the chapter with a summary that leads into the methodology of the inquiry in Chapter Four.

#### **Multilingualism Research in Montreal**

In the post-Bill 101 era, Montreal has become the city in North America with the highest rate of trilingualism (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004); it is also where over 85% of immigrants to Quebec settle (Statistics Canada, 2006), and where the number of mixed marriages is on the rise (Ministère de la Famille et des Aînés [MFA], 2011). Another important factor in the increasing multilingualism in Montreal is that almost 80% of children attend daycares, many of them in languages other than those they speak at home (Pérreault, 2002). Overall, this makes Montreal a rich site for research on multilingualism.

Sociolinguistic research on multilingual language practices and multilingual identities in Montreal has tended to focus on French-English bilinguals or Allophones who have become trilingual as a result of schooling (e.g., Lamarre, 2003; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004; Lamarre, Paquette, Khan, & Ambrosi, 2002; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007; Meintel & Fortin, 2001). It has highlighted the importance of looking at local language practices, which informs understandings of how individuals are negotiating and carving out their own spaces and identities in schools and outside of schools, within the context of Bill 101 (Lamarre et al., 2002; Lamarre & Lamarre, 2009; Maguire et al., 2005; Meintel & Fortin, 2001; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007).

By following multilingual youth in Montreal around in their daily lives, Lamarre et al. (2002) and Lamarre (2003) found that young Allophone Montrealers move across Montreal neighbourhoods, which are characterized by linguistic zones, and as they move, their language practices shift fluidly and accordingly. Maguire et al. (2005) showed that multilingual children who attend heritage language (HL) schools also move fluidly across linguistic boundaries as they move from home to elementary school to HL school. Thus, it is clear that young people in Quebec are problematizing the three linguistic categories provided by the government. Even though Bill 101 mandates that children of immigrants be educated in French, this language policy has clearly not slowed the pace of multilingualism (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004). The trend for the children of Bill 101 is towards bilingualism and multilingualism, with French-English bilingualism as the most valued form of linguistic capital, and trilingual code-switching as a marker of plural identities and links to social networks (Lamarre, 2003; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

This scholarship has made it clear that individual multilinguality is in constant negotiation with the state's official French language policy. However, the focus of most research has been individuals whose multilingualism is a result of formal schooling. In contrast, there has been very little attention given to children of mixed marriages, who are growing up as simultaneous multilinguals.<sup>8</sup> In addition, because many children in Montreal attend daycares in languages other than those they speak at home, more and more children are entering school already multilingual, rather than becoming multilingual through schooling. Despite this increasing linguistic diversity in classrooms, educational policies and practices remain, for the most part, stubbornly founded on monolingual ideology (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2009; García, 2009a; Hélot, 2007), constricting spaces for multilinguals to draw on their language resources in their learning. This could have implications for how they come to see themselves and others: these identities are intricately connected to possibilities for language loss or language maintenance. And, because this sociolinguistic reality is not acknowledged at either governmental or scholarly levels, where preschool-aged children have not been given much attention, it is a complexity that teacher training programs and in-service teachers may not be prepared to understand and validate. For this reason, I chose to do this inquiry with preschool-aged children in order to better understand what funds of

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<sup>8</sup> McLaughlin (1978) set the age of three as an arbitrary cut-off for simultaneous language acquisition, arguing that acquiring another language after this point should be classified as successive acquisition since the child would have a considerable head start in one language. This cut-off is still generally used as the distinguishing age between simultaneous and consecutive language acquisition (e.g., Barnes, 2006; Hélot, 2007).

knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzales, 1992) they might bring to formal learning contexts when they begin primary school.

Sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in Montreal has focused on language practices and identity negotiations of adolescents or young adults both outside of school (Lamarre & Lamarre, 2009; Low, Sarkar, Winer, 2009; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007) and in school (Allen, 2006, 2007; Breton-Carboneau & Cleghorn, 2010). In addition, there are some excellent examples of sociolinguistic studies that have focused on elementary school children in Montreal (Dagenais, Armand, Walsh, & Maraillet, 2007; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007; Maguire & Graves, 2001), which show the high degree of awareness young children have of their surroundings and how adept they are at fluidly shifting their language practices according to where they are and who they are talking to. This literature highlights that becoming multilingual is a multisite language socialization process, one that sociolinguistic research needs to account for. It also indicates that a language policy document alone does not determine individual language practices. Instead, market forces and the symbolic and material resources of a language play a large role in shaping language practices (Bourdieu, 1991). Indeed, Curdt-Christiansen (2009), Kahn (2005), Poliakova (2002), and Riches and Curdt-Christiansen (2010) all found that official language policy in Quebec is not the sole, or even the most, influential factor in parents' family language planning for their children's multilingual development and maintenance. Parents' strategies for language maintenance are shaped by their own attitudes towards the languages, which are influenced by perceived market values of the languages in their children's present and future lives.

For example, even though Bill 101 does not officially extend to preschools and daycares or the private sphere (Oakes & Warren, 2007), Lamarre (2003) and Poliakova (2002) noted that parents often make daycare choices largely on the basis of the language(s) spoken there. From my own experiences as a mother with two children in daycare, I have noticed that this is indeed the case: Many Montreal parents want their children to be at least bilingual by the time they begin their schooling, whether in the French or the English system. The use of daycare as a language learning strategy reflects parents' awareness of the socio-economic, political, and market value aspects of languages in Quebec and beyond. Parents make family language planning choices in relation to their perceptions of sociolinguistic and sociopolitical environments (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, 2013; Kahn, 2005; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010).

However, parents are not the only ones who learn to negotiate this complex terrain in Quebec. Children too have keen social radars for interpreting different settings (Maguire, 2005) and these interpretations shape their identities (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). While preschool children are often the objects of study, for example in bilingual language acquisition research (e.g., Genesee, 1989, 2008; Genesee & Nicoladis, 2006; McCardle & Hoff, 2006); heritage language research (e.g., Poliakova, 2002), studies of mixed marriages (e.g., Kahn, 2005; Meintel, 2002), or family language policy (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2013; Fogle, 2013; Pérez Báez, 2013; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010), the perspectives of the children themselves have not been included. This makes it very difficult to understand how children are learning to negotiate their positionings and multilinguality in different social settings within a particular language policy context. My inquiry is, in part, a response to Shohamy's

(2009) observation that in order to allow for a full understanding of the impact of a language policy, “[t]here is an urgent need to observe, study and interpret language experiences in various phases of people’s lives in multiple domains” (p. 188).

In Chapter Two, I showed how, in the past few decades, issues of visible difference have been swept almost entirely under discussions of language and culture in Quebec. This is apparent in language scholarship as well. For example, when heritage language researchers discuss participants who refer to themselves as bananas or apples or white-washed, they do so vis-à-vis a connection between language and cultural identity (Kouritzin, 1999; Park, 2010; Wong-Fillmore, 1996), rather than theorizing how these racialized positionings may bear on an individual’s investment in (Norton Peirce, 1995), or affiliation to (Rampton, 1990), a language. I am also guilty of sidestepping discussions of race and processes of racialization: When working on my MA thesis (Crump, 2007, 2008), I avoided writing about the whiteness of Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japan because I was not sure how to do it. I wrote about colonialism and English language teaching (ELT), but I did not raise any questions about how the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Program’s hiring practices, which mirror ELT hiring practices around the globe, might propagate a racial ordering that positions White English speakers at the top.

The hesitation among language researchers, myself included, to theorize about race stems from the historical, political, and social stigma attached to the word. As race educator Tema Okun (2010) wrote, it is a term “we have been taught well to either ignore or fear” (p. xxii). As a result, bringing up the R-word can invoke accusations of being racist. Indeed, as Kubota (in Kubota & Lin, 2009a) shared, she was called racist just for

suggesting that issues of race and racism should be included in more discussions of first and second language teaching and learning. Due to this stigma around race, racism, and racialization (any R-word derivatives), cultural and linguistic differences often end up being used as proxies for racial difference (Kubota, 2010; Matsuda, 1996; Okun, 2010). Sarkar, Low, and Winer's (2007) theoretical construct of intersecting axes of the subject-as-heard and the subject-as-seen, which I review here, is a step in the right direction of bringing discussions and understandings of visible identity out from under the umbrella of language.

### **Intersecting Axes of Heard and Seen**

In their work with Montreal Hip Hop youth, Sarkar, Low, and Winer (2007) challenged the popular idea in Quebec that membership is based solely on language; that is, whether one speaks French or not. In Quebec political discourse and policy, people are defined along linguistic lines as Francophones, Anglophones, or Allophones. However, these linguistic categories are insufficient for naming the identity experiences and possibilities of visible, non-White minorities, as well as the increasing number of individuals who are multilingual. While political theorists have proposed different terms to define Quebec identity, such as *Québécitude* (Levine, 1990; Salée, 1995) and *Québécoisité* (Maclure, 2003), as Sarkar, Low, and Winer pointed out, these focus on language as the only determining factor of membership, and thus do not capture the full extent of identity experiences and politics in Quebec. Rather, they proposed the term *Québécoisité*, which sees membership in Quebec mainstream community as constructed “on the grounds of visible and audible sameness and difference” (p. 351).



As I discussed in Chapter Two, the Quebec face until the 1970s and 1980s, though ethnically diverse, was relatively White, with the majority of immigrants coming from European countries. With increasing immigration from non-European (non-White) countries in the past few decades, this face has changed dramatically, especially in Montreal, where most immigrants settle, resulting in racial conflicts and tensions. Yet, official discourse plays dumb to this aspect of many people's experiences and emphasizes instead the importance of the French language as a unifying force for Quebec people. Even so, there are different accents of French, some of which are more acceptable than others. As Lippi-Green (1997) demonstrated, accented speech can be grounds for exclusion, yet meanings associated with accents, just like languages, are socially constructed. Indeed, French speakers from outside Quebec are easily identified as non-Quebecers because of their accents. Sarkar, Low, and Winer (2007) noted that White mothers from France reported feeling like an invisible minority in Quebec because of the way they speak French. The supposedly unifying language-based discourse draws up short in its achievements of unity and social inclusiveness.

Though there is a sliding scale of belonging attributed to the audible axis in *Québécoisité*, the reasonable accommodation debates in the last decade, the recent but short-lived turban ban on the soccer field, and the proposed Charter of Secular Values, clearly show the limitations of a language-only theory of belonging. These have all been criticized in academic and popular discourse as founded on racism and contempt for the Other (e.g., Leah Jane Esau, 2013; Mahrouse, 2010; Nieguth & Lacassagne, 2009). However, the Quebec focus on language has meant that anti-racist movements, such as those in the United States and to a somewhat lesser extent, elsewhere in Canada, which

emphasize “the racialized body. . .[over] the nonvisual, purely aural expression of the ‘language’ body” (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007, p. 356), are almost non-existent in Quebec. Looking at the construction of Quebecois identity over the past 200 years (see Chapter Two) and the emergence of a monocular focus on language as central to that identity, this makes sense. However, as academics, do we accept this status quo in which language is “the carrier for nearly all baggage around ‘difference’”(Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007, p. 356)? Do we contribute to making invisible the visible by focusing only on language in our theorizing of identity and individual experience? The answer, for me, is a resounding no. Yet, the stance I am taking still feels at odds with the bulk of sociolinguistic theory.

**Subject-as-seen: A shadow in sociolinguistics.**

Recent textbooks on sociolinguistics, language policy, and multilingualism (e.g., Omoniyi & White, 2006; Spolsky, 2009; Van Herk, 2012; Weber & Horner, 2012) highlight the social construction of language and identity, but the field lacks a well-developed framework for understanding how linguistic identities intersect with racial(ized) identities and what this might mean for language development. For example, in Omoniyi and White’s (2006) edited collection, *The Sociolinguistics of Identity*, none of the chapters deal with the subject-as-seen at all, and the word race is not listed in the index. This collection is part of a series called “Advances in Sociolinguistics.” Other collections deal with topics such as language and society; language and power; language ideologies; linguistic minorities; multilingualism; and language in the media. Here too, there is no explicit acknowledgement of the visible. I believe that Sarkar, Low, and

Winer's (2007) theoretical construct taps into an issue that needs to be more specifically addressed: I develop it further in this thesis.

A second framework that shows how seen and heard intersect in very tangible ways to shape identity possibilities for individuals is Hill's (2008, 2010) linguistic anthropological analysis of Puerto Ricans in New York as they navigate White public space. She showed how language boundaries between English and Spanish are differently constructed depending on what sphere Puerto Ricans are in (see also Reynolds & Orellana, 2009, who examined how White public space shapes the experiences of Mexican immigrants in Chicago). In the inner sphere, at home and in the neighbourhood, there are no boundaries between languages, and flexible bilingualism is the norm. However, the outer sphere, which is White public space, is characterized by boundaries and order. In the outer sphere, "The pressure. . .to keep the two languages 'in order' is so severe that people who function as fluent bilinguals in the inner sphere become so anxious about their competence that sometimes they cannot speak at all" (Hill, 2010, p. 396). The outer sphere thus represents a site of racialization, where people are judged against White norms and marginalized based on judgments made not first on their language, but on the way they look. Indeed, Hill argued that "Whites will 'hear' accent. . .if they can detect any other signs of a racialized identity" (p. 397; also Lippi-Green, 1997). Hill's work clearly shows the interplay between the axes of seen and heard and highlights the role that different spheres and racialized discourses can have in shaping language practices and identity possibilities. Hill's notion of White public space has been influential in the field of linguistic anthropology and there is a 2011 issue in the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* dedicated to her work. It features contributions on

linguistic racism in Nigerian pop lyrics (Gaudio, 2011) and language endangerment discourse (Kroskrity, 2011), as well as an examination of language as a site of racial transformation (Roth-Gordon, 2011). Thus far, I have not come across a similar analytical framework in sociolinguistic research on multilingualism.

I have also been inspired by the work of Mari Matsuda, who is not a sociolinguist, but one of the founders of critical race theory. She is also considered to be the mother of critical race feminism. She has made some important insights into language, racism, and identity, yet as far as I can tell, sociolinguists are not acquainted with her work. In a 1991 paper, Matsuda exposed legal cases of accent-based discrimination in the United States, which involved, for example, employers refusing applicants on the grounds of their accents. As she poignantly stated, “your accent carries the story of who you are” (p. 1329), and it becomes the grounds for discrimination because it is taboo to refuse public speech on the basis of race or gender. In 1996, Matsuda wrote an essay on language, race, and power in public space in the context of the English-Only movement in California, which I feel deserves to be reviewed in detail, because in one short essay, Matsuda (a legal scholar, not a sociolinguist) lends support to my argument that a theoretical lens for sociolinguistic inquiries on multilingualism needs to account for more than just the subject-as-heard.

The 1990s in California saw rising concern among lawmakers about the number of Asian signs in public space. This is reminiscent of the battle over the *visage linguistique* in Montreal (see Chapter Two). Matsuda reported that people wanted “signs that look like we’re in America” (p. 88). Many excuses were made as to why signs should be in English, such as ambulances not being able to find businesses, but Matsuda

argued that “[t]he real reason for the sign ordinances is that taking up linguistic space with writing that looks Asian is deeply offensive to non-Asians” (p. 89). She cites a California politician, who said “when I drive downtown, in *my* little town. . .the signs are all in Chinese. . . . Then you feel like you’re not really quite home. You feel like an alien, or that you’re in a foreign country” (p. 89; emphasis added). To this Matsuda responded: “What is America supposed to look like?” (p. 89). The Chinese have been in California since the days when Spanish was the main language. She proposed that

sign ordinances are about who controls linguistic space: who says what, where, and when. . . . *Linguistic anxiety is the new proxy for racial anxiety.* Jim Crow, restrictive covenants, and burning crosses are now considered socially inappropriate. So the new language of exclusion becomes ‘Those signs make me feel like it’s not America, like I’m excluded. I have nothing against them, but why can’t they use English?’ (p. 90; emphasis added)

In the United States, where racism has been the key social and political issue, this shifting of racial anxiety onto the terrain of language is an example of what May (2001) called new racisms. In Quebec, where for historical reasons, language has been constructed as the main political issue, perhaps we need to dig even deeper to uncover new racisms and what these could mean for individuals.

What these studies indicate to me is that sociolinguistic understandings of multilingualism and language policy need to be informed by a theoretical lens that resists masking issues of race behind issues of language. Clearly, there is more at work in shaping multilingual identities than just the subject-as-heard. In this chapter, I develop

Sarkar, Low, and Winer's (2007) notion of intersecting axes further, and I begin by defining a key concept in my inquiry: identity.

### **Defining Identity**

Identity can mean many different things. There are, for instance, the essentializing national or provincial identity categories that are imposed on individuals, which are reflections of national identity politics (May, 2001). In Quebec, these are Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone (people whose first languages are not English or French). Though problematic, and in many cases not the identity label individuals would ascribe to themselves, each of these linguistic identity categories comes with wide-ranging social meanings, possibilities, and restrictions, such as who has the right to choose the language of education for their children and who does not. Though Quebecers are officially "now defined as all those who live in Quebec, irrespective of ethnic origin" (Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 29), these linguistic identity categories help maintain a silence around discussions of how ethnic and racial boundaries are socially constructed and maintained.

Fixed identity categories, such as the ones imposed by national policies, bound the meaning of identity within the individual; that is, identity is something someone *has*, and it is static, uniform, and countable. Allen (2007) referred to this imposition of identity as name-calling; it leads to broadly sweeping a lot of diversity into discrete, countable categories, which renders that heterogeneity invisible. Censuses are clear examples of fitting individuals into a set number of pre-determined and fixed categories. In the context of Quebec, Lamarre (2007) challenged the notion of a uniform Anglophone community by highlighting the wide historical, socio-economic, and ethnic diversity

among those who are counted as Anglophones by Statistics Canada. Drawing on 2001 census data related to language use in Quebec, she illustrated that the act of counting can produce different demographic results, depending on how language use is defined. On the one hand, when the descriptor is “language most spoken at home,” Anglophones make up 11.6% of the population in Quebec. However, when “mother tongue” is the descriptor, the Anglophone population in Quebec drops to 8.3%, and when “first language spoken” is used, the number increases to 12.9% (Lamarre, 2007). Nevertheless, census data tend to be treated as factual representations of a population.

This labeling of others according to discrete categories discounts social relationships and interactions. It also denies the influence of the other in shaping the self, and does not account for an individual’s investment in their own language learning (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Fixed identity categories do not recognize the acts of identity (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) that individuals perform through language. In fact, essentializing perspectives of identity deny the performative aspect of identity altogether (Butler, 1990; Kubota, 2010; Pennycook, 2004b).

Pennycook (2004b) defined performativity as “the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity” (p. 8). Inherent in the notion of performativity is a dialogic self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) that is socially constructed and mediated through cultural artifacts, such as words (Holland et al., 1998; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978) in an ongoing process of becoming (Hall, 1996).

Recent sociolinguistic scholarship on multilingualism, informed by these sociocultural and poststructuralist approaches, has highlighted that identities are hybrid

and multiple and that they are performed, enacted, and contested differently depending on the context (Allen, 2007; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Byrd Clark, 2010; Canagarajah, 2007; Heller, 2007; Kubota, 2010; Lamarre, 2003, 2007; Lamarre et al., 2002; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007; Rampton, 1995; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). However, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) pointed out that by emphasizing the multiplicity and hybridity of identities, and looking only at the socioculturally and poststructurally informed end of the identity spectrum, researchers have overlooked that individuals enact and negotiate both fixed and fluid identities. That is, though we can theoretically deconstruct the existence of fixed notions of identity, they nevertheless make up a very real and material part of the identity possibilities that individuals are negotiating. In their study of how multilingual youth in Sydney, Australia, understand language use and make use of their languages resources, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) reported an entire continuum of identities that at times also included monolithic ascriptions of identity to themselves and to others (see also Canagarajah, 2007). Giampapa's (2001) study of hyphenated identities in Italian-Canadian youth clearly shows this interplay between what Allen (2007) called name-calling and name-claiming. On the one hand, the participants distinguished between Italian Italians, Canadians, and Italian-Canadians as three monolithic groups that they and others belong to; yet participants also revealed a lot of shifting identity boundaries when trying to define, or claim, their own identities. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), some identities are imposed, some are assumed, and some are negotiable. A definition of identity needs to account for this entire continuum.



I agree with Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) that in order to understand how individuals negotiate their identities, we cannot ignore that fixed categories do exist, problematic as they are. In fact, it is because they are problematic that they need to be accounted for: they are powerful in shaping (allowing and constricting) an individual's possibilities for becoming. As Lemke (2002) articulated, "[w]e surf across the identity possibilities of our cultures, taking them as semiotic resources to play with rather than as essentialist necessities of our being" (p. 73). I like Lemke's notions of surfing and I can envision a wave of identity possibilities in which individuals enact their agency to play with meaning-making resources. This wave includes imposed identities, and rather than seeing those as fixed in stone, it gives individuals some wiggle room to find their own ways to resist and re-appropriate those terms. Indeed, research on multilingual identities has shown that people find many ways to resist the name-calling of official policies. I am thinking, for example, of how multilingual Hip Hop youth in Montreal have appropriated French as a *lingua franca*, but have redefined it as a more inclusive category than is officially prescribed, and have accepted *all* language resources as valuable for creativity and communication (Low, Sarkar, & Winer, 2009).

In my conception of identity, I want to capture this movement, this surfing, this ongoing process of becoming, as well as individual agency and creativity. Yet, I also want to account for how individuals come to take up or resist the imposed identities, or name-calling, that make up part of their lived experiences and set the tone for how they position themselves (Davies & Harré, 1990; Holland & Leander, 2004). For this, I find particular resonance with Bakhtin's (1981) ideological becoming.

### **Ideological becoming.**

Ideological becoming refers to the ongoing, dialogic, and relational process in which an individual takes on and negotiates socially determined meanings, or systems of ideas (Bakhtin, 1981; Ball & Freedman, 2004). This process of becoming reveals an individual's ongoing development of "ways of viewing the world, belief systems, positionings and values, and their interacting and aligning with others" (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 52). This is a particularly significant perspective for my work because young children are rapidly developing language skills as well as ideas about themselves and others, and I want to emphasize that their identities are "ever forming" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 169).

At the heart of ideological becoming is ideology. This is a slippery and contested term. Ball and Freedman (2004) remarked that *ideologiya* (in Russian) does not have an inherently political edge, and has to do with the development of broad systems of ideas; however, I see ideology differently. An individual's ideological becoming (identity) locates them within social contexts, and these are always imbued with power relations, meaning that ideology is always linked to politics. Paré (2002) offered an insightful distinction between different uses of ideology. On the one hand, there is the perception of ideology as something that people can have (e.g., an agenda) or be victims of (e.g., influenced by grand political narratives, such as capitalism, socialism, and other -isms). In contrast, there is ideology as the workings of power in everyday life. It is this perspective of ideology, as a "complex, conflictual and contradictory social practice" (p. 58; also, for example, Fairclough, 2003; Foucault, 1972; Gee, 2005; Lemke, 1995), that I see as important for understanding ideological becoming. In this view, individuals are

positioned as social subjects, who can take on multiple subject positions as they negotiate and express the beliefs and values of the different communities to which they belong. As Lemke (1995) argued, ideology has to do with how common sense ideas come to be taken for granted, ideas that support the power of certain social groups.

In order to capture this dialogic relationship between individuals and ideas and belief systems, Bakhtin (1981) identified two types of discourse<sup>9</sup> that individuals are always negotiating. Authoritative discourse, on the one hand, refers to official discourses “of tradition and generally acknowledged beliefs and voices of authority” (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 55). Although authoritative discourses, such as those surrounding identity politics in Quebec, always “set the tone” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 88) of a particular context, they do not always have an authoritarian power to define individuals’ systems of ideas. The tone for ideological becoming is set; a structure is in place; boundaries are created. Yet within these limits, individuals can interpret, resist, appropriate, and negotiate authoritative discourses through their own internally persuasive discourses (Bakhtin, 1981), which is the everyday discourse of interaction.

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<sup>9</sup> Discourse is another slippery term. For Bakhtin (1981), discourse refers simply to utterances or chains of utterances. Critical discourse analyst, Fairclough (2003), sees discourses as representations of the world. Foucault (1972) took this further and wrote about discourse practices not as representations, but as “the things we do with languages that produce our ways of thinking about the world” (cited in Pennycook, 2010, p. 121). Gee (2005) distinguished between big ‘d’ Discourse (ways of thinking, believing, valuing; social habits) and little ‘d’ discourse (what we say), which together allow individuals to represent themselves and be recognized as certain kinds of people.

Like Bakhtin, Lemke (1995) interpreted discourses not as located in the individual, but as resources that we draw on to make meaning, much like grammar or lexicon. In other words, discourses do not originate from individuals. That said, neither are these semiotic resources invented by some invisible external force. Rather, they are produced dialogically, in social interaction. As individuals selectively assimilate the words of others, “tightly interwoven with one’s own words” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345), they take a stance and they position themselves. This signals their ideological becoming.

As I discuss in Chapter Four, young children have not always been positioned in research as knowledgeable or as capable of commenting on their social environments. This is a belief about children that I challenge in this thesis and it is for this reason that I am drawn to ideological becoming: It highlights individuals’ awareness of the different semiotic resources that are available in different social environments. For me, ideological becoming offers a perspective on identity that captures the dialogic process of becoming and acknowledges a continuum of identity possibilities, informed by authoritative discourses, which are re-interpreted, negotiated, appropriated, and resisted by the individual. It is a conception of identity that gives agency to individuals as they develop systems of ideas, align themselves with (or against) others, and position themselves. It acknowledges that boundaries are created and negotiated, and that they shift through dialogic relations in different ideological environments.

Overall, I see an entire continuum of identity possibilities that individuals negotiate and, as they do so, they signal their ongoing process of ideological becoming. This conception of identity is the innermost, foundational layer of my theoretical framework. I now turn to discussing literature that has focused on the subject-as-heard.

## **Subject-as-Heard**

In this section, I begin by discussing a key perspective that has informed understandings of how children and adults learn language: language socialization. Then, I define language and language users. This is followed by a discussion of literature on language policy, a branch of sociolinguistics that is interested in understanding how language is used, practiced, and managed.

### **Becoming multilingual.**

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Schieffelin and Ochs conducted independent ethnographic sociolinguistic studies of how infants and young children in Papua New Guinea and Samoa, respectively, learned sociocultural knowledge from older children or adults through language. This led them to develop the notion of language socialization, which includes both “*socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language*” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 161; emphasis in original). In this perspective, which draws on Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theories, the acquisition of language is deeply embedded in the process of becoming “a competent member of society” (p. 168).

Since the 1980s, there have been some important extensions to language socialization theory. Wortham (2005) emphasized the importance of looking at intertextually related events, or trajectories, and not at single events, to understand language socialization. This is especially the case when trying to understand multilingual language socialization, which, as Lamarre (2003) highlighted, is a multisite socialization process. Another important contribution to language socialization theory is Garrett’s (2007) notion of the “bad subject” (p. 237), which he argued has largely been unaccounted for. The bad subject refers to individuals who do not engage in the

normative behaviours they are socialized into, such as children in bilingual families who refuse to speak one of the languages.

Recent explorations of language socialization processes (e.g., Quay, 2008; Schecter & Bailey, 2004) have also demonstrated that parents and children are mutually socialized into the language practices of their home, meaning that novice and expert roles are not clearly set in stone (see also Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004, who emphasized the important role of peers and siblings in language socialization). L. Thompson (2000) looked at the initial phase of secondary language socialization of bilingual children in an English nursery school in the UK. Her participants were three- and four-year-olds of Pakistani origin, who spoke Urdu and Panjabi at home, but no English. However, even within the first hour of the first day at nursery school, most of the Pakistani children spoke some English, echoing what they heard from their English-speaking peers. This suggests that children learn very quickly the place of their mother tongue(s) in new environments, and learn which languages have value where. Overall, language socialization research highlights the importance of researching *with* young children in order to gain their perspectives and insights on their language practices, rather than assuming that they will always follow an adult's lead.

I see intricate connections between the processes of language socialization and an individual's ideological becoming; that is, an individual's ideological becoming is mediated through the use of language, but at the same time, the use of language mediates an individual's ideological becoming. Also, language socialization occurs across multiple sites. Finally, the fact that not all children end up the same, even if they are socialized into the same sociocultural norms of their environments and share a

considerable degree of common sense beliefs about the world, highlights the agency and individuality that children have in their ideological becomings. Language socialization is about becoming *through* language and becoming *into* language. I now turn to defining language.

**Defining language: A social approach.**

Weber and Horner (2012) proposed two competing models of what a language is, the popular model and the expert model. The popular model creates hierarchies between languages, as seen in the concepts of standard languages and dialects. The expert model, on the other hand, which is the one that most sociolinguists now adhere to, challenges these assumptions and argues that there is no purely linguistic difference between languages and dialects; rather the differences are socially and politically constructed. Language, according to Makoni and Pennycook (2007), is a modern European construction that was invented through colonial practices and linked to the creation of nation states with distinct languages. In other words, the practice of defining languages has had more to do with defining people and creating boundaries and hierarchies than the definition of linguistic facts.

With globalization and increasing human mobility, urban spaces are becoming more and more multilingual, which has challenged structuralist notions of languages as countable and definable entities. There has been a shift away from seeing languages as things and towards seeing them as historical, social, and political constructions. Drawing on poststructuralist and sociocultural theories, a social approach to multilingualism argues that language is not a fixed or stable entity, in linguistic terms. As Weber and Horner (2012) put it, when taking a social approach to multilingualism, language refers to

“socio-politically rather than linguistically defined units” (p. 6). Thus it is social, not cognitive or acquisition issues, which are the focus of analysis. Also advocating a social approach to multilingualism, Heller (2007) defined language as “sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones” (p. 15). Lemke (2002) tapped into the socially and politically constructed nature of language nicely: “It is not at all obvious that if they were not politically prevented from doing so, ‘languages’ would not mix and dissolve into one another” (p. 85). And, as Bakhtin (1981) wrote in the 1930s and 40s, well before the poststructural turn, “languages do not exclude each other, but rather intersect with each other in many different ways. . . . It might even seem that the word ‘language’ loses all meaning in this process” (p. 291). In short, a social approach to multilingualism examines how boundaries around languages have been socially produced and maintained. It is a critical perspective that involves looking at how power has come to be clustered around certain linguistic resources in certain spaces and exploring how this shapes what individuals can and cannot do in their everyday lives, what values are attached to how they use language, and what identities are possible as a result (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; García, 2008; Heller, 2008; Pennycook, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2012).

With this poststructuralist deconstruction, or disinvention (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) of language, critical language scholars now argue that we need to speak of language practices and languaging, rather than languages as countable entities; we need to focus on what people are doing with language and not on languages as finite linguistic



systems (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009a, 2009b, 2012; Pennycook, 2010; Shohamy, 2006a; Weber & Horner, 2012). Pennycook (2010) argued that focusing on language practices moves us “away from the attempts to capture language as a system, and instead to investigate *the doing of language* as social activity, regulated as much by social contexts as by underlying systems” (p. 9; emphasis added). The doing of language is intricately intertwined with ideological becoming: in their languaging, individuals are responding to their interpretations of authoritative discourse through their own internally persuasive discourse. Languaging is a multimodal, social semiotic practice, and this social approach to language highlights individuals’ agency, creativity, and acts of identity.

This idea of language as a social construction can seem quite destabilizing, since most individuals attach great significance to a particular language as central to their sense of identity. The aim is not to diminish the importance that language plays in individual identities, but to use tools of interpretation that can account for the sociolinguistic evidence that one language does not necessarily index (point to) one subject position (e.g., May, 2005; Rampton, 1995, 2006; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). A poststructurally informed interpretation of language is useful for understanding how boundaries have been socially constructed, but it is also important to recognize that the ideology of languages as distinct entities is extremely powerful in nation-state identity and language politics (May, 2001), as well as for individuals. In other words, even though languages are socially constructed, the “social force” (Bailey, 2007, p. 271) of the ideology of languages as fixed entities is still powerful. Thus, my theoretical framework needs to account for a continuum of fixed to fluid conceptions of language.

Challenging a fixed notion of language calls into question other language-related terminology. If language is an invention, so too are structuralist concepts like bilingualism and code-switching, which involve distinguishing between separate entities.

### **Defining language users and language practices.**

Poststructuralist theories have broadened not only how we interpret the notion of language. Indeed, exploring new ways to define individual people and societies that use more than one language appears to be fertile ground for debate and new terminology in language studies. Whereas some scholars use the terms bilingualism and multilingualism, but with a critical poststructuralist perspective that challenges this bias (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Bloomaert, 2010; Blommaert et al., 2005; Djité, 2009; García, 2009a; Heller, 2007; Weber & Horner, 2012), others have suggested new terms to reflect dynamic language behaviours, such as transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet, 2005), polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008), lingualism (Adamek, 2004), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), translingual activism (Pennycook, 2010), and plurilingualism (Moore & Gajo, 2009). A common criticism of the term multilingualism is that it reflects a pluralization of singular and distinct entities; this has been weighed against several of the above terms, such as polylingualism and plurilingualism, as well (Pennycook, 2010).

Though most of the terms above are far from mainstream, they all tap into the same issue: how to talk about languages without promoting the idea that they are stable entities. Pennycook (2010) criticized approaches to multilingualism that begin with counting languages, as these “employ the census strategies of colonialism while missing the qualitative question of where diversity lies” (p. 82). Though I acknowledge Pennycook’s criticism as valid, I will continue to use the terms multilingual and

multilingualism for two reasons. First, this is how the parents who participated in this inquiry referred to their children. In addition, I see my work as contributing to critical sociolinguistic research on multilingualism (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Bloomaert, 2010; Djité, 2009; Lamarre, 2003; Lamarre, et al., 2002; Weber & Horner, 2012).

Deciding how to refer to multilingual people is only one part of the terminological conundrum. There is also the issue of how to refer to their language practices.

Traditionally, sociolinguists have been interested in understanding code-switching, which is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). Research on code-switching has demonstrated that the functional and grammatical properties of code-switching are rule-governed, and that code-switching is context sensitive and serves pragmatic functions (Auer, 1998; Genesee & Nicoladis, 2006; Li, 2005). Code-switching research, therefore, has determined that being multilingual and switching between codes (languages) mid-sentence is not a sign of linguistic deficiency, as previously thought, but is indicative of sophisticated cognitive processing and social awareness (Milroy & Muysken, 1995).

A point that has drawn considerable attention in code-switching research has been the distinction between switching that occurs within a sentence—this is referred to as *code-mixing*—and switching that occurs across sentences—this is *code-switching* (Hoffman & Stavens, 2007; Muysken, 2000). Code-switching and code-mixing research has made important contributions to understandings of multilingualism, with respect to countering the idea that it is a sign of a linguistic defect or deficiency. However, as critical language scholars have pointed out (e.g., Canagarajah, 2004; Otsuji & Pennycook,

2010; Reagan, 2006), the concepts of code-switching and code-mixing are based on a structuralist perspective of languages as separate, countable codes. Thus, they are not terms that are congruent with a social and critical approach to multilingualism.

Translanguaging, on the other hand, is. This is a term that has recently emerged in poststructuralist social approaches to multilingualism. Coined in the 1990s by Welsh scholar Cen Williams, it originally referred to the pedagogical practice of having students read or hear material in one language and develop their work in another (García, 2007), but it now also goes well beyond this as a theory of language. Translanguaging theory focuses on what people are doing with languages in their everyday lives; that is, their language practices. It challenges structuralist ideas about languages and language practices as fitting into neatly separated boxes that never overlap. Instead, it welcomes an understanding of the fluidity and flexibility with which multilinguals draw on all their resources to maximize communicative potential (García, 2009b).

Whereas code-switching research focuses on what *languages* are doing (are they switching in mid-sentence or across sentences?; How often?), translanguaging shifts the focus to what *languageers* (people) are doing, and tries to understand these practices from the speaker's perspective (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009b). A translanguaging lens recognizes that there are always tensions between languages and that the boundaries are constantly shifting and having to be (re)negotiated. Because the focus is on language practices, or the doing of language, rather than languages as finite systems, translanguaging highlights individual agency and creativity. In this thesis, I use *languageing* to refer to language practices, in general, and *translanguaging* to refer to moments when boundaries between so-called languages are being crossed and negotiated.

Being and becoming multilingual is clearly not something that just happens; as I discussed above, it is a process that is intricately connected to socialization. Multilingualism research has shown that becoming multilingual is a multisite process that is determined by more than a language policy document alone. Language policies that are produced to manage language use, such as Bill 101, set the tone for language practices, and to fully understand ideological becoming within a given policy context, there needs to be a way to account for individual and local experiences. To this end, language policy scholars (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2004, 2009) have defined three distinct, but interrelated components of language policy that connect written documents with local practices and experiences: language practices, language ideologies, and language management. Before I discuss these, I look at an issue that has long challenged language policy scholarship, the macro-micro dichotomy.

### **Beyond the macro-micro dichotomy in language policy.**

It is now common knowledge in the field of language policy (LP) that written policy documents do not account for the whole LP picture (e.g., Ricento, 2000; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2009). In trying to capture the relationships between what is written and local contexts of use, however, there has been a rather persistent macro and micro dichotomy in LP studies (May, 2005). As Kelly-Holmes (2010) demonstrated in her nexus analysis of macro-micro relations in the marketing domain, interactions between macro and micro levels are very complex and the way processes impact one another is not always linear, hierarchical, or clear. Other LP scholars are aware of this as well, and there have been many efforts to reframe the macro-micro relationship (e.g., Coulmas, 1997; Fishman, 1972; Hult, 2010; Pennycook, 2010; Ricento 2000; Shohamy, 2006a;

Spolsky, 2009). Ricento and Hornberger (1996), for example, suggested conceptualizing language policy as an onion, with multiple and nested layers, moving from a larger outside level to an inner core. Because they were focused on language policy in education, they located educational practitioners at the heart of the onion.

The most recent trend in LP research is to draw on an ecological model to reframe the macro-micro dichotomy. In fact, Ricento (2000) predicted that ecology of language would become the major conceptual framework for LP research in the future because it offers a way to connect traditional notions of macro and micro. Haugen (1972) first introduced the notion of the ecology of language, which he defined as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment” (p. 325). Creese and Martin (2008) highlighted that an ecological approach “does more than describe the relationships between situated speakers of different languages. Rather it is proactive in pulling apart perceived natural language orders” (p. ii). This approach, then, can make visible how the three components of LP intersect to shape an individual’s ideological becoming.

Nevertheless, as Pennycook (2004a, 2010) warned, metaphors need to be used with caution because they can have material consequences. For instance, taking the metaphor of ecology quite literally creates a parallel between threatened languages and threatened species, and an overly literal interpretation of ecology can emphasize preserving languages over humans. Haugen (1972) cautioned against using a biological model of language ecology since “a language does not breathe; it has no life of its own apart from those who use it” (p. 58). Speakers of languages do breathe, and the emphasis should be on humans and their sociolinguistic realities, rather than languages as species

to protect at all cost. Kibbee (2003) also strongly refuted the biological model of language ecology and wrote, “If a dog lives in the same house as a bird it does not grow wings, nor does the bird sprout paws. If two languages are in contact, they create a new language” (p. 51). Though perhaps overstated, the point Kibbee is making is that a biological perspective overlooks the social construction of language (also May, 2001).

Setting aside the literal, biological interpretation of ecology, the language ecology metaphor does have its merits. As a metaphor, it offers a way to capture the diversity and pluralism of language use in locally embedded social, cultural, and political relations, and provides a way to understand how language practices mediate between social action and linguistic systems. An ecological framework accounts for different layers of nested social relationships and moves away from dichotomous relationships between processes (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Martin, 2008). It connects language practices to language ideologies and written policies; in other words, it provides a way to integrate and understand relationships among the three components of language policy. Relevant to my inquiry with young children, Tudge and Hogan (2005) argued that ecological theories are appropriate for understanding that children are “embedded within social and cultural contexts and that the relationship between child and context is transactional” (p. 103).

However, even with the non-literal interpretation of language ecology, and the emphasis on social contexts, for me, the term language ecology still conjures up an image of *languages* interacting, rather than people. There seems to be something missing. Spolsky (2009) tapped into this issue in his reference to a social ecosystem approach to language policy; however, he did not go beyond this to define it.

### **An ecosocial perspective on language policy.**

To expand on the idea of a social ecosystem approach, I have drawn on Pennycook's (2010) theory of the locality of language practices and Lemke's (1995) ecosocial systems perspective. Pennycook argued that all practices are local. This does not mean that they are all equal in terms of the amount or directionality of power. A theory of locality offers a perspective on how so-called macro level discourses are taken up, propagated, or challenged through so-called micro-level interactions. This dialogic interaction always occurs locally, though the effects of local practices can have more or less impact. Instead of a macro-micro dichotomy, I see a continuum that ranges from local-high impact at one end, where boundaries are defined and the tone for social interaction is set, to local-low impact at the other, where those boundaries are negotiated and performed. While this might just sound like a rebranding of a relationship that moves from large to small (macro-micro), the idea that all processes are local, but some have more impact than others suggests not a linear continuum, but three-dimensional "webs of social relations" (Lemke, 1995, p. 30), which can account for the complex interrelationships among language practices, language ideologies, and language management, or policies.

As with Pennycook's theory of locality, Lemke's (1995) ecosocial systems perspective does not diminish or try to deny power relations. Rather, this perspective "shows us that we are primitively enmeshed in and depend for our origins and continuing existence on a hierarchy of levels of interaction and transaction with multiple environments" (p. 81). For Lemke, each interaction is "a 'patch', a mini-ecosystem containing human organisms in interaction with their social and material environments"



(p. 79). I like this notion of hierarchies of interactions, or patches, that all have traces or elements of one another<sup>10</sup> and interact to create a larger ecosocial system. It emphasizes that all practices are social practices, and that these are shaped by and respond to other social practices. Some hierarchies of interactions will be high-impact patches and others less so, but they are all interconnected through “webs of social relations” (p. 30). Each patch is three-dimensional and multilayered, much like the LP onion that Ricento and Hornberger (1996) proposed.

I now turn to discussing the three components of LP, in relation to an ecosocial perspective. Although language policy tends to be interpreted (by non-specialists) as a written policy document, as Shohamy (2006a) argued, LP is foremost about how language is used; therefore, understanding language practices is an essential component of LP.

### **Language practices.**

This component of language policy accounts for what people do with language; that is, their languaging and translanguaging. However, a language practices perspective is interested not only in the action of languaging, but also in understanding what shapes the doing of language, and how boundaries are created and negotiated. How is the social activity of languaging regulated and mediated by social contexts? Pennycook (2010) proposed that we “produce language as a result of our local practices” (p. 41). In other words, it is because we do what we do that we language as we do. As such “language

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<sup>10</sup> Bakhtin (1981) captured this in heteroglossia. This inter-connectivity of discourse has also been defined as intertextuality, which refers to the “sea of former texts” (Bazerman, 2004, p. 83; also Lemke, 1985) that we draw on to make meaning.

practices are moulded by social, cultural, discursive and historical precedents and concurrent contexts” (p. 9). Language practices are “activities we do with the semiotic resources of language, and are always interrelated with other cultural and social practices” (p. 107). Linking his discussion to Gee’s (2005) discourse theory, Pennycook located practice “between Big-D discourse (the abstractions of worldview) and little-d discourse (everyday language use)” (p. 123). In this sense, practice links social contexts and underlying language systems.

An ecosocial perspective, as I have argued, captures the locality and situatedness of language practices. This is important as it can help normalize multilingual languaging as a practice that is mediated by social contexts, thus giving agency to individuals as they interpret, and respond to, these contexts. In addition to serving as an explanatory metaphor for language practices, an ecosocial perspective offers an understanding of the relationships between language practices and beliefs about language; that is, language ideologies.

### **Language ideologies.**

This second component of LP accounts for beliefs and values assigned to particular languages and ways of languaging. Language ideologies emerged as an area of scholarly inquiry in the 1990s (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Poststructuralist and social constructivist scholarship draws on critical conceptions of language ideology, such as Volk and Angelova’s (2007) “shared beliefs about language forms and practices embedded in social conflicts over power” (p. 178) and Woolard’s (1998) “representations. . .that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (p. 3; also McGroarty, 2010; Silverstein, 1998; Weber & Horner, 2012). In

other words, contemporary views of language ideologies have to do with the workings of power in everyday life. Like Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), I see language ideologies as a mediating link between language practices and social structures; particular social practices accumulate normative power, which can lead to practices, policies, and systems of inclusion or exclusion. They are like interpretive filters between language and society (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), and shape, for example, how policy makers or parents rationalize the decisions they are making. Above, I discussed Pennycook's (2010) theory of locality, and argued that practices link social contexts and underlying language systems. I see language ideologies as mediating the space between practices and social contexts.

Sociocultural theories (Holland et al., 1998; Vygotsky, 1978) emphasize the role of language in the social construction of identities. Language ideologies, then, are intricately connected to ideological becoming, since these common sense beliefs can be used to justify an individual's own and others' language practices; thus, they can influence language maintenance or loss (Ball & Freedman, 2004; Hill, 2008; Lippi-Green, 1997). Since language ideologies propagate normative language practices and beliefs, they create the possibility for individuals to be marked as deviant from the dominant, ideologically shaped norm (Ball & Freedman, 2004; Hill, 2008). For example, multilingual individuals could assimilate ideologies that marginalize their own and others' languages, leading to language loss. It is important, however, to point out that language ideologies are not bound to the domain of language alone; as Hill (2008) showed, they also "shape and constrain the reproduction of other kinds of ideologies, such as ideologies of gender, race, and class" (p. 33).

There are many language ideologies, but a sampling from Weber and Horner (2012) provides an overview of what these can include and how they can function. First, there is the one nation-one language ideology that creates an essential link between language and national identity. It rose with modernism in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and was then carried around the world on the shoulders of colonialism (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). This is clearly a powerful ideology in Quebec. Closely linked to this are ideologies of language purism and standard language, which help maintain fixed boundaries around what is and is not a language, and what is standard language and what is not. Inherent in standard language ideology is the belief that languages are wholly describable and countable things; this is reaffirmed in textbooks (e.g., prescriptive grammars) and teaching practices, for example. As Cameron (1995) argued, individuals not only use language, they also comment on it, and she referred to this desire to evaluate and regulate language as “verbal hygiene.” A standard language ideology also connects to an ideology of a hierarchy of languages; that is, the notion that some languages, or linguistic practices, are inherently better than others, which leads to naming some practices as languages and others as dialects or patois.

Though all language ideologies can be problematized, perhaps the one I feel most strongly about is mother-tongue ideology, which is the belief that individuals have a single first language (L1). This ideology runs deep throughout the fields of second language acquisition and second language education, fields whose names and very existence would be meaningless if it were not for this idea of a stable, uniform L1. Mother-tongue is closely linked to the notion of a native speaker of a language, which has been heavily criticized as promoting negative views of non-native speakers, propagating

a norm of monolingualism, and sustaining structural inequalities between speakers of different languages (Canagarajah, 2007; Davies, 1991; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Paikeday, 1985; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990; Ruecker, 2011; Widdowson, 2004). A monolingual ideology, that languages need to be kept separate in order to be learned, runs deep through language teaching approaches as well. Although research has repeatedly shown that use of home languages can support language learning in class (Butzkamm, 2003; Cummins, 2007; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Meiring & Norman, 2002), common approaches to language teaching, such as communicative language teaching (CLT), are nevertheless based on the idea that using the L1 (note the assumption here that there is a single L1) in class is a detriment to second or foreign language learning (Cook, 2001). This has been highly criticized by advocates of multilingual education (e.g., Crump, 2013; García, Skutnab-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman, 2006; Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012; Schecter & Cummins, 2003; Shohamy, 2006b; Weber & Horner, 2012).

Rampton (1990) suggested three terms to displace the problematic notion of a native speaker of a language. With respect to the communicative aspect of a language, he argued that it is more appropriate to talk about expertise than nativeness because it highlights the relativeness and partiality of communicative abilities. He also emphasized the symbolic value of language loyalty with the terms affiliation and inheritance. He defined affiliation as a “connection between people and groups that are considered to be separate or different,” whereas inheritance is associated with “continuity between people and groups who are felt to be closely linked” (p. 99). In other words, “inheritance occurs *within* social boundaries, while affiliation takes place *across* them” (p. 99; emphasis in

original). While sociolinguists have recognized the importance of Rampton's terms, native speaker ideology still holds strong in language education theory and practices.

Language ideologies are reflective of sociopolitical and historical, not linguistic facts (Weber & Horner, 2012; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994); they are not fixed, but continually negotiated. Therefore, a social approach to multilingualism is necessarily a language ideological perspective. Bloomaert (1999, 2010) and Weber and Horner (2012) have been advocating for such a perspective in multilingualism research to account for the processes that have normalized certain ideologies. I will add that in order to understand multilingualism, we need to account for more than just language ideologies, but also ideologies more broadly defined that include ideas about race, culture, ethnicity, identity, and belonging. An ecosocial perspective has explanatory power to capture this complexity.

I now turn to what is typically located at a macro-level of language policy—language management—and discuss two relatively new areas of scholarly research that challenge the idea that language management is only a national-level concern.

### **Language management.**

This component of language policy is often understood as the top-down language planning that nation-states engage in to regulate the language behaviours of citizens. Globalization and increasing multilingualism are challenging the one nation-one language ideology, and more and more national language policies are being conceptualized and created. As Ruiz (1984) determined, there are three main ideological positions on language that inform national language policies: language as a resource, a problem, or a right. There are many different approaches to national language policies and not all

countries have officially written language policy documents. Here, I draw on Leclerc (2013) to provide a cursory overview of several different approaches to national language policy in order to locate where Quebec's approach falls.

The most coercive approach to language policy is represented by assimilation policies (e.g., Afghanistan, Libya), which aim to eradicate certain minority linguistic groups through repression. At the other end are non-intervention policies (e.g., Japan, United Kingdom, United States). These usually reflect a non-written, but *de facto* official status of a language. That said, having un-written language policy does not discount political movements that push for language policies, such as the English Only movement in the United States. Quebec's approach to language policy falls in the category of unilingual official language policies.<sup>11</sup> Some countries/ nations have official bilingualism (e.g., Canada, New Zealand) and multilingualism policies (e.g., India, South Africa), which give equal legal status to two or more languages. All this said, many approaches to language policy reflect mixed strategies in terms of supporting majority and (not) minority languages. Also, as should be abundantly clear by now, whether *de jure* or *de facto* language policies are reflected in social practices is another issue altogether.

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that while Bill 101 decrees French as the sole official language of Quebec, it is, in fact, full of concessions to English (e.g., courts, parliament, municipalities with more than 50% Anglophones, and English language school boards). French is the common public language of the province, but it is not the exclusive language of the state due to Quebec's lack of independent statehood within the Canadian policy of bilingualism (Warren & Oakes, 2011).

There are some new directions in language scholarship that have challenged the idea of language policy as a national preoccupation, and have related language management to lived spaces and experiences. First, there is linguistic landscape (LL) research, which focuses on the link between a LL, language practices, ideologies, and management policies (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). Landry and Bourhis (1997) defined LL as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” (p. 25). The bulk of LL research has focused on describing language use in public space, as a representation of negotiations of language ideologies, practices, and policies. One notable LL inquiry that goes beyond the descriptive is Dagenais et al.’s (2008) longitudinal study of children’s identity negotiations as they interacted with the various languages in their LLs. The researchers saw cities (Vancouver and Montreal) as texts to be deciphered by the children who live there, and they positioned the school children as social actors who have agency to interpret their LLs.

A second and more recent direction that has broadened our understandings of LP, and in particular the language management component, is family language policy (FLP) research. This is primarily interested in examining explicit and overt decision-making processes that parents make with respect to home language use and how this accounts for why some children become multilingual and maintain their multilingualism, while others do not. As FLP researchers have shown, FLPs interact in complex nested relationships with economic and political processes outside the home (Curd-Christiansen, 2013; Fogle & King, 2012; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2009). FLPs are shaped by language ideologies, though as Fogle’s (2013) research on families



who have adopted transnationally highlighted, FLPs are not limited to language ideologies, but also ideologies about family, childhood, and parenting. To me, FLP is a new and exciting direction for language policy research and it responds to Shohamy's (2009) call for research on language policy as experiences. However, a theme I have noticed in the literature is that it is almost entirely based on parents' perspectives and opinions. The opinions of children are rarely included in research reports.

**Subject-as-heard: Summary of learnings.**

I began this section by defining the most foundational part of my theoretical framework: identity as ideological becoming. I connected the process of ideological becoming to language socialization, which is a multi-site process in which children have agency. I then described the social and poststructuralist approach to multilingualism that I am taking and justified my use of the terms multilingualism, language, and translanguaging. Both identity and language are social constructs and in order to understand them, it is important to consider how boundaries are formed and negotiated and also to account for a range of possibilities from fixed to fluid. I proposed that an ecosocial perspective could capture the interrelations between language practices, which are always local, language ideologies, which mediate between social structures and language practices, and language management, whether in terms of national language policies, or family language policies. An ecosocial perspective helps reframe the problematic macro-micro dichotomy by seeing interactions as hierarchies of patches that are linked through "webs of social relations" (Lemke, 1995, p. 30). In my opinion, this provides a rich beginning of an analytical lens for understanding young children's

experiences and perspectives and how they are related to broader (but still local) social practices and beliefs.

Up to this point, however, I have done what most sociolinguists do, and have theorized identity and multilingualism only in terms of language, or the subject-as-heard. As I argued earlier in the chapter, the subject-as-seen has largely remained a shadow in sociolinguistic theory. In the next section of this chapter, I explore what critical race theories can offer an ecosocial framework for understanding racialized multilingual children's ideological becomings.

### **Subject-as-Seen**

In this section, I begin by defining race, yet another a slippery term. Then, I provide a brief overview of critical race theory (CRT), which emerged from legal studies in the US in the 1970s. This leads into a discussion of how CRT has been taken up by other marginalized groups and I look at how different offshoots of CRT emerged. I point out that while CRT has been drawn on in language education scholarship, sociolinguists, for the most part, have not explicitly done the same. I highlight literature that has looked at how racialized social spaces constrict or allow different language practices, as these are important contributions to understandings of the intersections of subject-as-heard and subject-as-seen.

#### **Defining race.**

Race is a word that is often considered taboo, and we have generally been taught to fear or ignore it (Okun, 2010). Because it is not socially or politically acceptable to talk about race, many code words are used as proxies for race, such as culture, language, ethnicity, and religious practices. Cultural and religious differences are commonly cited

in popular and official discourse in Quebec, as seen in the reasonable accommodation debates and the PQ's proposed Charter of Secular Values. For example, with respect to Hérouxville's Standards of Conduct, Nieguth and Lacassagne (2009) argued that cultural differences were constructed as immigrant practices in relation to a White, secular norm. This racializing process lumps a heterogeneous category of immigrants into a unified exoticized group, positioning their practices as deviant from the norm.

Ethnicity is another popular code word for race, one that is seen as less loaded than race. However, it too is hard to define. In anthropology, ethnicity refers broadly to cultural practices of a community, though as Nayak (2009) argued, it has been used to reify cultures in comparison to White western norms. It encompasses then, religious practices, language, ancestry, customs, and traditions (Kubota & Lin, 2009a). Ethnicity is a concept that exists only in relation to Others and reflects socially constructed boundaries of difference; ethnicity is attributed to others and self-perceived. Hall (1995) referred to deconstructed essentialist ethnic categories as new ethnicities, which are multiple, fluid, and negotiated. It is an open construct that is always in the making, and Nayak (2009) pointed out that young people, especially in urban settings, are “‘doing’ ethnicity in many different ways” (p. 106). García (2010) similarly argued that instead of talking about ethnicities as fixed things, we should talk about the doing of ethnicity, or ethnifying.

Whereas race tends to evoke phenotypical characteristics, such as skin colour, hair texture, and eye shape, ethnicity is often used to capture other characteristics, such as behaviours and traditions. Nayak (2009) supports this distinction between race and ethnicity and argued for an uncoupling of these terms, which so often overlap. This is a

distinction I maintain in this thesis. Critical race theorists have argued that race (and not code words for race) needs to be at the centre of analysis in order to move towards meaningful change or reform for racialized people.

As with identity and language, there seem to be two opposing ways of understanding race. There is the biological view, which was used to justify slavery through the argument that Blacks are biologically inferior to Whites. Haney Lopez (2000) shared a definition of race that was used in a legal case in the US in 1806, which shows how this biological view worked: a person was deemed Black if they had one African predecessor, or a flat nose, or woolly hair. Such ancestry and appearance judgments still persist, yet thanks to the Human Genome Project we now know that race as a biological characteristic is a fallacy: only roughly 0.1% of genes are responsible for racial differences (Kubota & Lin, 2009a). Clearly, skin colour differences do exist, and people have different physiques and hair types, but the meanings associated with those traits are socially and historically constructed, not biological facts.

This leads to the second view of race, as a social construct. The American Anthropological Association (2011) developed an online activity in which individuals can respond to censuses from around the world. The activity highlights how race and ethnicity have been differently interpreted and constructed in different places. For example, if I do the activity as if I were my daughters, my race in Brazil would be determined along colour lines: *branca* (white) and *amarela* (yellow). In the UK, my ethnicity would be White and Asian. Here, ethnicity conflates colour codes (race?) and a very broad geographical background. In Bulgaria, I would simply belong to the ethnic

category Other; that is, not Bulgarian, Turkish, or Gypsy. Clearly, the ways in which censuses delimit the possibilities for identification reflect national identity politics.

In addition to this cross-sectional view of how race is constructed, there have been significant historical shifts in perceptions of race in censuses. For example, to account for mixed-race, which has long been a troublesome reality for censuses, the US moved from the “one-drop rule” (if an individual has one drop of non-White blood, they have to mark their non-White race) to the “mark one or more” approach in 2000 (D. Thompson, 2012). People did not change overnight in 2000, but the way they could be categorized and counted did. This is a social change, not a biological one. Wade (2013) provided some interesting examples of such changes as well. For the 200 hundred years before 1970 in the US, census data were gathered in person, and race was assigned to individuals by census enumerators. After 1970, with the shift to mail-in census forms, individuals were no longer assigned a race by someone else, but could self-identify. As a result, the number of Native Americans between 1980 and 2000 jumped over 100%. It turns out that self-identifying Native Americans had previously been categorized as White. Also, in the mail-in version, 80% of Puerto Ricans identified themselves as White. Previously, only 40% of them were classified as White, with the majority being designated as Black. These changes are reflections, not of biological facts, but of socially and politically constructed notions of Others. Because race is a social construction, “human interaction rather than natural differentiation must be seen as the source and continued basis for racial categorization” (Haney Lopez, 2000, p. 168).

Yet the shift from the biological to political, or social view of race does not lessen its significance as a construct that has significant material and social consequences. Omi

and Winant (1994) emphasized the social construction of race in their definition of racial formation, which focuses on “the sociohistorical processes by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed” (p. 55). This is what critical race theorists have been advocating, yet they also acknowledge that although race is a social construct, it has very real and material consequences for many individuals. Because of this paradox, within CRT scholarship there has been some debate about the use of race as a unit of analysis. On the one hand, there is the argument that since race is a historical construct it can be used to mobilize solidarity in racially marginalized groups (e.g., Solomos, 2003). On the other hand, others have argued that in order to avoid essentialism, race cannot be used as an analytical unit; rather the emphasis should be on processes of racism and racialization (Darder & Torres, 2004; Kubota & Lin, 2009a). This latter perspective fits with the poststructuralist and social constructivist conceptions of identity and language that I introduced earlier in this chapter. Thus, I am referring to my participants as racialized children, rather than mixed-race. As I mentioned in Chapter One, the latter term suggests that an individual is made up of two monolithic halves (Iqbal, 2004), whereas the former points to more dialogic processes of becoming where race is a socially constructed, rather than intrinsic or innate category.

I now briefly introduce critical race theory (CRT), and explore how it has been used in disciplines beyond legal studies. This leads to my discussion of what it has to offer my sociolinguistic inquiry of multilingual racialized children’s ideological becomings.

### **Critical race theory.**

Critical race theory (CRT) originated in the 1970s in response to the failure of the civil rights legal debates in the US to produce meaningful racial reform (Lynn & Adams, 2002). Early CRT scholars (e.g., Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Mari Matsuda, and Richard Delgado) challenged the objectivity of legal discourse and argued that the liberalist discourse of individual rights and freedoms promoted colour-blindness. This idea that it's what's inside that counts “represses and renders irrelevant the ways in which race shapes social relationships” (Roithmayr, 1999, p. 2) and, as a result, makes social justice for people of colour unattainable. As Omi and Winant (2004) argued, American history has long been very conscious of colour, so to promote the idea of colour-blindness is to silence historical and contemporary processes that sustain racism. Critical race theorists have argued that racism should not be interpreted as individual acts of prejudice, but as indicative of historical, societal, institutional, and legal structures that have become deeply engrained in society. In addition, they argue against a biological conception of race, and for a notion of race as a social construct, but one around which power clusters in very concrete and structurally ingrained ways. Linguistic anthropologist Jane Hill (2008) and critical race scholar Mari Matsuda (1996), whose work I discussed earlier in this chapter, showed in intricate detail how language is central to this process of engraining racist discourses.

There are several main tenets of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993), one of which I have already discussed – that race is socially constructed. I introduce three more here, which I see as relevant to my work. Most central to CRT is the argument that racism is so enmeshed in society that it seems ordinary and goes

unchallenged (Delgado, 2000). This is seen, for example, when the university undergraduates in Okun's (2010) classrooms stated that since they have no racist intent, racism is no longer happening and has no current relevance. In the context of early childhood education, Brown, Souto-Manning, and Tropp Laman (2010) showed how racism is normalized in common educational practices, such as PTA (Parent-Teacher Association) meetings, which are often led by White middle class mothers, and accelerated reading programs, which provide reading materials to all students that portray mostly middle-class White characters and customs.

Critical race scholarship is thus focused on examining how racial and racialized categories have been socially constructed and have become deeply embedded in institutional and social practices. Nevertheless, as Crenshaw (1991) reminded us, to say that a category such as race or gender is socially constructed is not to say that that category has no significance in our world. On the contrary, a large and continuing project for subordinated people - and indeed, one of the projects for which postmodern theories have been very helpful - is thinking about the ways power has clustered around certain categories and is exercised against others. (pp. 1296-1297)

In order to examine how power clusters around categories, CRT avoids using politically correct code words for race, such as ethnicity, culture, and language.

A second key principle of CRT is intersectionality, which Crenshaw (1991) developed to capture the many fluid dimensions of a person's identity. Though Crenshaw focused on the intersections of race and gender, she acknowledged that this framework should be extended to include other "axes of domination" (Parker & Lynn,



2002, p. 10), such as class and age. I would add language to the possible axes of domination, for my research in the context of Quebec. Intersectionality, which has become one of the most important contributions in women's studies (McCall, 2012; Nash, 2008), challenges essentialist notions of fixed and biologically determined identity categories by emphasizing the fluid and ever-changing intersections of different dimensions of identity. For example, Crenshaw (1991) argued that when the domination of women of colour is treated as monocausal—that is, on the basis of either their gender or their race—rather than as a result of the intersection of sexism and racism, women's power to resist or subvert dominant structures is limited. Crenshaw highlighted the need to account for multiple dimensions of identity when trying to understand the social construction of individual realities. I see a parallel between intersectionality theory and Sarkar, Low, and Winer's (2007) intersecting axes of seen and heard in determining belonging in Quebec.

A third principle of CRT that resonates particularly well with my line of inquiry is that society justifies its position through stock stories (Delgado, 1989), or authoritative discourses. To challenge and expose the myths contained in those dominant narratives, CRT emphasizes paying attention to individual experiences and counterstories. Since reality is socially constructed, personal stories can help crack open dominant narratives. Counterstorytelling (Delgado, 1989) is the central method of CRT in challenging the objectivity of legal discourse. Although Delgado and Stefancic (1993) admitted that dominant narratives change very slowly because new stories are always based on old ones, counterstories can nevertheless “provide insight into the political, structural, and representational dimensions of the legal system” (Tate, 1997, p. 235). Thus

counterstorytelling, when interpreted through an ecosocial perspective, is a powerful means of exposing how lived experiences are shaped by, but also challenge and resist authoritative discourses.

Scholars in disciplines outside of legal studies have drawn on CRT to examine how different social processes have sustained different marginalizations. Before I introduce these offshoots of CRT, I discuss studies of how young children interpret and understand race.

### **Young children and the visible self.**

There has been quite a lot of attention given to children's awareness of racial stereotypes, dating back to Kenneth and Mamie Clark's doll tests in the 1940s.<sup>12</sup> However, as Connolly (2002) noted, these attitudinal tests of children's racial awareness reflect a common avoidance in social research of acknowledging children's subjective experiences with racism. They also reinforce a static view of race and racism. In contrast, Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001) and Michael-Luna's (2005, 2009) ethnographic studies explored children's perceptions of race and racism in social interactions. These researchers argued that children's socially constructed and negotiated

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<sup>12</sup> The doll test, more formally called the Colour Meaning Test (CMT), involves showing Black and White children dolls that are identical except one is Black and one is White. Children are asked a series of questions (e.g., which is the nice/ mean doll?; which one do you like best/ least?) and conclusions are drawn as to children's racial prejudices based on their choices. The test has been replicated many times and there are numerous examples on YouTube (see for example: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybDa0gSuAcg>).

perceptions need to be understood within discourses (e.g., in official policies) that perpetuate Whiteness as the norm.

Looking at three- and four-year old children on the playground at a highly rated multicultural preschool in the United States, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) found that the children adeptly used racial concepts to “interact and build and define the meaning of their own selves and the selves of others” (p. 89). For instance, White children experimented with their positions of power by excluding racialized children from participating in their games on the grounds that they were the wrong colour. In response, racialized children retreated from the interactions. With respect to children’s awareness of race-based meanings, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) suggested that “[t]he social toolbox is wide open and ready for children to use as their skills develop. When the nature of everyday discourse and practice is laden with racial-ethnic meanings, children, too, will make practical use of that discourse in everyday life” (p. 196). When the researchers shared their findings with the preschool teachers, these adults brushed off the significance of the findings and commented that young children cannot understand the implications of such discourses. However, this position is naïve: Van Ausdale and Feagin’s study is full of empirical evidence that belies this conception of children’s innocence. Children, just like adults, draw on the semiotic resources that are available to them to position and reposition themselves and others. This is clear, as well, in Connolly’s (2002) study at an inner-city primary school in the UK of how racism intervenes in five- and six-year old children’s lives and how it shapes their gender identities. These young children demonstrated remarkable competency in appropriating and reproducing racist and sexist discourses. Clearly, children can and do reproduce

racist discourses as they navigate and construct socially mediated knowledge (Boocock & Scott, 2007; Earick, 2010). While Van Ausdale and Feagin's and Connolly's work is revealing in terms of young children's perceptions and uses of race and racism, these researchers did not focus on linguistic identities. Michael-Luna's work, on the other hand, is particularly relevant to the framework I am developing in this thesis as she emphasized the links between linguistic, racial, and ethnic identities. As she found, "children negotiate multiple perspectives on race, language, and ethnicity in their different environments. . . [and] are constantly adapting, opposing, and negotiating these understandings" (Michael-Luna, 2009, p. 237).

In Canada, there have been decades of systematic erasure in official policy of any mention of race (Haque, 2012), this having been moved onto the terrain of language. In Montreal, the social toolbox is overflowing with language-laden discourses and practices, perhaps so much so that language trumps race (see Chapter Two). How, then, do young multilingual racialized children in Montreal experience or perceive their identities in different environments or places? And how does this influence their experiences of their multilinguality, and ultimately their language development and maintenance? Is Quebec so ideologically charged with regards to language (Winer, 2007) that the silence in academic discourse in Quebec around race and racism is reproduced at the level of personal experiences too? Research with multilingual youth in Montreal has shown that this is not the case (Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007). Indeed, racialized youth in Montreal are clearly aware of and can articulate their experiences of undergoing racism. For instance, the CRARR [Center for Research-Action on Race Relations], a Montreal-based non-profit civil rights organization, opens roughly 75 cases on racial discrimination per

year (listed on the center's homepage, <http://www.crarr.org/>). This, then, provides support for the theoretical framework that I am developing in this thesis, which accounts for both the subject-as-heard and the subject-as-seen.

### **Offshoots of critical race theory.**

As the CRT movement began to gain momentum in the United States, some scholars criticized the Black-White binary of CRT work as overshadowing the processes and experiences of racism and racialization of other minority and marginalized people. However, those who voiced this critique also recognized that CRT was based on principles that could be expanded to address experiences of racism and racialization that affect other Americans. There are now several offshoots of CRT: LatCrit (e.g., Delgado Bernal, 2001, 2002; Solórzano, 1998); AsianCrit (e.g., Chang, 1993; Teranishi, 2002); Queer-Crit (e.g., Arriola, 1994; Hutchinson, 1999); Critical Race Feminism (e.g., Matsuda, 1989; Wing & Weselmann, 1999); and TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2006; Haynes Writer, 2008). LatCrit and AsianCrit have focused primarily on immigration policy, language rights, the discursive construction of minorities, and accent-based discrimination, often in the context of education. LatCrit in particular, with its focus on story telling, or *testimonios* (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), is thriving in the US as a response to the failure of Latino/Latina educational studies of the past few decades to include the voices of Latino/Latina students (Fernandez, 2002).

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) are credited as the first to bridge CRT and educational studies. They used CRT as a tool to critique traditional forms of multicultural education, which reduce cultures to artefacts and culinary habits, what is sometimes referred to as the *saris and samosas* approach to multicultural education

(Steinbach, 2010). Also, they criticized the liberalist discourse that underlies multicultural education, which promotes an ideology of “unity of difference” (p. 62), creating very little space for acknowledgement of racism or racist structures. Since Ladson-Billings and Tate’s 1995 article, others have followed suit by drawing on CRT to examine various educational contexts (e.g., critical pedagogy, Parker & Stovall, 2004; higher education, Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; literacy studies, Rogers & Mosley, 2006; TESOL, Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009b; and teacher education, Subedi, 2007). Critical Race educational studies, or CRE (Tate, 1997), challenges dominant discourses by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

The year 2002 appears to signify a big push for CRT in educational research, as two journals, *Qualitative Inquiry* and *Equity and Excellence in Education*, had special issues dedicated to it. However, scholars have more recently noted the general silence on issues of racism in particular fields of education. For example, Kubota and Lin (2006, 2009a) argued that TESOL (Teaching English as a Second and Other Language) has been relatively void of research that has used CRT as an analytic lens even though the field is concerned with interactions between native speakers of English, who are socially constructed as White, and non-native speakers of English, who are socially constructed as non-White. One exception is Curtis and Romney’s (2006) collection of counterstory essays by racialized ESL teachers, which challenge the dominant social constructs of who is and who is not a native speaker of English. Like Ladson-Billings (2003), Kubota and Lin (2006, 2009a) and Kubota (2010) argued that CRT is a necessary perspective for critical multicultural education to avoid the well-documented essentialism in

multiculturalism discourse (e.g., Canadian CRT scholarship as represented by Bannerji, 2000; Mackey, 1999; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Thobani, 2007; Walcott, 2000). Kubota and Lin's (2009b) collection of essays by authors who use CRT as the main lens for looking at the intersections of race, culture, and identities in second language education represents a significant contribution to the field of TESOL.

Norton and Toohey (2011) underlined the importance of this contribution and reviewed studies of language learning that have linked race and identity (e.g., Curtis & Romney, 2006; Ibrahim, 1999; Kubota & Lin, 2009b; McKinney, 2007). This has been influencing the lens that language education researchers are using to understand identities. For example, in a study of racialized identities of TESOL teachers in the United States, Motha (2006) remarked, "I consider linguistic identities to be inextricable from racial identities because I believe Whiteness to be an intrinsic but veiled element of the construct of mainstream English" (p. 497). This echoes what critical race scholar, Wolfenstein (1993), wrote more than a decade earlier: "Languages have skin colours. There are white nouns and verbs, white grammar and white syntax. . . . indeed, language is white. If you don't speak white you will not be heard. . . [if] you don't look white, you will not be seen" (p. 59).<sup>13</sup>

Drawing on this association between Whiteness and English, Ruecker (2011) examined intersections of racism and native speakerism, which is the ideology that native speakers are the best teachers of a language, to understand inequalities in the field of

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<sup>13</sup> This has echoes of the theme of the powerful Quebec poem "Speak White," written in 1968 by Michèle Lalonde. Speak White was an insult used by English-speaking Canadians towards French-speaking Canadians outside of Quebec.

English language teaching. This increasing focus on how race interacts with language learning and identity in the field of TESOL is very encouraging to see. Yet, for the most part, the same connections have not been made in sociolinguistic theorizing on multilingualism, which often claims to be critical, but in my opinion is missing a large piece of the theoretical and analytical puzzle.

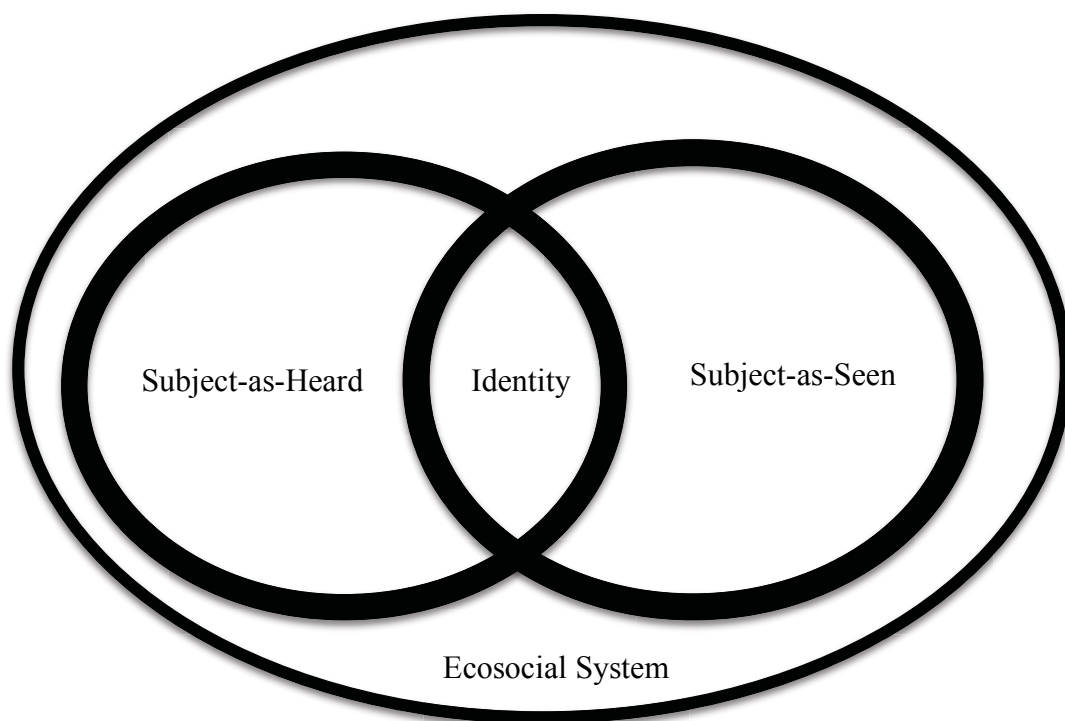
As is obvious from the numerous offshoots of CRT, the tenets of CRT have provided important insights in fields outside legal studies to shed light on how policies and laws that claim to be neutral and objective in fact perpetuate racial subordination (Delgado Bernal, 2002; for a detailed account of language policy in Canada and the racial ordering of Canadians, see Haque, 2012). I have been inspired by the work of Hill (2008, 2010), Matsuda (1991, 1996), and Sarkar, Low, and Winer (2007) and I believe that it is high time to make a connection to critical race theories in sociolinguistic theorizing on multilingualism and multilingual identities. I believe that my line of inquiry, therefore, calls for another offshoot of CRT, another Crit, as the analytical lens for my inquiry.

### **LangCrit: Critical Language and Race Theory**

For my theoretical framework, I am proposing an ecosocial perspective on identity, multilingualism, and language policy that accounts for the subject-as-heard and the subject-as seen, which I am calling LangCrit, or Critical Language and Race Theory. LangCrit is a framework that I believe will allow me to explore racialized multilingual children's ideological becomings. LangCrit is centrally interested in identity, and how identity is shaped by intersections of the subject-as-heard (language) and subject-as-seen (race); in other words, LangCrit makes it possible to theorize the interplay between language practices and socially constructed meanings associated with race, as well as



how boundaries around language and race are produced, negotiated, resisted, and maintained. This is depicted in Figure 3.1 below. The outer circle in the figure below represents the ecosocial system in which individuals and their social practices are nested.



**Figure 3.1: LangCrit**

Drawing on poststructuralist theories of language and multilingualism, as well as some tenets of critical race theory, LangCrit is a critical analytical lens that: 1) acknowledges that racism is commonplace in everyday society; 2) accounts for socially constructed and negotiated hierarchies and boundaries among social categories, such as language, identity, and race; 3) emphasizes local language practices and individual stories, yet also connects these to higher-impact local practices; and 4) sees nested relationships among different patches of interactions that are woven together through “webs of social relations” (Lemke, 1995, p. 30). Overall, LangCrit provides the lens through which I can

interpret how the axes of seen and heard intersect to shape an individual's ideological becoming.

In using LangCrit as the lens for my inquiry, I want to make it clear that I am not specifically looking for ways in which children are experiencing or have experienced racism or have been racialized. Rather, I believe this lens is a necessary reflection of the social discourses and ideologies that make up the current social toolbox in Montreal. In order to understand children's ideological becomings as situated and locally responsive, I need a theoretical framework that accounts for intersections of local and social ideologies, discourses, and practices. LangCrit is a critical lens for multilingualism research in Quebec, where issues of race have been swept under discussions of language. This is a lens that I aim to develop further in this thesis and I return to my articulation of LangCrit in light of the findings of this inquiry in Chapter Seven.

### **Chapter Summary**

I opened this chapter with a review of multilingualism scholarship in Montreal. What emerged from this was a general lack of attention given to preschool-aged children's experiences with multilingualism and how they position themselves in different social environments. I then justified my definitions of terms related to the subject-as-heard: identity, language, multilingualism, and translanguaging. In the next section, I provided a rationale for taking an ecosocial perspective on language policy, and discussed the three components of LP (language practices, language ideologies, and language management). In the following section of the chapter, I shifted my attention to the subject-as-seen. Drawing on several tenets of critical race theory, I proposed a theoretical framework for my sociolinguistic inquiry on multilingualism that I coined

LangCrit, Critical Language and Race Theory. In Chapter Four, which follows, I describe and justify the methodology of my inquiry.

## **Chapter Four: Methodology**

“Let’s play the monster game where you hide.” (James, age 4)

### **Chapter Overview**

In this chapter, I begin by presenting the questions that guided the inquiry. Then, I discuss the methodological approach I used and the foundational principle of doing research *with* children. I elaborate on how this influenced how I positioned myself in the inquiry. This leads into a brief description of the Japanese community in Montreal, followed by how I made contact with participants, steps I took to gain consent and assent, and details about the participants themselves. After this, I describe how I generated data with the participants and how I interpreted the data. The chapter closes with some reflections on evaluating quality in qualitative research.

### **Guiding Questions**

There were several questions that guided this inquiry. These emerged from my understandings of the literature on language policy, identity, multilingualism, and critical race theory. The questions are also informed by my experiences as a parent.

1. What language practices do the Japanese-Canadian children who participated in this inquiry engage in as they move through different social contexts?
2. How do they perceive their multilinguality?
3. In what ways, if any, do visible aspects of their own or others’ identities shape the children’s language practices?

I address these questions in my interpretations of the data in Chapter Six and return to them more specifically in the concluding chapter (Chapter Seven).

## Case Study Approach

For this inquiry I used an exploratory case study approach (Yin, 2012) to address the above questions with four Japanese-Canadian children in a series of visits I made to them in their homes. Yin based his definition of case study in a social constructivist paradigm, which sees reality and truth as socially constructed through interactions, rather than as fixed and observable entities. A case study approach allowed me to collaborate closely with the participants, which as I discuss below, was a central aspect of my methodology. Case study research can reveal diversity and heterogeneity of experience in local and specific contexts through what Geertz (1973, 1994) called thick description; that is, by delving into the particularities of individual lives within their social contexts. McCall (2012), who drew on a feminist framework and Crenshaw's (1991) theory of intersectionality, argued that case study can be used "to identify a new or invisible group—at the intersection of multiple categories—and proceed to uncover the differences and complexities of experience embodied in that location" (p. 1782). This aspect of case study research fits nicely with my discussion of an ecosocial perspective in Chapter Three.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) introduced a methodology they called ethnography of language policy (LP). Johnson (2009) defined this as "grounded in the philosophy that critical analyses of language policy texts should be combined with empirical data collection on policy interpretation and appropriation in some local educational context" (p. 156). Though I share their interest in describing the different processes of language policy, I cannot call my inquiry an ethnography of language policy. Like Hornberger and Johnson (2007), one of my goals is to show that language policy is not only something written in texts, but is also locally experienced. However, I do not

see my inquiry as an ethnography, but rather as a set of case studies because of the relatively limited time I spent with the children, and because of the active role I had in generating data with the children. The way I understand ethnography is that data are generated over a long period of time through participant observation, which can include interviews, participation in the life of the community, and direct observation. In contrast, in my inquiry, I tried to minimize my role as an observer as much as possible. Nevertheless, I feel that with a case study approach, I can still contribute to conversations among ethnographers of language policy.

One issue that case study researchers seem to grapple with is how to bind the case(s) in their study; that is, what categories are used to define what is and is not included in a case (e.g., Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2003; Yin, 2012). In my opinion, this debate is relatively futile, as each researcher will make decisions about who to include and who not to include, based on their research intentions and questions. Also, the idea of fixed boundaries is one that does not sit easily with a poststructuralist ecosocial perspective. Though I will not discuss how I bound the cases (individual children) in my inquiry, I am of course, responsible for being transparent about my decision-making processes. This chapter is largely dedicated to tracing these processes as clearly and as honestly as I can. To begin with, I address two basic decisions I made: Who to research with and when.

I chose to do this inquiry with young Japanese-Canadian children because they are a population I am familiar with. This choice turned out to be very important. We had common linguistic and cultural reference points. As I wrote in my fieldnotes:

This type of work would be really difficult with children whose languages I don't speak or understand at all. When James made a reference to "Sampo" [the theme song for the Japanese animation movie *Totoro*], I wouldn't have known what he was talking about if I wasn't familiar with *Totoro*. (fieldnotes, December 10, 2012)<sup>14</sup>

Also, the children spoke to their moms in Japanese and it was really helpful that I could understand what they were saying. I was already familiar with many of the Japanese books or toys they had, as well as Japanese holidays and traditions, and this shared knowledge helped foster a connection with the children. Finally, because I speak some Japanese, we sometimes engaged in translanguaging and moved fluidly between English and Japanese to negotiate meaning. I am sure that the data we generated together would have been less rich had I not been able to connect with the children in this way.

With respect to when to do this inquiry, my goal was to generate the data over the winter months. I imagined it would be a more convenient time to arrange visits with the families, as they would be less likely to be busy with activities and holidays. It turned out I was right. All of the participating families took trips in the spring and summer just after my last home visits. I started to look for participants in November 2012. The inquiry took place over a period of six months between December 2012 and June 2013, when I made a series of visits to the children in their homes (see Table 3.1 later in this chapter for the home visit schedule). During the visits, the children and I engaged in various types of activities, such as imaginative play, drawing, and reading stories, which created contexts for conversations. I discuss these in detail in Chapter Five.

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<sup>14</sup> All names are pseudonyms.

## Doing Research *with* Children

The guiding principle of my methodology was doing research *with* children, not about them. This line of research would have been more difficult a few decades ago. Indeed, Boocock (in Boocock & Scott, 2007) wrote about the resistance she met with when she proposed a study of how social change was affecting children in the 1970s. She was asked to justify why children's perspectives were important, what children could possibly tell adults, and how she could be sure that children would tell her the truth. She remarked on the difficulty of getting funding in the 1980s for sociological research on childhood. However, in the 1990s, in the wake of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child, which was adopted in 1989, a new wave of scholarly activity on childhood started to emerge, promoted in large part by James and Prout's (1990) articulation of a paradigm for the study of childhood. This posited several main principles: 1) childhood is not a given, but a socially constructed component of some (but not all) societies; 2) children's perspectives need to be studied in their own right and not on the basis of adults' perspectives; and 3) children are active agents in determining their own social lives. James and Prout (1997) called this the new sociology of childhood and argued that it would play a role in reconstructing childhood. As evidence of the rising childhood scholarship since 1990, a decade later in 2000, at the opening of the Rutgers Center for Children and Childhood Studies, Dr. Myra Bluebond-Langer predicted that "childhood studies will be to the twenty-first century what women's studies was to the twentieth century" (Boocock & Scott, 2007, p. xiii).

This field of study has raised questions about how children are positioned in and through research and what it means at a practical, moment-to-moment level to engage



ethically in research with children (Phelan & Kinsella, 2012). Scholars are citing sociocultural perspectives of children as active inquirers, knowledgeable agents, and social actors as more appropriate for childhood research than treating children as objects to be researched *about* (e.g., Christensen & James, 2008; Dyson, 2001; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; James, 2001; James & Prout, 1997; Lewis, 2004; Maguire, 2005; Mayall, 2008). Yet, despite the rise in sociocultural approaches and talk of the child as agent, Janzen (2008) discovered that in early childhood education journals the trend still seems to be research *about* children, rather than *with* children, leading her to ask: “Where are the children in childhood research?” (p. 289).

If childhood studies, a discipline dedicated to understanding the experiences of children, is still struggling to include children’s perspectives in research focused on issues that directly affect their lives, then it is easy to imagine that this might be occurring in other areas of scholarship as well. Sure enough, there is evidence of this circling above children in sociolinguistic scholarship on family language policies and bilingual language socialization of young children as well. While this literature (e.g., Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Bourgogne, 2012; Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Kahn, 2005; Morris & Jones, 2007; Pérez Báez, 2013; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010; Wang, 2008) has investigated parents’ perspectives, life histories, and their language planning strategies, all of which shape the language environments of their children, researchers’ understandings have not been informed by the children’s perspectives, even though they are also active members in their families.

Overlooking children’s perspectives could perpetuate the belief that children are inferior beings whose opinions are not worthy of including in research (Howe & Covell,

2005; Mayall, 2008). Of course, there is value in gathering and documenting parents' perspectives, yet there is also a danger of interpreting such data as representative of children's own understandings and meanings (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). As Morrow (2009) reported, children's views about what is important to them may differ from those of adults, including parents and policy makers. Janzen (2008) called for more research that provides opportunities and spaces for children to co-construct knowledge, cultures, and identities. I believe, like Lewis (2004), that researching with children is crucial to advancing our understandings of "how they develop and live their lives. . .[and how] outcomes can impact directly and indirectly on the lives of those researched and others in similar situations" (p. 1; also Greene & Hogan, 2005; Morrow, 2009). Thus, the emphasis on research *with* children is the key feature of the methodology of my inquiry and it had a significant impact on my positioning as a researcher, on how I approached the children as knowledgeable and as active inquirers, and on the negotiated approaches we used to generate data.

In this inquiry, I did speak with parents, but these conversations were not the main focus of the inquiry. I used what I learned from the parents to better understand the children; however, my main goal was to research *with* the children, co-create contexts for having conversations with them, listen to and validate their knowledge, and respect the identities they performed. In Chapter Five, I reflect on how (and whether) I achieved this goal.

### **Being a Humble Researcher**

There are many ways to be a researcher. I chose to try to be a humble researcher, meaning someone who is genuinely interested in and who respects what the participants

say and do (Graue & Walsh, 1998). This fits nicely with the notion of living ethical practice that Groundwater-Smith (2011) proposed, which calls for researchers to “put ourselves and our academic egos to one side and think instead of the well-being of those who are often vulnerable and lacking in power” (p. 209). This inquiry took place in the children’s homes, on their turf, and I could not see taking any other position as a researcher.

I should clarify that in being a humble researcher, I was not in any way trying to diminish the inherent power relationship between the children and myself. Some researchers have attempted to do this either by participating in children’s activities as one of them or by being a mere observer, like a fly on the wall (e.g., Corsaro, 1981; Mandell, 1991; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Yet, attempts to be less of an adult can lead to serious limitations. For example, as Corsaro (1981) found, the nursery children he wanted to play with wouldn’t let “Big Bill” play with them because he was simply “too big” (p. 117). Obviously, children know that adults are not children and, like Mayall (2008), I feel that it is my responsibility as a researcher to acknowledge, rather than try to minimize, power differentials.

As an adult and a researcher, I held decision-making powers that shaped the contexts that the children and I co-created at a certain level. I made decisions with the children’s parents about when I would visit and for how long. I made decisions about what I would bring with me to each home visit in my craft bag. During the actual visits, however, decision-making power was not all mine: that was negotiated. The children quickly discovered that when I came to visit, they would have an adult’s undivided attention, someone who was there to spend time with them, doing things they liked doing.

As a result, the children were often largely in charge of the direction of our engagements and they easily rejected my suggestions without hesitation if they were not interested in what I proposed.

An important decision I had to make when conceptualizing this inquiry was how many times to visit each child. In the consent form, I wrote that I would like to make roughly six visits, and the parents agreed with this number. However, the children were not counting the number of times I came to visit, and I wanted to mark my last visit somehow. I decided to do this by giving the children each a book and thanking them for spending time with me. I felt that this would help create some closure. I chose a different book for each child and wrote a small message to them on the inside cover. There were other circumstances that led to a fairly natural end to our visits with each family: with two families, the last visit was within a week of trips to Japan; with the other family, the last visit took place a week before they moved back into their newly renovated house. Also, just as I was wrapping up the home visits, my daughter Mia started to attend Saturday Japanese classes at the Japanese Language Centre, where all the child participants also went. This made leaving the scene easier because I was able to tell the children that I would see them at school on Saturdays. We have since shared smiles and sometimes high-fives in the hallway.

### **Negotiating expectations.**

Relinquishing of authoritative researcher control and aiming instead for negotiation and co-created contexts for conversations was a crucial aspect of my methodology; however, it did not always meet with the mothers' expectations of my role as a researcher. For example, during my first visit with James (the second home visit),

when his mom, Natsumi, saw us playing with toy cars, she urged me to ask him anything I wanted (Dec. 5, 2012). I felt she was expecting me to be more directive with him. I sensed this with Taichi's mom, Yuki, as well. During my first visit with Taichi (the second home visit), Yuki asked me if "free play" was okay (Feb. 8, 2013). Natsumi and Yuki both seemed surprised at my non-directive approach with their children. Before I left those visits, I reassured them that what the children and I were doing was fine in terms of my expectations. From that point on, Natsumi seemed more relaxed about my visits with James. Yuki, on the other hand, suggested that we meet at their local public library for subsequent visits so that her son, Taichi, would be less inclined to play and more inclined to listen to me and do what I asked him to do. I had to respect Yuki's request and because Taichi was very familiar with the library, this ended up working out well. I think Sayumi (Elizabeth and Henry's mom), too, was surprised at the approach I took with her children. As we were drinking tea at the end of a home visit (home visit 4, Jan. 28, 2013), she asked me what I thought I might learn by playing with her children. From the perspective of a mother who spends a lot of time playing with her own children, I can understand this question: What could this relative stranger possibly learn about my children by doing what I do with them everyday? The key, of course, is that I was not aiming to learn about the children, but from them and with them.

For me, being a humble researcher means respecting the people I am engaging with and trying my best not to impose my own agenda, but not minimizing the inherent power that comes with being an adult interacting with children; it involves listening attentively and being as non-directive as possible. Within this climate of respect, there

were several types of activities I engaged in with the children, which were very productive for generating data. I discuss these in detail in Chapter Five.

Before I describe how I made contact with the families, I provide a brief description of the Japanese community in Montreal. After this, I discuss the processes of the inquiry and I introduce the children.

### **Japanese Community in Montreal**

According to the 2011 census, there are about 2000 Japanese people living in Montreal, which accounts for less than 1% of the population of the city. Just over half (1280) marked Japanese as a mother tongue and only about one quarter (510) marked Japanese as the main language spoken at home (Statistics Canada, 2011). I suspect this is because many of the Japanese adults in Montreal are in mixed unions with non-Japanese partners. I am not sure whether children of mixed unions, such as mine, are included in the count for Japanese people, so I take these demographic numbers as estimations.

In Montreal, as in other Canadian cities, there is no Japan Town. This is a legacy of the Canadian government's disgraceful treatment of Japanese people in Canada during and after the Second World War. In the War Measures Act of 1942, the government ordered the dismantling of the Japanese community in British Columbia. Over 20,000 Japanese Canadians were stripped of their citizenship rights, forced to leave their homes on the west coast, and put in internment camps, mainly in the interior of British Columbia. At the end of the war, Japanese were given two choices: They could relocate somewhere east of BC or they could repatriate to Japan. Note that they were not given the choice to return to the west coast until almost four years after the end of WWII. In any case, their homes there had already been sold. Also, the idea of repatriation was seriously flawed,

since the majority were Canadian, not Japanese citizens. In effect, this forced Japanese to scatter across the country (Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee [MJCHC], 1998). During this period, many Japanese specifically avoided gathering in groups in order not to draw unnecessary negative attention. Many of the Japanese who live in Montreal now are more recent immigrants (often married to a Canadian), or are in Montreal on student or work visas.

Due to the relatively scattered nature of Japanese people in Canada, and Montreal, community organizations have played an important role in cities across the country. The Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre of Montreal (JCCCM) was founded in 1975 and continues to be an important meeting place and cultural centre for Japanese and non-Japanese in Montreal. It holds an annual Matsuri Japon (Japan Festival) in August and offers Japanese second language classes and flower arrangement classes, as well as a playgroup for young children (*kodomo-kai*). It also has a library with Japanese books and newspapers.

There are two Japanese heritage language schools in Montreal for children and youth. The Montreal Japanese Language Centre (JLC), which was founded in 1976, offers a two-hour program on Saturday mornings, for children aged three and up. The JLC follows the Japanese school year, with three semesters (Spring, Fall, Winter). The JLC is popular for children of mixed unions. The children I engaged with in this inquiry all attended the JLC at the time of the inquiry. The JLC has recently started offering Japanese as a second language classes for youth and adults. The second heritage language option is the Hoshuko (Japanese Supplementary School), which is a full-day Saturday school that follows the Japanese curriculum. This was founded in 1972.

Students here tend to be children of temporary visitors and workers who aim to return to Japan.

The JLC and the JCCCM were both locations I turned to when I started to look for participants. I now turn to describing how I made contact with the families who participated in this inquiry.

### **Making Contact and Schedule of Visits**

I received ethical approval for my inquiry in October 2012 and started to look for participants in November. The process of making contact with each of the three participating families (one family had two children who participated in the inquiry) was quite different, so I discuss each separately here.

#### **Dale family.**

In November, I emailed the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre of Montreal (JCCCM) and the Japanese Language Centre (JLC) asking for permission to put up a bilingual Japanese and English flier<sup>15</sup> (see Appendix A) advertising my study on their announcement boards. The JCCCM replied the next day and said they would do that as well as hand out the flier to the mothers who attended a Friday morning playgroup (*kodomo-kai*) with their children. Though I greatly appreciate their efforts, I did not have any responses from parents at the JCCCM.

I did not receive an email reply from the JLC, but the president of the JLC lives in my neighbourhood (our families occasionally socialize together), so I followed up with

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<sup>15</sup> I did not translate the original English flier into French. Because I was posting it in Japanese community centres and on a Japanese website, it was essential that it be written in Japanese.



her in person regarding my email request. She offered to put up my fliers on the JLC announcement board. I posted an abbreviated version of the Japanese part of the flier on the From Montreal website (<http://www.from-montreal.com>), which is a community forum for Japanese people in Montreal. In early December, I received an email from a mother, Yuki Dale, who said she was interested in learning more about the study. She had seen my ad on the From Montreal website and her husband, Marco, had seen it at the JLC. This was the only family I made contact with through the fliers and online advertisement.

The members of the Dale family are: Yuki (mother - Japanese), Marco (father – Italian-Canadian from Montreal), Taichi (age 4), and Kazu (age 18 months).

#### **Moore family.**

The Moore family is made up of Natsumi (mother - Japanese) and Ian (father – Anglophone Canadian) and their three children, Aya (age 2), James (age 4), and Oscar (age 9). They live in my neighbourhood, and although I had seen them a few times in the park, I did not know them well. When I spoke with the president of the JLC about putting up my flier at the school, she suggested I contact Natsumi. She knew Natsumi's four-year-old son, James, was going to daycare part time, and thought she might be interested in my research. When I called Natsumi, she was eager to participate and wanted to get started with the home visits right away. We had our first home visit the next week.

#### **Evans family.**

The members of the Evans family are: Sayumi (mother – Japanese), Peter (father – British) and their two children, Henry (age 6), and Elizabeth (age 4). I made contact

with the Evans family thanks to a rather unusual coincidence. Earlier in the fall, I bought a snowsuit, which had been posted in the classifieds section of the From Montreal website, for one of my daughters. When I went to pick it up, the mother of the family, Sayumi, was home alone. We started chatting about our children and I learned that she has two preschool-aged children who are growing up trilingual. We talked a bit about raising multilingual children. I did not have ethical approval for my study at this time, so could not say much about it, but as I was leaving, I asked her if I could contact her again once I had approval to talk to her about my research project. She very willingly agreed.

### **Home Visits**

For this inquiry, I decided that the best environment in which to research *with* the children was in their homes, where they are most comfortable. I made six home visits to the Evans and the Moore families. I made four to the Dale family, two at their home and two at their local library. The visits ranged between one and two hours. The scheduling of the home visits was quite different with the three families, as I did my best to work around their already very busy schedules. The one commonality was that in the first visit with each family, I spoke primarily with the parents. With the Dale family, I spoke mostly with Marco, the dad, but with the other families, I spoke only with the moms (the dads were at work). I spent the rest of the home visits engaging with the children. The mothers were always present, but generally stayed in another room. Table 3.1 below shows the schedule of the home visits for each family.

Visit Date and Time	Length of Visit
<b>Moore Family</b>	
1. Mon., Dec. 3, 2012, 10am	1 hr
2. Wed., Dec. 5, 2012, 10 am	1 hr
3. Mon., Dec. 10, 2012, 10am	1 hr
4. Fri., Dec. 14, 2012, 10am	1 hr 30 min
5. Fri., Jan. 18, 2013, 10am	2 hrs
6. Fri. Feb. 22, 2013, 10am	1 hr 30 min
	(Total: 8 hrs)
<b>Evans Family</b>	
1. Tues., Dec. 11, 2012, 1:30pm	1 hr
2. Thurs., Jan. 17, 2013, 2pm	1 hr 30 min
3. Mon., Jan. 21, 2013, 2pm	1 hr 30 min
4. Mon., Jan. 28, 2013, 2pm	2 hrs
5. Thurs., Feb. 14, 2013, 1pm	2 hrs
6. Thurs., Mar. 14, 2013, 1pm	2 hrs
	(Total: 10 hrs)
<b>Dale Family</b>	
1. Sun., Feb. 3, 2013, 2pm	1 hr 30 min
2. Fri., Feb. 8, 2013, 1:30pm	1 hr 30 min
3. Fri. May 24, 2013, 1pm	2 hrs
4. Tues. June 18, 2013, 10am	2 hrs
	(Total: 7 hrs)

**Table 4.1: Home visit schedule**

At times, there were long gaps between visits. These were due to various factors, such as illness, schedule conflicts, and holidays. When I introduce the children below, I provide more details about the schedule of visits. First, however, I discuss the important issue of gaining informed consent from parents and assent from the children.

### **Consent and Assent**

During the first home visit, the parents gave informed consent for their children to participate in the study; they also all agreed to have the home visits audio recorded (see Appendix B for Consent Form). When going over the consent form, I explained that I would follow the interests of the children and that I did not feel that I had to do the activities I listed as possibilities on the form.

In addition to gaining informed consent from the parents, there were other steps I took to make sure that my research was ethical, since the young children could not give written consent to participate. I should point out that the steps I took were guided not only by what was required as per McGill's policies for research with human participants, but also by my positioning as a humble researcher, as someone who wanted to respect the choices and perspectives of the children, and by my aim to engage in living ethical research.

Maguire (2005) noted that surprisingly little attention has been given to the importance of children's assent in policies for research with human participants. Though children's assent is now acknowledged in McGill's most recent policy on the ethical conduct of research involving human subjects (McGill University, 2008a), I agree with Maguire that the policy does not give enough importance to the process of gaining assent. The policy states that parental informed consent for children participants under the age of 18 is necessary, yet not sufficient (Article 2.5), and McGill's Research Ethics Boards (REBs) require verbal assent from children. This sounds fine, but they also ask researchers to include in the REB application a copy of the script used to explain the study to the children (McGill University, 2008b). McGill's requirement for a script is quite at odds with how conversations with children actually happen; however, because it was required, I included a script in my ethics application. The ethical approval process became somewhat of a "bureaucratic hurdle to be satisfied" (Groundwater-Smith, 2011, p. 202). I did talk with the children about why I was there (to learn about their languages), but it never came out as it was written on the script. In addition to including a script in my ethics applications, I went to great lengths to show how I would respect the children's

decision-making capabilities and always be on the look out for signs of distress or discomfort. I had done more than what was legally required, and the process left me feeling that McGill's approach to assent from children is still lacking. As Masson (2004) rightly pointed out, "not everything that is legal is ethical" (p. 43). She was writing about ethical issues in doing research with children, but this statement rings true in other policy contexts as well. Groundwater-Smith's (2011) observation resonates with my experience. She wrote

For many academic researchers the governance of the ethical conduct of their inquiries is managed, not by *their* own ethical stance but by the determinations of the university's human research ethics committees, whose intentions may differ from those of the researcher. (p. 201; emphasis in original)

Part of my commitment to living ethical practice was to find a balance between McGill's REB requirements and my own intentions to respect the children. McGill's Article 2.5 does not reflect the actual creativity and flexibility required to gain assent from young children; this is not a scripted or one-time step, but rather a dynamic and ongoing process (Maguire, 2005; Phelan & Kinsella, 2012). The most recent Tri-Council policy statement on ethical conduct for research involving humans (CIHR, NSERC, SSHRC, 2010) takes a somewhat more flexible approach to the researcher's responsibility to children. It states that although children cannot participate without parental consent, the researcher must also be on the lookout for signs of distress or dissent, which must be respected (Article 3.10). I took this more seriously in my engagements with the children than I did the scripted version of assent required by McGill's REB.

Negotiating assent from the children occurred at several stages. The first time I met with the children, I asked them if they knew why I was there. James said, “To play with me” (home visit 2, Dec. 5, 2012).<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth said, “You want to know about our words” (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013). Their mothers, of course, had chosen different ways to explain my visits to their children. When I first met Sayumi, Henry and Elizabeth’s mom, she said to Henry as he passed by the dining room table where we were sitting, “She’s the one who is here to ask the language questions” (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012).

For each visit, from the moment I entered into the children’s homes, I was always on the lookout for signs of disinterest in talking to me or engaging with me. But, every time I arrived for a visit, the children were happy to see me. Their mothers often told me that the children had been looking forward to my visits. For instance, on the mornings of our visits, James would repeatedly ask his mom if it was 10 o’clock yet as he knew that was when I would arrive at his house.

The ongoing process of gaining assent also included looking for signs of unease throughout each visit. Yet, because we were in the children’s homes (with the exception of two visits with Taichi at the nearby local public library) and their mothers were always nearby in another room, the children were very relaxed. They felt free to leave the room if they wanted to. The only time the children showed any resistance was when I suggested doing activities that did not interest them, but I never felt that my ideas caused distress. Like Nutbrown and Hannon (2003), I found that the children were very good at

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<sup>16</sup> Please note that for all children, home visit 2 was the first time I engaged with them. In home visit 1, I met with the parents.

saying no if they did not want to do something. The only slight discomfort I sensed during this inquiry was my own, and only once, when Elizabeth and Henry started to play the Let's Tickle Alison game and I wanted them to stop. Overall, I truly enjoyed the time I spent with the children and based on what I heard from their moms and what I saw in the children's behaviours, they felt the same.

I received permission from parents to audio record the home visits. I also asked the children if I could record them. My strategy was to take two digital voice recorders (DVRs) with me for each visit. One was tucked in a pocket and the other one was sometimes used as a toy. During the first visit with the children, I showed them the DVR and asked them if they knew what it was. Henry and Elizabeth did. As Henry said, "My dad has one of those" (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013). They were not very interested in the DVR. Taichi and James had never seen one before and both spent some time playing with it. They practiced recording themselves and listening back to what they had said. I asked all the children if I could keep recording us so that I would not forget what we had talked about. They all agreed.

I have thus far mentioned the children only in passing. It is now time to introduce them in more detail.

### **Introducing the Children**

In this section I introduce the children with whom I had the great pleasure of engaging in this inquiry. I draw here on the conversations I had with the parents during the first home visits, as well as my fieldnotes, in order to develop a contextualized understanding of the children's language socialization environments and their interests. I also discuss the schedule of home visits in more detail.

### **James.**

James (age 4) is a middle child. He has an older brother, Oscar (age 9), and a younger sister, Aya (age 2). His mom, Natsumi, is from Japan. She teaches Japanese at the Japanese Language Centre on Saturday mornings. His dad, Ian, is from Caucasian-Canadian from British Columbia and is a doctor. At the time of this inquiry, the family was living in a rented apartment while their house was being renovated. The family tries to take a trip to Japan every year.

I first met James in December 2012. At that time, he was obsessed with airplanes and toy Mini Cooper cars. He had recently been on a trip to Hawaii where his family met up with his Baba and Jiji (grandparents). His dad had recently bought a new car, which was a Mini Cooper. My first home visit with James was the day after his fourth birthday and he have been given a big toy airplane as a gift. He also really liked construction machines, perhaps because of the major renovations being done on his home, as well as cars, and liked to show me how he could name different types of cars. When we met after Christmas, his interests had shifted to killer whales. I imagine this was partly because of the trip to BC the family was planning for the summer, but also because of the story in the news about the killer whales trapped in the ice in Hudson Bay in January, 2013 (Blinch, 2013).

At the time of the inquiry, James went part-time to two daycares. He called one the train school because it is near a train station. He went there three mornings a week. The other one is a YMCA daycare and he went there two full days a week. He called this Jen's school. Natsumi decided not to send him full time to daycare because if she had, she felt he would never speak Japanese. Both daycares are English-speaking. James



liked the train school better because of the shorter days and because he didn't have to eat lunch there. As Natsumi said, at the YMCA daycare, he has to nap, but doesn't like to nap, and he has to eat, but doesn't like to eat. He has always been a picky eater. He cried every morning for the first year he went to this daycare. Natsumi described James as a homebody who likes to spend time playing on his own at home. On Saturday mornings, James goes to Japanese class at the Japanese Language Centre. It took him awhile to get used to it, but he loves it now.

The language rule Natsumi has with her children is that they have to speak to her in Japanese; however, Natsumi admits that she sometimes forgets and talks to them in English, especially if Ian (her husband) is around. If James talks to her in English and she reminds him, he will switch to Japanese. She said that he knows he has to speak Japanese with his Baba and Jiji (her parents) and at Japanese school. Ian doesn't speak Japanese and at home, mostly English is spoken, especially on the weekends. The kids speak English amongst themselves. Natsumi said that she tries to read mostly in Japanese with James, but doesn't have a huge selection of books in Japanese. She also said she doesn't really like the stories in a lot of the Japanese books for children, although they have cute illustrations. She was in the habit of taking James to the local children's library at least once a week, and he picked English books there. During the home visits, we often looked at his library books together. The topics reflected his interests at the time, so at first, we looked at books about airplanes, and later, killer whales. I asked Natsumi if she tries to bring more Japanese into the house through movies or television, but she said not really because James is "scared of everything, so he doesn't want to watch" (Natsumi, home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012).

Natsumi wants her children to be able to speak French in addition to English and Japanese in their futures. James' older brother, Oscar, is in a French immersion elementary school. Natsumi said that Oscar's French is quite good, but he never speaks it at home or with his friends, only in stores or when it is necessary. For example, she sometimes asks him to speak on the phone if someone calls in French. Otherwise, it is a "school language" (home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012). When I asked Natsumi if James had any awareness of French, she replied, "No. It's embarrassing. We recently went apple picking and everyone was speaking French and he said in a very big voice on the [wagon], why are they speaking French?" (home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012). She then commented on the difficulty in finding a French daycare in the part of Montreal where she lives. Many daycares advertise as bilingual, but as she said, "[the] kids speak English, and especially at his daycare, most teachers are English. Many of them don't even speak French at all" (home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012).

Natsumi talked quite a lot about her and her husband's decision to send their children to English school, rather than French. At first, they thought they would send Oscar to French school, but then decided on English school to ensure that their grandchildren would be eligible for English school.<sup>17</sup> She is very happy with the English school Oscar attends. She feels it is like a private school because it is small and there are no issues with bullying because there "aren't too many cultures" (home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012). She explained that she likes cultures, but she had heard bullying is a much bigger issue in French schools.

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<sup>17</sup> Eligibility for English public school in Quebec is based, in part, on whether the parents attended English elementary school in Quebec or another part of Canada.

When they visited Japan in the past, Oscar really wanted to go to school, since he is very outgoing. They contacted the local elementary school and Oscar attended part of grade 1 and grade 3 there. Natsumi doubted, however, that James would want to do that because his character is so different from Oscar's. She said that when they go to Japan, her children get a lot of attention "because they're half. . . here, they think they're Asian, but there they think Caucasian. . . half is still kind of special in Japan. Not here. It's normal" (home visit 1, Dec. 3, 2012).<sup>18</sup>

I visited James four times in December before Christmas. He was on holiday from one of his daycares, so he was at home more than usual and it was easy to find time to visit. I visited him again once in January and again a month later in February. This long break between the last two visits was due to illness and schedule conflicts (mostly from my end). The last time I visited was shortly before the family moved back to their renovated house. James was excited to be moving to his new home. I gave James a book called *Jack's House* by Karen Beil. He liked the pictures of the construction machines.

James and I got along easily. When I visited, his older brother was always at school, but Aya was home. James liked being the big sibling and was eager to show me around his house and show me his favourite toys and books. Sometimes Aya would play with us, but Natsumi would come and take her out of the room if she thought Aya was interrupting the visit with James. My visits were meant just for James and I think that undivided attention was something quite special for him. He was often sad when I left.

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<sup>18</sup> I use elipsis in data excerpts and vignettes to indicate a deletion. I explain my transcription processes in detail later in this chapter.

### **Henry and Elizabeth.**

Henry (age 6) and Elizabeth (age 4) are brother and sister. Henry loved soccer, swimming, and doing crafts. He also liked numbers and math. Elizabeth loved her gymnastics class, and also singing and dancing. Their Mom, Sayumi, is Japanese and their Dad, Peter, is Caucasian from England. Sayumi and Peter met in Montreal. They are both very interested in language learning and Peter has a B.Ed TESL degree and teaches ESL. They are highly invested in supporting their children's trilingualism and have made some conscious decisions regarding how to do this.

When Henry was two years old and Elizabeth was six weeks old, the family moved to Japan for two years, where both parents taught English. At this time, the children were socialized in two languages. Sayumi commented on Henry's finely tuned ability to read social situations and adjust his language practices accordingly.

When we were in Japan, my son was two and three and I was teaching English and I was working with lots of [Japanese] mothers who also speak English or who stayed in the States or who had experience with English and speak really good English. When those people spoke to him in English, he would speak back to them in English. But, there's some others who want to learn English and when they spoke to him in English, he answered back in Japanese. I thought that was really funny. (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012)

When they came back to Montreal, Henry was four and entered an alternative French preschool in the mornings. Elizabeth started to go there when she was three. They will both stay in that school for their elementary education. They also attend Japanese classes on Saturday mornings at the Japanese Language Centre.

Before Sayumi and Peter had children, they decided that they would speak their respective first languages with their children. Sayumi only reads Japanese books to the children and Peter only reads English books.<sup>19</sup> The children rarely watch television and only occasionally watch an English DVD with their dad. They listen mostly to English music (dad's choice), but also some Japanese children's songs and nursery rhymes (mom's choice).

According to Sayumi, English is used most at home; however, when I asked her what she thinks her children's first language might be, she said she doesn't know yet. Peter doesn't speak Japanese, so when he is around, Sayumi speaks English. Outside of home, her guideline has been that if there is someone else there who speaks only English, she will too, but the conversations just between her and the children should be in Japanese. She said that the children used to speak mostly Japanese with each other, but at the time of the inquiry, it was more of an equal mix between English and Japanese, with some French.

Henry was in his third year of French preschool when we met. When he is seven, he will start grade 1 at the same school and will go full days. In his first year at the preschool, when he was four, he played with other English-speaking children and it took him some time to start speaking French. But then he became good friends with a French-

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<sup>19</sup> The three sets of parents I met during this inquiry espouse the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) approach to raising multilingual children (Bourgogne, 2012; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Wang, 2008). The children who already speak French (Henry, Elizabeth, and Taichi) have learned it through daycare or preschool and extra-curricular activities in French. James will attend a French-immersion public school next year.

speaking student. As Sayumi shared, with his friends, “they decide when everyone there speaks English, they speak English, but if someone joins who speaks French, they switch to French” (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012). Elizabeth was in her second year at the French preschool and had an easier transition into French, probably because she had already seen her brother get used to it. Sayumi was puzzled by why her daughter’s English seemed to be lagging in comparison to the other two languages even though Elizabeth spends a lot of time with her dad and when they are in the community, they speak mostly English.

For part of each year, the family takes in a boarder, a student from Japan who is in Montreal to study English. As Sayumi said, having another person in the house who speaks Japanese “gives a lot of dimension to the language” (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012). Interestingly, when Sayumi and Peter first talked about taking an international student, they wanted to have someone French-speaking, to expose their children to more French. However, they found that it was much easier to find a Japanese student. As Sayumi asked, “How to interview them [French students] when they come here, and make sure they are comfortable living with us?” (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012). In the end, they have been happy with the arrangement and Sayumi can see how this will help support their children’s Japanese in the future.

In order to support their children’s French, they have a French babysitter who comes once a week for two hours. Also, Sayumi was studying French and made a conscious decision to model a positive attitude towards the language to her children. In her words, “I never want to say anything bad about French in front of them even though I struggle. . .I’m really encouraging children to speak French” (home visit 1, Dec. 11, 2012).

During our first meeting, Sayumi expressed some concern about her children's multilingual literacy development. She was worried that when they learn how to read and write in French and English, their level of Japanese will decrease. She asked me many questions about how best to invest in her children's language development. I tried to reassure her that she and her husband are doing a fantastic job.

I met Sayumi for the first home visit in mid-December. We decided to start with the rest of the visits after Christmas. From January to February, I went to their home every week or two, in the afternoons (after lunch and before Elizabeth's gymnastics class). There was a break of one month before the last visit, due to illness (at my end) and unexpected meetings (at Sayumi's end). The last visit took place three days before the family left for a three-week visit to Japan, the first since they moved back to Montreal three years ago. During this last visit, I gave Henry and Elizabeth the book, *Suki's Kimono*, by Chieki Uegaki. Overall, I felt really comfortable with Henry and Elizabeth from the first moment I met them. They were both easy to engage with. Henry liked to tell stories and was an animated storyteller. Elizabeth communicated less with words and more through physical connection. She often sat on me, did handstands on me, fell onto me (trusting I would catch her), and hugged me.

### **Taichi.**

Taichi was four years old at the time of the inquiry. He has a younger brother, Kazu, who was 18 months old. His mom, Yuki, is from Japan. She teaches math and science at the Japanese Hoshuko (a full day Saturday Japanese language school that follows the Japanese curriculum). His dad, Marco, is Caucasian Italian-Canadian, and is an engineer. He grew up in Montreal and speaks Italian well enough in social situations,

but not well enough to do business. He is proud of his Italian heritage and made occasional comments about Taichi's Italian side, such as "He's half Italian, so he eats a lot" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). He hopes that, eventually, his sons will at least understand Italian in addition to English, Japanese, and French. He said he would like to hold off for now with Italian because he doesn't want to overwhelm his children with too many languages. He said, "definitely English and French is the priority. Japanese would be the third priority and hopefully I can get some Italian in there" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). He would like the children to be "perfectly fluent" in English and French and to be able to "get by in Japan" in Japanese. Marco took a Japanese language class "awhile back," but says he can't speak the language and doesn't understand very much. He said, "I'm not the best with languages" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013), to which I responded, "But you speak three!" He replied that this is just a normal reality in Montreal and that it doesn't reflect an ability to learn languages. Marco assured me that he is more of a math and science kind of person. He told me several times that he has a soft spot for research, which is why he was so interested to contact me about participating in my inquiry.

Taichi and Kazu went to a French daycare fulltime during the week, so scheduling visits was somewhat of a challenge. My first home visit was on a Sunday afternoon. The whole family was at home. I spoke mostly with Marco. We were sitting in the living room where Taichi and Kazu were playing on the carpet around us. After Marco and I chatted for a little while, Yuki made tea and we all moved to the dining room table for a snack. I had brought some cookies (Taichi ate most of them and then proceeded, in his sugar-induced excitement, to run in circles around the living room). During this snack time conversation, Yuki emerged from the kitchen and spoke to me. The first thing she



said to me was, “I really want to know what should we do about keeping languages, Japanese” (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). Marco responded, “I wouldn’t worry about Japanese too much. He’s got good Japanese. I’m more concerned about how I introduce Italian” (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). I felt that Marco prioritized English and French, whereas Yuki felt the responsibility of supporting her children’s Japanese. Both parents had a lot of questions about multilingual language and literacy development. I shared some resources (books and websites) with them, which they were very interested in.

Yuki said that she reads to her children only in Japanese and speaks to them in Japanese. This was a change she had made recently, after her trip to Japan in the summer. Before that, she spoke both English and Japanese to Taichi, but he started to always reply in English. After the summer in Japan, she realized she needed to change her approach and speak only Japanese. She said she is lucky because her husband doesn’t mind, even though he can’t understand: “He knows it is important” (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). She commented that other mothers she knows speak English with their children in order not to exclude their husbands from the conversation.

When Taichi spends time with Marco’s family, he usually speaks to them in English, though Marco encourages him to speak French or Italian. Marco admitted that this is an unrealistic request because Taichi can’t speak Italian. He really wants Taichi to maintain his French, and Marco’s parents speak French better than English, “but I also want to teach him that if someone is more French to speak French to them” (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013).

At the time of the inquiry, Taichi spoke to his younger brother, Kazu, in English, but Marco suspected that would change after their next trip to Japan. The family makes

annual trips to Japan for most of the summer and stay at Yuki's parents' house, which is near the beach. Last year, Taichi got involved with cleaning the beach with local residents. As Marco said, "I want to teach him that you can make a difference in life. Instead of complaining that it's dirty, organize something and clean it" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). Last summer, Taichi and his family spent two months in Japan. Marco could only stay for a couple of weeks at the end of the holiday because of work. He commented on how quickly Taichi's language practices shifted when he was in Japan.

When we would Skype, I started asking him questions in French so he wouldn't lose his French and then he wouldn't answer. I was like, he isn't answering. Why isn't he answering? He just left [Montreal]. Of course he speaks French. So he lost his French right away. And then I'd be asking questions in English and he'd always be trying to get away, so he lost his English too. I thought it was just like he missed his father or I was trying to figure out what was going on, but he lost his language skills. . . . Of course it came back relatively quick, but I didn't think they could lose it that fast. (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013)

In response, I commented that we use the languages we need for particular social situations, but I am not sure I convinced Marco.

Marco said that when Taichi was born, they had not really planned what languages they were going to speak to him and they just did what felt natural. I asked Marco why he chose to speak to his children in English and not French and he said, "because daycare is French, so I knew he'd get it with a native speaker [and] because my accent is not native" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). He wanted Taichi to go to an international school, which would be French, but if he did not get in, then Taichi would

go to a private French immersion school. Marco expressed concern that Taichi could lose some of his French because all the students in French immersion are English-speaking. Because of this, Marco and Yuki have always chosen extra-curricular activities, such as sports, that are in French. When I first met Taichi, he was taking a cross-country skiing class in French. Before he started daycare, he watched TV (Caillou) and movies in French because his parents want to give him as much exposure as possible. When I met Taichi, he sometimes watched Japanese clips on YouTube and English movies, but mostly French TV.

Taichi, like the other children I have introduced, had Japanese class on Saturday mornings at the JLC. His mom mentioned during a conversation at the end of one of my visits that when he is six years old, she wants to send him to the Hoshuko where she teaches, so he could study Japanese for a full day rather than just two hours. Once a week, before bed, Taichi regularly went to the local public library in his pajamas with one of his parents for a bedtime story in French. As a result, he was very comfortable at the library. He liked reading books and was interested in board games and trains. After the second home visit, which was the first time I engaged with Taichi, Yuki suggested we move the visits to the local library. At home, Taichi was very excited and at one point was jumping on his bed. I suggested we settle down a bit and read a book together, which he agreed to do, but I think Yuki was concerned that he was too excited and out of control, which is why she suggested the library. At first I was hesitant to do this because I was not sure how it would change the atmosphere of the visits. However, it worked out well at the library, as Taichi was familiar with the place. The only drawback to meeting

him in the library was that we were not around his toys and books, so it was a bit harder in conversation to relate to his experiences.

There was a long gap between the second and third visits because of illness. When Yuki and I could make our schedules align, we resumed the visits. Though there was a long time between our visits, I had seen Taichi at the JLC a few times and he remembered me when we met for the third visit. In order for me to visit Taichi, Yuki had to take him out of daycare. This meant that she could not work at that time because she had to be present too (she sat in another area of the library). Although she said it was no problem and that it was something “special for Taichi” (library visit 1, May 24, 2013), I hesitated to impose on the family too much. This is why I made four visits to Taichi, instead of six, as I did with the other families. I really appreciated the efforts Yuki made to coordinate my visits. At each visit, it took a little while for Taichi to warm up to me. After one visit, Yuki said, “He’s shy, but he was talking to you!” (library visit 1, May 24, 2013).

Now that I have provided some background context for the children, I turn to describing the processes of the inquiry.

### **Generating Data**

It is common in qualitative and interpretive scholarship to hear qualitative researchers talking (and writing) about collecting or gathering data. I suspect these expressions are relics of quantitative research paradigms, which have become so common in the parlance of qualitative research that their meanings tend to be unquestioned. To me, collecting or gathering data conjure up an image of picking apples from a tree; that is, they suggest that data are waiting there, ready to be plucked and stored at the researcher’s

convenience. This, to me, is not an apt description of the negotiated, creative, and dialogic process I was engaged in with the children. Instead, I prefer, like Graue and Walsh (1998), to speak of generating data. This more appropriately captures the dynamic and improvisational processes I engaged in with the children. I feel that qualitative researchers, in general, could benefit from thinking carefully about what it means to collect, gather, or generate data, in terms of positioning themselves and their participants in the research process.

Researching with children means recognizing their diversity and individualities, which means using methods that are suited to individual children (Greene & Hill, 2005). I now discuss how I generated data, both with the parents and with the children.

#### **Initial visits with parents.**

My goal during the first visits with the parents was to introduce the study, go over the consent form (see Appendix B) with them, and talk with them about their children's language environments and language practices. I asked some questions about what languages their children are exposed to and where, but not in a formal interview or semi-structured interview approach. I have included some guiding questions in Appendix C; however, I followed these very loosely and did not cover all questions in each visit. Because we could relate as parents who are raising multilingual children, questions came up quite naturally during the visits. I asked some questions, and the parents asked questions, mainly about how to maximize the multilingual language development of their children. During these first visits, I felt that my role oscillated between language expert, when the parents were asking me questions about what they should do to support their children's language development, and parent, when I shared my experiences as a mother.

I drew on what I learned from the parents to introduce the children, but also to better understand the language environments of the children in my interpretations of the data.

### **Other conversations with parents.**

After the initial home visits, I spent the rest of the home visits engaging mostly with the children. During these home visits, the mothers were always at home. At first they asked me what they should do and where they should be. I suggested that they could leave us alone, but that they didn't have to. Sayumi, especially, would sometimes come and watch me interact with her children. I think she was curious to know what I was doing. The mothers quickly realized that my visits meant they could get some other work done and they mostly stayed in another room. Henry and Elizabeth's dad, Peter, was sometimes at home too. He told me he tried to keep himself sparse so as not to distract his children, so I only saw him in passing a couple of times. James' dad, Ian, came home part way through one of my visits, but that was the only time I saw him. I spoke with Marco only in the first home visit, which was on a Sunday. The rest of the visits with Taichi were during the week and Marco was at work.

There was always a brief period when I first arrived and before I left, when I would have conversations with the mothers, often about scheduling the next visit, or the weather, or the weekend, or parenting, but also about multilingualism and my research project. These casual conversations were an important part of developing a rapport with the parents. Talking with parents also gave me the chance to express my ongoing appreciation for their time and for welcoming me into their homes.

### **Creating the contexts for conversations with children.**

Doing research *with* children, to me, means creating contexts for conversations with them and listening attentively to what they have to say. However, there seem to be different ways of interpreting listening. Drury (2007), for example, emphasized listening to the perspectives of children in her ethnographic study of young bilingual children as they started nursery school in the UK. Drury was referring to listening back to audio-recordings of bilingual children at nursery school. She complemented this data with interviews with mothers and teachers. Listening, in this sense, does not include engaging with children in conversations. I raise this point, not to critique Drury's excellent work, but to emphasize that when I talk about listening to children, I mean this in the sense that we were engaged in conversations together and what we did was largely shaped by my paying close attention to their interests.

My use of the term conversations, rather than interviews, is deliberate. I did not use an interview approach, even with the parents, as I wanted our interactions to feel as comfortable and natural as possible. I felt, similarly to Maguire (1999), that “[c]onversations with children in informal settings rather than structured interviews are more useful ways to gain insights into children's lives” (p. 131). Likewise, James (2001) noted that engaging in informal conversations with children gives them more control over the flow of the dialogue than an interview would. In researching *with* children, it is essential that they feel they can guide the conversation as well (Mayall, 2008). Greene and Hill (2005) and Crump and Phipps (2013) highlighted the importance of using creative methods when doing research with young children in order to co-create contexts for conversations. I elaborate on these methods in Chapter Five.

I transcribed all the data from the audio recordings of the home visits. These transcriptions make up the primary data source of the inquiry. Later in this chapter, I describe my transcription processes.

### **Other data sources.**

#### ***Taking photographs.***

Although I had ethical approval to take photographs of the children, when I was visiting the children, I did not feel comfortable doing so. I was not worried about exposing their true identities because I could have blurred their faces. Rather, when I was engaged in a game or activity with the children, I felt it would have been disruptive to start taking pictures of them. I was right. When I did take pictures when the children were in the room, it invariably distracted them from what we had been doing. Taking pictures took me out of the interaction and located me as an observer, which was not a positioning I was aiming for. I did take a few pictures when the children were not in the room. I do not interpret the content of the photographs as data; rather the few photographs I took were part of documenting my visits with the children. The fieldnotes I kept during the process of the inquiry provide a much more detailed documentation of the visits.

#### ***Fieldnotes.***

When I started to look for participants, I kept a record of the dates of all the emails I sent and responses I received. I drew on this detailed record to write parts of this chapter (i.e., making contact with participants; introducing the participants). Once I had made contact with the families and we had set up a date for our first visit, I started keeping detailed reflexive fieldnotes both before and after each visit. I found that as time



went on, though, my approach changed somewhat. Before I had my first visit with James, who was the first child I met with, in my pre-visit notes, I wrote about what I hoped I might do with him during our visit (e.g., “I have this idea to set up little scenarios with little people”). But as I wrote after that visit, “There is no ‘collecting’ of data going on here. It is a negotiated, active, and unpredictable process. I have to try not to go to the visits with expectations because these will inevitably be disappointed” (fieldnotes, Dec. 10, 2012). I see myself learning to be a humble researcher and not push my agenda. This meant not writing about my agenda beforehand, but rather reflecting on what did happen during the visits. As I gained experience, in my pre-visit notes, I started to write more about how I was feeling that day. For example, “I am tired today and a bit overwhelmed with work. Time to put all that aside and be absolutely okay with whatever transpires” (fieldnotes, Dec. 14, 2012). My initial post-visit fieldnotes were quite long and detailed, with reflections on excerpts of the conversations, but also notes to myself regarding technical matters, like which pockets on which sweaters yielded the best sound quality on the DVR. As the inquiry went on, my post-visit fieldnotes became shorter as I started to integrate more of my thoughts and reflections into the transcripts proper. I drew on my fieldnotes when introducing the participants in this chapter and again in my interpretations of the data in Chapters Five and Six.

### **Interpreting the Data**

Although I had several hundred pages of transcripts, selecting the material I have included as data in the following chapters did not involve a large filtering process. I began by reading through the transcripts and highlighting any moments when the children were talking to me about language (their own, or others’, language use and practices).

Relative to the amount of time we spent making car noises, train noises, negotiating turns in a board game or card game, or playing a game, the language-related moments were quite few, so I did not have to sift through a lot of data. I used most of the vignettes that I highlighted in that initial reading in the thesis.

As I was reading through the transcripts, looking for language-related data, two interrelated streams of findings started to emerge, both of which I began to see as equally important: the first were the data that responded to my guiding questions. However, it became clear to me that these data did not stand alone; the ways in which they had been generated were just as important to this inquiry. In other words, the data speak to more than a theory of multilingualism and identity, but also to the practicalities of doing of research with young children. The theory and the practice are so interknit that I could not have generated data related to multilingualism without the methodological approach I used with the children. These two directions come together and highlight that children communicate through more than language, that their worlds are also visual, dynamic, and creative; they are socially and multimodally constructed. As a result of these two streams of findings, I have included two findings chapters in this thesis. In Chapter Five, I discuss significant learnings with respect to the methodology I have laid out in this chapter. This provides a detailed backdrop for the findings I discuss in Chapter Six, which respond to the guiding questions. I interpreted these data through the lens of LangCrit, meaning that I was alert to any indications that the children's perspectives were being shaped not only by their own and others' languaging, but also meanings attached to visible identities.

The process of interpretation was slightly different for these two types of data and this is reflected in the way the next two chapters are laid out. For the methodology findings (Chapter Five), I read through the transcripts several times, making notes in the margins of themes related to researching with young children. I noticed some recurring and prominent themes and have organized Chapter Five around these. For Chapter Six, rather than organize the chapter around themes, I present the data as vignettes, chronologically and according to each child. After each vignette, I include a brief interpretation of the data. After I reflected on these interpretations, several commonalities emerged, which I discuss at the end of that chapter.

Each vignette is part of a larger interaction, or what Lemke (1995) described as a patch that is embedded in “webs of social relations” (p. 30). By selecting some parts of interactions to include in these pages, there is a risk of disrupting the integrity of the conversations. In the following section, I discuss my approach to transcription, which was shaped in part by my desire to maintain the integrity of the conversations.

### **Quality in Qualitative Research**

Qualitative researchers have long been grappling with the issue of how to evaluate and define best practices for their research. Several decades ago, Guba (1981) proposed what are now commonly cited criteria for quality in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These are qualitative equivalents to positivist terms used in quantitative research, such as validity and reliability. Yet Guba’s criteria are by no means undisputed, and Guba and Lincoln (2005) later argued that the search for universal criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research is problematic due to the variety of approaches to qualitative inquiry, such as ethnography

or feminist inquiry. Patton (2002) and Creswell (2007), nevertheless, tried to account for this diversity by defining five sets of criteria that can be used to evaluate different types of qualitative research, though each set of criteria is different, which points back to the issue of universal criteria. As Tracy (2010) rightly pointed out, a researcher does not always know in advance which theories will situate their research, so having *a priori* criteria is not necessarily helpful in guiding an inquiry. In contrast, Tracy proposed a set of eight overarching *end goal* criteria that she argued could attend “to the complexity of the qualitative landscape” (p. 840). Because there are many and varied ways to reach those goals, these criteria leave the researcher the room to be flexible, creative, and improvisational in the process of the inquiry. Though it is not up to me to judge the quality of my research, Tracy’s criteria resonate with how I have tried to approach the processes of generating, interpreting, and writing about the data. I list these end goals here because they have guided my writing and my thinking:

- 1) worthy topic (is the topic timely, relevant, and interesting?);
- 2) rich rigor (is there a variety of theoretical constructs and data sources and what level of attention is given to generating, representing, and interpreting data?);
- 3) sincerity (is the researcher self-reflexive and transparent about choices and biases?);
- 4) credibility (is there a thick description and triangulation/crystallization of data and is the interpretation plausible?);
- 5) resonance (does the report have aesthetic appeal and can it affect/move the reader?);
- 6) significant contribution (does the research have theoretical, methodological, or other significance?);

- 7) ethical (does the researcher consider ethical issues of working with humans, as well as the ethics of documenting and sharing the findings?) ;
- 8) meaningful coherence (do the literature, research questions, findings, and interpretations interrelate?) (Tracy, 2010).

Gordon and Patterson (2013) tested the universality of Tracy's eight criteria against their own respective inquiries and argued that they are indeed robust criteria for evaluating quality in qualitative research. Their one critique, which I agree with wholeheartedly, is that ethics should not be a stand-alone criterion, but rather an umbrella construct for qualitative research that shapes and guides the other seven criteria. Tracy's criteria, with Gordon and Patterson's suggested modification, have guided me to see methodology not just as a plan or structure that gives direction to a process, but as something that researchers need to embody, as something that breathes through every action and experience before, during, and after the inquiry.

There are two points that seem to me are essential issues to address in qualitative research, and that have been integral to my processes of selecting, representing, and interpreting in this inquiry. Neither has received much attention in qualitative research. The first, transcription practices, is related to rich rigor and sincerity, and the second, crystallization, to credibility.

### **Transcriptions as re-presented talk and action.**

I have been careful thus far not to refer to a commonly cited advantage of qualitative research, namely, giving voice to people who do not necessarily have one, such as children and racialized minorities (e.g., Christensen & Prout, 2002; James, 2001; Critical Race Theory literature, in general). I feel that the idea of giving voice is

somewhat problematic; it locates a lot of power in the researcher and I like to see the process I engaged in as much more negotiated and co-constructed. Rather than saying I gave a voice to the children, I feel more comfortable saying that I tried to co-create open and inviting environments with the children in which they felt they had agency to express and represent themselves. I come back to this point in Chapter Five. That said, as Emerson et al. (2001) noted, at every step of the process of an inquiry, in transcriptions, fieldnotes, and formal reports, researchers “recreate voices” (p. 364); thus the issue of representation does deserve close attention.

Transcription is a primary means of representing interactions, yet transcription practices receive surprisingly little attention from qualitative researchers (Tilley, 2003). Several decades ago, Ochs (1979) noted that “transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions” (p. 44), which to me means that it is essential that I account for the choices (selections) I made while transcribing the audio recordings. This is a crucial part of being a responsible and humble researcher. Although Ochs’ observation is not new, the trend in supposedly sociocultural and post-positivist paradigms still tends to be to present transcripts as neutral and transparent (Davidson, 2009). Transcription continues to be a neglected issue in qualitative research reports, in part, because it is not mentioned as an important topic in most qualitative research handbooks (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Davidson, 2009). The lack of attention to this interpretive and power-laden process is even more alarming given the advances in technology and the emergence of multimodal transcripts (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011).

Overlooking the decision-making processes that shaped the transcriptions can compromise the trustworthiness (Davidson, 2009), or rigor and sincerity (Tracy, 2010), of

an account. Transcribing is not a neutral act; it is a situated act that involves making decisions about what is transcribed (interpreting) and how it is transcribed (representing) (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997; Roberts, 1997). Like Bucholtz (2000), I see transcribing as “embedded with relations of power” (p. 1439). Because creating a transcript is a process of selection, transcripts are always partial and research reports highlight only excerpts of transcripts; this selection process is imbued with choices made by the transcriber (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Davidson (2009) concluded her review of 30 years of scholarship on transcription, which she noted was very limited, with a call for researchers to be more explicit about their transcription processes. This involves acknowledging the steps taken to ensure the quality of the audio recording and emphasizing the interpretive nature of transcribing (Poland, 1995). Here, I discuss what shaped the decisions that I made regarding the transcriptions I did for this inquiry.

With respect to interpreting the audio recordings, there were several key decisions I made. The first was based on very a practical issue: how to maximize the quality of the recordings. I learned that if I kept the DVR in the pocket of my jeans, the quality would be quite poor because every time I moved (and I moved a lot, crawling on the floor with toy cars or trains), there would be a loud static sound. With the DVR in a pocket in a sweater, the quality was much better. Even so, if a child was climbing on me, doing handstands on me (Elizabeth liked to do this), tickling me, or when a younger sibling was crying, the dialogue would be muffled or inaudible. I transcribed what I could hear on the recordings and explained what I could not hear in square brackets.

Another very important decision I made with respect to interpreting the recordings was that I held firmly to my rule of doing the transcriptions within 24 hours of each home

visit. This was essential because so much of what took place was not spoken and I wanted to be able to note the action that took place during the visit when it was still fresh in my mind. Because multimodality is “the normal state of human communication” (Kress, 2012, p. 1), this presents challenges for writing transcripts using words only to represent talk and action. Norris (2002, 2004) highlighted that transcription of nonverbal action is essential to interpreting children’s meanings. Though I did not video record the home visits, as Norris did, the data generated through my interactions with the children always took place in tandem with other activities or forms of play, which were crucial to the conversations we were having. Meaning was co-created through multiple channels, such as speech, silence, movement, gestures, and drawings. Thus, I chose to transcribe not only what was said, but also to represent nonverbal actions, by describing these in brackets in the transcripts. My rationale for including the descriptions in brackets was to try to maintain the integrity of the conversations as multimodal interactions. In selecting vignettes to discuss as data for the next two chapters, some of that multimodality is preserved.

Bezemer and Mavers (2011) argued that “there can never be a perfect ‘translation’ from one mode to another” (p. 196), and refer to this representation of one mode through another mode as transduction. I came to see writing the transcripts much as I imagine a playwright creates a screenplay, with descriptions of actions and movements of people, as well as other contextual cues, in brackets after the spoken text. Of course, the act of choosing words to use in the brackets to represent non-verbal actions was an interpretive and representational act of meaning-making. I was transducing actions and observations into words, and this “re-making of observed activities in a transcript” (p. 196) was an



essential part of the interpretive process. What I aimed for in writing the transcripts in this way was to portray richly detailed snapshots of interactions that would capture the multimodality of our meaning-making.

With respect to representation in transcriptions, a crucial decision I made was with respect to how to represent the flexible languaging that occurred in our interactions. Though the children and I spoke mostly English together, there was no strict boundary around English and our languaging was often playful. In code-switching research, the convention for representing multilingual data is to use underlining, bold face, and italics to differentiate the languages being used. As Roberts (1997) wrote, transcripts in applied linguistics and second language acquisition have been interested in the technicalities of language and not in how the language use conveys meanings about identity. Because I am interested in people and their language practices, and not languages themselves, I find the code-switching convention of differentiation between languages quite artificial: in other words, I see no reason to mark boundaries between languages that the speakers themselves do not perceive as boundaries in the moment of communication. I decided to write all spoken dialogue in the same font and typeface as this offers a more accurate representation of how we used language resources to negotiate and perform meanings and identities. Because my written Japanese is not strong enough, I wrote all dialogue in roman script. My transcription practices were also shaped by the people who could be my readers one day. For instance, when the context of interaction does not make clear what is being said in another language, I provide a translation in parentheses for the reader who may not understand Japanese or French.

### **Crystallization.**

The second point I discuss here has to do with how to interpret the relationships between different types of data. One of the means of increasing the credibility of a qualitative report is through crystallization or triangulation (Tracy, 2010). In this inquiry, I generated several types of data, mainly reflexive fieldnotes and transcriptions of spoken language and nonverbal actions. There was also some documentation in photographs and drawings, though I did not interpret these as data themselves, but as springboards for generating data. Although triangulation is typically referred to as a method for cross-checking data from different sources, I much prefer Richardson's (1994) notion of crystallization. These terms refer to the same thing, but are located in different paradigms. Crystallization is now gaining more attention in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Janesick, 2003), but triangulation does seem to still have a stronghold on the imaginations of qualitative researchers. Whereas the triangle conjures up a relatively static image of three lines and three distinct meeting points, which can only be possible if there is an assumed single reality, the image of the crystal captures many facets of social life and combines "an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach" (Richardson, 1994, p. 522). Crystallization is rooted in the poststructural assumption that reality is fractured, multiple, and socially constructed. It "provides us with a deepened, complex, *thoroughly partial*, understanding of the topic" (p. 522; emphasis added). Crystals reflect and refract and I find this aptly represents the dialogic and improvisational nature of researching with humans. It also is congruent with the ecosocial perspective I described in Chapter Three. In the following two chapters, I present vignettes from the transcripts and discuss my

interpretations of them with the understanding that these interpretations are, inevitably, partial.

### **Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I began by presenting the questions that guided this inquiry. Then, I discussed the exploratory case study methodology and emphasized doing research *with* children as the main principle of my methodology and positioning myself as a humble researcher in this inquiry. After this, I provided a brief overview of the Japanese community in Montreal. In the next section, I explained the process of making contact with families, how I dealt with issues of consent and assent from the adult and child participants, and I introduced the children in detail. I outlined the different ways in which I generated data with the participants and described the processes I followed for interpreting the data. The chapter closed with a discussion of issues related to quality in qualitative research, with a focus on transcription practices and crystallization of data. In the following two chapters, I present and discuss the findings of this inquiry.

## Chapter Five: Doing Research *with* Young Children – Significant Learnings

“I know everything!” (James, age 4)

### Chapter Overview

The guiding principle of my methodology is doing research *with* children, an approach that is located in the new sociology of childhood (James & Prout, 1997). In this chapter, I discuss significant findings and learnings with respect to the methodological approach I laid out in Chapter Four. This chapter provides essential background to the interpretation and discussion of the data that respond to the guiding questions of this inquiry in Chapter Six. Also, as far as I can tell, the methodological criteria that emerged from the data and that I discuss in this chapter have not been treated in detail in sociolinguistic scholarship on multilingualism and language policy, largely because language researchers have not paid much attention to young children’s perspectives.

In Chapter Four, I mentioned that I tried to create open and inviting contexts for conversations with the children. In this chapter, I draw on and expand on an article I co-authored with my colleague Heather Phipps (Crump & Phipps, 2013) to discuss the four criteria for doing research *with* young children that emerged from the data: 1) fostering respectful relationships; 2) being playful; 3) using creative approaches; 4) and carving out spaces for children. I include vignettes as examples of each criterion.

### Fostering Respectful Relationships

When I set out to do this inquiry, I knew that fostering respectful relationships with the children would be important and I thought it would simply be a matter of me being enthusiastic about my visits. However, in practice, there was more to it than enthusiasm. In order to respect the children’s wishes, desires, experiences, and

individualities, I first needed to listen to them. This meant paying attention to what was important to them and what they were telling me, in words, actions, or silence.

Sometimes, as I show in some of the vignettes in this chapter, I did this better than other times. What emerged from the data are three overlapping and interrelated practices that contributed to fostering respectful relationships with the children: 1) listening attentively; 2) recognizing children's knowledge; and 3) negotiating an agenda for the visit.

### **Listening attentively.**

By listening attentively to the children, I learned about what was important to them and this guided how the visit unfolded. This connects closely to negotiating an agenda, which I discuss shortly.

### ***Henry loses a tooth.***

[I have just arrived at Henry and Elizabeth's house. I am taking off my jacket and chatting with Sayumi and Elizabeth, who have greeted me in the hallway. They are telling me about a birthday party they went to on the weekend. Henry runs up the stairs from his bedroom. He jumps in front of me.]

Henry: Look! [He shows me his missing tooth.]

Alison: Hey! You lost a tooth! That's amazing! Is that number three?

Henry: Yes. [Big smile.]

Alison: Did the tooth fairy come?

Henry: Yes. Do you want to see the footprints? [He is excited. He takes me downstairs to the bedroom he and Elizabeth share. There are four piles of pink sprinkles on the floor near his bed, each with a different footprint pattern on it.] (home visit 4, Jan. 28, 2013)

During this visit, we spent a long time talking about the tooth fairy and Henry told animated stories about his friends who had also lost teeth. Henry, Elizabeth and I spent the rest of the visit, until tea and cookie time at the end, in their bedroom. This was the only time we went there.

***Taichi breaks his silence.***

Listening attentively, as I mentioned above, involves listening not only to what children are saying and doing, but also to what they are not saying. In the first visit at the public library with Taichi, he was a bit shy initially. We were in a place that was familiar to him, but he usually came here for a weekly bedtime story activity the library offers, not to play. He had picked a game (Blockus) from a shelf in the library and brought it to a table, where we sat down together. He started to arrange the pieces on the board. He was largely playing on his own, and did not respond to my attempts to talk to him. I suspect he did not feel entirely comfortable yet. We played the game in silence for a few minutes and then on his own terms, he broke the silence and expressed his desire.

[Taichi is focused on putting all the pieces onto the Blockus board. I am trying to engage him in a conversation.]

Alison: You were at daycare this morning? [He nods.] Do you talk to your friends in

French? [No answer. He continues to focus on the blocks. I try again.] Who is your teacher at Japanese school? [No answer. I realize that this is not the time for these questions and start to comment instead on the game.] Ah, good, you found two that fit there. Are there any more single ones?

Taichi: No more single ones. [This time he responds. We carry on like this for a few minutes with Taichi doing the game and me making small comments, though he is

mostly not responding. I decide to stop commenting and let him initiate conversation when he is ready. After a few minutes of silent play, he breaks the silence.] I'm going to do it again and put all the same colours in the same spot.

Alison: Okay.

Taichi: All the colours in the same corner.

Alison: Do you want to take all the red ones out? [I am helping him disassemble the game so he can start over.] I brought some things with me too. We can look at them later if you want.

Taichi: Okay. (home visit 3, May 24, 2013)

I learned from Taichi that he liked to feel in charge of the interaction and conversation. When he did, then he was much more open to talking to me. As the visit went on, he became much more comfortable and we started to engage in more collaborative activities and conversations.

As these two vignettes show, listening attentively to children means listening both to what they do say, and what they do not say.

### **Recognizing children's knowledge.**

Validating children's knowledge is an essential part of doing research with young children and helps foster a respectful climate in which children can have agency to express themselves. Young children know a lot – we just have to pay attention.

### ***James is an expert on cars.***

James was always very excited when I came to visit. He knew that I was there to play with him and only him. His little sister, Aya, would sometimes join us, but he would tell her to leave us alone when he felt she was getting in the way of our play. As

we played with his toys, he taught me a lot about cars and airplanes. For instance, during my first visit with him, he wanted me to draw cars on paper so that he could cut them out. He watched carefully as I drew and commented on and directed the outcome. Engaging with James in this way gave him the chance to be the expert.

[We are sitting on the carpet in his sister's room. There are markers and different colour papers around us – I brought these. James is holding a pair of scissors, which he has taken off the desk.]

Alison: You want me to draw another Mini Cooper? Do you want to draw it?

James: No, I can't.

Alison: Okay, I'll do my best. [I am drawing.] It's hard to draw a Mini Cooper. [I am not confident as James deemed my first attempt a failure.]

James: It looks better.

Alison: Does it look better than my last attempt?

James: That was a box wagon.

Alison: Does this look like a box wagon?

James: Nope. It needs mirrors on it.

Alison: Right. Mirrors and lights and gas and handle. [I draw these as I say the words.]

James: But no handle here because when it's a Mini Cooper, there's no handle on the back. (home visit 2, Dec. 5, 2012)

When I first started doing this inquiry with James, I was a bit worried about the amount of time we spent playing with cars and I was not sure if it would help me answer my research questions. However, I learned to trust the process and to trust that by recognizing James' interests and positioning him as a knowledgeable individual, he



would be open to talking to me about his ideas about language. And, he was. As Allison James (2001) wrote, in children's homes they tend to be positioned as relatively powerless compared to adults. Thus, it is really important to create spaces and situations where they can be experts.

***Henry is an expert strategist.***

The first time Henry spoke to me in our first visit was while we were playing a board game called City Square Off. Each player gets a board and puts a building on the board. The object is to fill the board with all the differently shaped pieces. Players turn up cards that correspond to the pieces. The person who has pieces that no longer fit on the board loses.

[Henry and I have just started to play the game. Elizabeth is watching. Henry turns over a card with a single square on it. He looks for a matching piece to put on his board.]

Henry: This piece is useless.

Alison: Is it? But it fills small holes.

Henry: Yeah, but it's useless at the beginning.

Alison: You're right. (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013)

Indeed, a single piece at the beginning of the game is strategically not useful – it has more value near the end of the game. This was our very first interaction and Henry positioned himself as knowledgeable. Playing this game together gave him the chance to do that.

### **Negotiating an agenda**

I was reminded over and over again that the agenda for our visits could not be mine alone. It had to be *our* agenda, co-constructed and negotiated. I listened attentively to the children and respected them as knowledgeable. This helped them feel comfortable expressing their agency to decide what we would do. I am sure that doing this inquiry in the children's homes contributed to their comfort level with me. Although I strove to foster a co-constructed agenda in my engagements with the children, it was not always easy to let go of my own expectations.

### ***Taichi rejects my plan.***

Before my first visit with Taichi, his mom had told me that he was really looking forward to drawing together, so I came to the visit with my craft bag fully stocked and an expectation that he would be interested in it. It turned out that my plan was not his plan, though it took me a little while to realize it.

[We are sitting on the carpet in Taichi's living room beside an open suitcase that is full of toy cars. I have my craft bag beside me and I start to open it.]

Alison: Do you want to see what I brought with me today?

Taichi: What did you brought?

Alison: I brought stuff for colouring. Do you like colouring? I've got pencil crayons, crayons, markers, paper.

Taichi: I have paper here. [He doesn't want mine].

Alison: I brought a picture of a person. [I show him a paper with the outline of a person].<sup>20</sup>

Taichi: I don't want a picture of a person.

Alison: Okay. . . I brought some folders. Do you know what these are? [I take plastic folders out of my bag].

Taichi: What's inside them?

Alison: Nothing, but you could put your drawings in them and then it would be like a book. [He picks up my box of markers]. Do you want to open them?

Taichi: I don't want to open them.

Alison: No. Do you want me to open them?

Taichi: No.

Alison: Well, I'll leave these here if you want to do some drawing. Can I draw a picture for you?

Taichi: I don't want pictures.

Alison: No pictures.

[Taichi runs to out of the living room to his room and returns a minute later with a train set puzzle from Japan. We put the track together and play trains for the greater part of the visit. In this visit, we don't do any drawing]. (home visit 2, Feb. 8, 2013)

It is clear in this vignette how intricately connected listening attentively is with negotiating an agenda. I did not listen well to what Taichi was telling me as I was trying to fulfill my expectations.

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<sup>20</sup> This material comes from Krumm and Jenkins' (2001) language portraits research and is reproduced, with permission from the authors, in Appendix D.

***Elizabeth resists my plan.***

After the first home visit with Henry and Elizabeth, I asked their Mom, Sayumi, if she could prepare some family photos for us to look at during the next visit. When I arrived for that visit, their albums were on the floor in the hallway. Henry was sitting on the floor doing a wooden *hiragana* (Japanese syllabary) puzzle. When I asked them if they wanted to show me their albums, Elizabeth resisted. She said to her mom “Misetakunai” (I don’t want to show them). I did not push. She did, however, look on as Henry showed me his album and told me stories about what we were looking at. She also contributed some details to his narrative.

[Henry is flipping through the album of when he was a baby and showing me which pages have pictures from Montreal, from England, and from Japan.]

Alison: Do you remember living in Japan?

Henry: Not really. But we’re going back in two months. No four months.

Alison: You are? Great.

Elizabeth: Just Mommy and Henry and me. Not Daddy. (home visit 3, Jan. 21, 2013)

What I learned from Elizabeth was that making my own plan for the activities we would do during the visits was not the best approach. Instead, it was better to arrive with few expectations of what would transpire and a lot of openness to whatever did happen.

***Mediating siblings’ agendas.***

Negotiating an agenda was a bit of a balancing act with Henry and Elizabeth. Although they got along very well for the most part, there were some times when I had to not only negotiate our agenda, but also help them mediate theirs. For instance, when we

were playing City Square Off, Elizabeth and I had been talking about her friends at school (more on this in Chapter Six), but Henry wanted to keep playing the game.

Henry: Okay, let's play!

Elizabeth: I've got socks on my tights.

Alison: That's good because it's a cold day. [It's minus 30 degrees Celsius today.]

Henry: Okay! Enough talking! Enough talking! Enough talking! Little Elizabeth.

Elizabeth: Stop saying little Elizabeth.

Henry: Little Elizabeth. [I bring our attention back to the game. Still, I am too slow.]

Put it down! [He wants me to put my piece on my board and stay focused on the game.]

Alison: Are we too slow for you?

Henry: Yeah. (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013)

I heard and acknowledged his frustration. Then we moved on and played the rest of the game. He won. By returning my attention to Henry and the game, I also turned my focus away from Elizabeth. I see this as a reality, not a drawback, to account for when researching with siblings.

***James takes the lead.***

James was mostly in charge of what we did during the visits. In the following vignette, it is easy to see who is leading our conversations.

[We are sitting on the carpet in Aya's bedroom, reading one of James' library books about airplanes.]

James: Let's read the last one. This one is annoying. I like that one better. Read that one.

[He turns to the page he wants me to read. I start to read.] Ah! It's snowing!

[He jumps up to look out the window.]

Alison: It is! That's exciting.

James: Where is your car? [He is looking for it on the street.]

Alison: My car is a white one. You can't see it from here. Maybe you can see it from the living room. Should we go see?

James: Okay, yeah. [We go to the living room and look out the window there.] I can't see it.

Alison: Do you see a white car?

James: Yeah. . . . [He is jumping on the couch.]

James: You can't park far away.

Alison: Okay. Next time, I'll park closer, then you can see it better.

James: Park it there [he points in front of his house], and then I can see. (home visit 2, Dec. 5, 2012)

In all subsequent visits, he looked out the window to make sure he could see my car. Although James was largely in control of the activities we did, I still feel the agenda was negotiated. I was the one who ended the visits and I also contributed to the direction of our conversations.

Though it was my goal to be a humble researcher who always listened to the children and co-created an agenda, in reality as these vignettes show, letting go of the power to direct interactions and to impose my agenda was not always as easy to do in the moment as it was to plan to do. Also, even though I tried not to be too directive in our

engagements, I sometimes had to step in as an adult and mediate sibling disagreements or help the children navigate their frustrations. Maguire (2005) noted that she rarely saw researchers writing about how children challenged or resisted their agendas, yet I found that the children had very explicit ways of resisting my agenda (e.g., by physically leaving the room or not responding) if I tried to impose one. Acknowledging these moments is an important part of being what Luttrell (2000) called a good enough researcher, someone who acknowledges that she is personally invested in the relationships in the research and who accounts for the “frustrations, anxieties, and disappointments that are part of any relationship” (p. 13). As a humble researcher, I did my best to foster respectful relationships with the children by listening attentively to them, recognizing their knowledge, and negotiating the agenda for the visit with the children.

### **Being Playful**

Playfulness is a second essential ingredient for doing research with children. This is a quality that can be a part of play (which I speak to later in the chapter). Being playful involves laughing, welcoming laughter, and being a bit silly. When I first visited the children in their homes, there was some negotiation of expectations on everyone’s behalf. The children were trying to figure out what kind of adult I was. I wanted to establish that I was the kind of adult who would get down on the ground with them and play. The mothers were trying to figure out whether to be in the room or elsewhere (they soon realized my being there gave them a couple of hours to do something else). I was trying to figure out who the children are and what interested them. Being playful helped us sort through some of these expectations. It not only helped break the ice in the first visits with the children, it also encouraged the children to engage with me (and not play beside

me) and this often opened spaces for very rich conversations, many of which I share in the following chapter.

***Breaking the ice with James.***

[It is my first visit with James, and he has asked me to draw him some pictures of his favourite toy car, a Mini Cooper, so he can colour it in and cut it out. We are sitting on the floor of Aya's bedroom, on a carpet, his box of washable Crayola markers in between us. Washable markers all have pictures of bubbles on them. James picks up a light blue marker.]

James: See the bubbles here? That means sky blue.

Alison: Wait a second. [I pick up a yellow marker]. This has bubbles on it too. That's not sky blue.

James: Why?

Alison: It's yellow. Is it sky yellow?

James: No! [He laughs].

Alison: [I pick up a purple marker]. Sky purple?

James: Yeah! [He laughs].

Alison: [I pick up a green marker]. Sky green?

James: [Giggles].

Alison: That's too silly! [I pick up a pink marker. We make eye contact]. Sky, [we pause to get the timing right]

James/Alison: Pink! [We laugh. I pick up another marker].

Alison: Sky, [We pause and make eye contact to get the timing right]

James/Alison: Red! [More laughter. The laughter subsides and I think the game is over].



Alison: Now what are we going to draw?

James: [He picks up a black marker]. Sky. Do this one. [The game is not over].

Alison: What is this one? Sky,

James: Black! [We laugh].

Alison: What else? Are there more?

James: Yeah there are. Purple. [This goes on a bit longer and this game ends when

James tells me to draw a picture of a Mini Cooper for him]. (home visit 2, Dec. 5, 2012)

Being playful with James helped me build a rapport with him and I sensed that he felt more confident expressing himself after we shared this laugh.

***Breaking the ice with Elizabeth.***

Being playful with the children also helped engage them in activities. I see this in my visits with Elizabeth and Henry, where Elizabeth would often observe a game Henry and I were playing before joining in. When I arrived at their house for the first home visit with them, they were just getting home from preschool. They had borrowed a board game, City Square Off, from a friend and wanted to play it.

[They are sitting in the hallway, taking the game out of the box. I sit down with them. I ask Elizabeth if she wants to play and she shakes her head no, but she takes the job of flipping the shape cards and watches as Henry and I start to play. She turns over a card that has a straight shape, four squares long. Henry and I start to look through our pieces to find one that matches the picture on the card.]

Alison: A four. That's perfect. [I pick up a piece to put on my board, which I think has four squares on it.]

Henry: Perfect for me too.

Elizabeth: That's not four. [She says this to me, correcting me.]

Alison: Is it not? [I look at the piece in my hand and realize it has 5 squares.] Oh, you're right!

Elizabeth: One, two, three, four, five. [She points to each square as she counts.]

Alison: Thanks. Good thing you're helping me! What's next? [She turns over a card with three squares on it.] A three. Oh, I can count to three!

Elizabeth: It's easy peasy, lemon squeezy! [We both giggle.] (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013)

After this shared laugh, Elizabeth started to engage more in the conversation.

This led to an interesting conversation about Mr. Bean, which both Elizabeth and Henry participated in. I return to the Mr. Bean conversation in Chapter Six.

*Alison pretends to cry.*

In another home visit with Henry and Elizabeth, we were in their bedroom, sitting on the floor. I had brought an UNO card game with me. This was the first time we played the game. As with City Square Off, Elizabeth opted not to play at first while Henry and I played. She was colouring beside us. Henry had just won several games in a row.

[Henry wins again.]

Alison: It's not fair! [I cross my arms on my chest and make an unhappy face]. I want to win! [I make pretend crying sounds. Elizabeth and Henry laugh hysterically at my mock outburst. I join them.]

Henry: You're like a little dog that's losing every race.

Alison: Every race. It's not fair at all. [Laughter subsides.] Okay, are you going to deal?

Henry: No. [I deal the cards and this time, Elizabeth watches closely and comments on the cards being played. She chooses to join the next game. She wins.] (home visit 4, Jan. 28, 2013)

During the home visits, I shared many giggles with the children and this sense of playfulness contributed greatly to the comfortable rapport we developed with each other. Without this level of comfort, I am quite sure that we would not have been able to generate the rich data that I discuss in the next chapter. Playfulness is an essential ingredient when generating data with young children as it opened spaces for us to express and represent ourselves.

### **Creative Approaches**

Fostering respectful relationships with children and being playful with them can pave the way for a variety of creative activities. Thus, the third key criterion to doing research with children is to use creative approaches to co-create contexts for conversations. This gives children space to express their individualities and use their imaginations. I learned quite early on that home visits with each child would be unique. By approaching the visits with few expectations and a lot of interest in listening to the children, we ended up engaging in many different types of activities and conversations. Some were initiated by the children as they showed me around their homes, or showed me toys, books, or family photos. Other times, activities developed around materials I brought with me in my craft bag.

### **Open-access craft bag.**

When I visited the children, I always took a craft bag with me, stocked with markers, pencil crayons, crayons, many different colours of paper, tape, and scissors (see Figure 5.1 below). I also had an UNO card game in the bag, and near the end of the inquiry I started bringing a felt storyboard with me as well. Also, I always brought slightly different things in the bag. For example, sometimes I would bring a photo album of my family, or a book to read together if the children were interested. The children liked to look through the bag and see what I had brought to each visit.



**Figure 5.1: The craft bag**

### ***Elizabeth reaches in.***

[Elizabeth, Henry, and I are in their bedroom. Elizabeth is sitting on my lap and Henry is sitting nearby. He has been showing me treasures from his treasure box. Elizabeth picks up the craft bag.]

Elizabeth: What else is in here? [Earlier in the visit, I had taken out a photo album of my family and we looked through it together.]

Alison: Well, let's see. I have my camera if you want to take any pictures.

Elizabeth: No.

Alison: I have a bunch of paper, markers, pencil crayons, crayon, tape.

Henry: Did you bring a book?

Alison: Not this time. I brought UNO. Do you know how to play?

Henry: I played it one time, but I don't remember.

Alison: We can play open handed so we can see each other's cards.

Elizabeth: I think I want to draw.

Henry: Uno, uno, uno. [He opens the box and I start showing him how to play. Elizabeth takes some paper and the box of markers and sits beside us, colouring.] (home visit 4, Jan. 28, 2013)

The children's curiosity in the contents of the bag often led to very organic transitions between activities, which they initiated.

***Henry finds the craft bag.***

When I arrived for the next home visit, Henry and Elizabeth were in the kitchen with their mom, finishing their lunch. When they finished eating, they both wandered into the dining room, leaving Sayumi and me in the kitchen.

[I follow Henry and Elizabeth to the dining room. Henry sees my craft bag on the floor in the hallway. I had left it there when I arrived.]

Henry: What did you bring today?

Alison: Have a look.

Henry: I want to play UNO.

Alison: You want to play UNO? Here? [I am looking at the dining room table, which is covered with arts and crafts.]

Henry: There's not enough space.

Alison: Do you want to go downstairs? [This is where we played the last time.] What about on the carpet over there? [I point to the living room, which has a big grey shag rug on the floor. He goes there and sits down. Henry plays UNO by himself and Elizabeth and I do some colouring together.] (home visit 5, Feb. 14, 2013)

Eventually, Henry joined us in drawing and we started to create a collaborative drawing based on the language prompt picture I carried with me in the craft bag. I return to the conversation around the drawing in Chapter Six. It was a revealing moment in the inquiry and it came up organically and spontaneously.

***Taichi reaches in.***

With Taichi, we spent the last two visits at the library near his house. The library had a good selection of board games and a toy corner (see Figure 5.2 below); however, everything was new to us both. The craft bag was familiar because he had seen it in the previous home visits. As I showed above, Taichi was a bit shy with me at first in the library and it took awhile to feel like we were connecting. It was when he reached into the craft bag and pulled out the felt storyboard, which was lying on top of some folders of paper, that we started to really engage together.



**Figure 5.2: The craft bag at the library**

[Taichi puts the lid on the game he had been playing. He reaches into the craft bag and pulls out the felt storyboard.]

Taichi: How do you take this off? [He is asking how to open the storyboard.]

Alison: I'll show you. And then I can show you this game. [I take the UNO game out and put it on the table.]

Taichi: Yes! [He says this with a fist pump. This is the most enthusiasm he has shown so far in this visit. I show him how the felt pieces stick to the board.] I want to make a crab. [We start to make a scene together. This is first time this visit that we are engaging together. I see this in his language, too. He starts to talk about what *we* should do, rather than what *he* should do]. . . . It's the night so we don't need a sun. [He starts to lead the narrative and names the characters.] . . . His name is Orange Orange. His name is Red Red. [We laugh.] This is the house of Orange Orange. (home visit 3, May 24, 2013)



**Figure 5.3: Orange Orange and Red Red (with Taichi)**

As I wrote in my fieldnotes, this was the first time during the visit that Taichi asserted himself. After this, and for the rest of the visit, we played together, rather than

side-by-side. Creating a story on the felt storyboard with Taichi, an activity he initiated as he reached into the craft bag, was a pivotal moment in the visit in terms of fostering a space where we could have conversations and create stories together.

### **Creating stories.**

The children and I created many stories together through drawings and using the felt storyboard. We also created stories during imaginative (sociodramatic) play. The latter was especially the case with James. I discuss the first two in this section and return to the topic of play shortly. Vygotsky (1978) argued that children's drawings are representations of story. Other researchers drawing on a sociocultural and social constructionist framework have interpreted children's drawings as a form of language (e.g., Brooks, 2009). Kendrick and McKay (2004) also interpreted children's drawings as representations of story. They developed a method for five- and six-year old children to communicate their knowledge about, and experiences with, literacy. The children were asked open-ended questions to prompt drawings about their literacy experiences. After this, the children met the researchers individually to talk about their visual representations. The unit of analysis for their research was the literacy event portrayed in the drawing (see also Kendrick, McKay, & Moffat, 2005). My approach with drawings was somewhat different. I used drawings and the felt storyboard as tools to engage children in conversations, and it is the conversations and stories we created together, not the visual representations, that I interpreted as data.

It is important to emphasize, therefore, paying close attention to the conversations that take place *while* the drawing is being created since this is when meaning is emerging and has significance to the creators. As Roberts-Holmes (2005) noted, once a drawing is



done, young children will often not have much to say about it. In my inquiry, I found that this was the case: the drawing was meaningful only in the moment, but after we moved on to the next activity, conversations about and reflections on the drawing were minimal to nonexistent. I also found that the drawings we did collaboratively led to the richest conversations.

In my craft bag, I always had several copies of the language prompt, which was the only pre-meditated material I prepared for the inquiry. My plan was to use Krumm and Jenkins' (2001) language portraits approach, which they had used with primary students in Europe. They asked the students to colour in the outline of a person, using a different colour pen for each language they speak. These language portraits were used to document students' multilingualism, raise their awareness of linguistic diversity within their class, and begin discussions and reflections on their own multilingualism. Before I started this inquiry, I imagined that using this same prompt would be a good way to elicit conversations about the children's understandings of their multilingualism. In practice though, this did not always happen. The following vignettes show, once again, that when I tried to impose my own agenda, it was easily derailed. I attribute this difference in outcome from Krumm and Jenkins' to the non-directive approach I took in this inquiry.

***James and the language prompt.***

The first time I tried to use the language prompt with James, I started off with a blank piece of paper and drew an outline of a person I said was James.

[We are sitting on the carpet in Aya's bedroom. There are markers and papers around us, as well as toys cars. James is tracing a Mini Cooper toy car on a piece of paper. I have a different piece of paper and start to draw the outline of a person.]

Alison: I'm going to draw James.

James: Oh cute!

Alison: And what is James' very favourite thing?

James: Mini Cooper. [I draw a small car in his hand.]

Alison: So, you're holding a Mini Cooper. [He smiles]. You like that? Now, a big smile.

And you need some hair.

James: Draw a pouting mouth.

Alison: What do you want?

James: A pouting mouth. Like this. [He shows me his pouting face.]

Alison: Okay. I'll do another one on the back. [I start to draw him again, this time with a pouting face. James takes a marker and starts to draw poop on the picture of him.]

James: Oh no! There's poo poo coming out! [The drawing and story evolve around toilets and pipes underground and more poop.] (home visit 4, Dec. 14)

Here I was, once again, being reminded quite explicitly that the agenda had to be *ours*. The second time I tried this prompt with James, I took out a copy of the language prompt outline and asked James if he could colour it in using a different colour for each language. James did not understand what I was asking him and said, "I'll show you what Japanese is" (home visit 6, Feb. 22, 2013). He led me to the bathroom to show me the Japanese *hiragana* (syllabary) on the bathtub wall. Then he said, "Okay, let's play." Clearly, my explanation had not captured his imagination or curiosity. Again, I was thankful that he was comfortable enough with me to remind me not to impose too much of an agenda on our play.

***Taichi and the language prompt.***

When I tried to do the language prompt activity with Taichi, we ended up having a completely parallel conversation. After my earlier attempt with James, I thought it would better if I modeled how to fill in the person with different colours.

[We are sitting beside each other at a round table in the library. Taichi said he wanted to do some drawing, so I took the markers and crayons out of the craft bag and spread different colours of paper on the table so he could choose what he wanted to use. I picked out a copy of the language prompt and started explaining how I would fill it in.]

Alison: I speak English, French, and Japanese. [As I say each language, I pick up a different colour marker.] Do you want to pick colours for your person?

Taichi: All of these. [He points to the rest of the markers.]

Alison: You speak all those languages?

Taichi: No, because there is all the colours for Angry Birds.

Alison: Oh, Angry Birds. I thought we were talking about languages [I say this with a smile. I put my drawing aside and turn my attention to his drawing of Angry Birds.] (home visit 3, May 24, 2013)

As I was doing the transcription, it became very clear to me that we were not talking about languages, but I was. Taichi was talking about Angry Birds. Earlier in this conversation, when we first started drawing, he said to me, “I’m going to show you how to draw the blue Angry Bird.” I only picked up on this when I was doing the transcription. During this visit, there was a young girl at the library who kept coming by the table to show me toys. When I took the paper and crayons out of the craft bag, she sat down with us and said she wanted to colour too. As Taichi was explaining his plan to me, I was

giving the girl some crayons and paper, so I missed what he said. My attention was on the girl, not him. What this misunderstanding highlighted for me is the importance of being very disciplined about doing transcriptions within 24 hours of the visit. I was able to recall what was taking place during that exchange and better understand why we ended up having this parallel conversation.



**Figure 5.4: Angry Birds (by Taichi)**

*Henry and Elizabeth and the language prompt.*

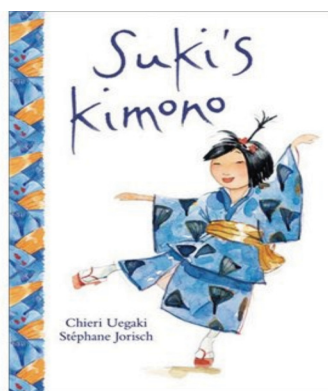
The collaborative drawing Henry, Elizabeth, and I did on the language prompt created the conditions for a very rich conversation about language, not in the sense that I thought it would, but revealing nevertheless. Our drawing became very multi-layered; as we drew, a co-created story emerged. I come back to this vignette in Chapter Six. While not all the conversations the children and I had while we were drawing together generated the type of data that appear in the next chapter, I see tremendous value in working collaboratively with children on drawings and paying attention to the dialogue that emerges.

### Reading stories.

When I visited the children, I sometimes brought one of two books with me in my craft bag: *Spork* or *Suki's Kimono*. I chose these books because I thought the children might be able to relate to them. *Spork* is written by a Japanese-Canadian author, Kyo Maclear (2010), and illustrated by Montreal artist Isabelle Arsenault. It is about a spork (a utensil), whose mom is a spoon and dad is a fork. Spork sticks out in the cutlery drawer because there are not other utensils quite like him. However, one day a “messy thing” (i.e., a baby) arrives at the home and none of the other utensils are quite right. Spork is perfect and he finally finds his way to the dinner table. The message is about appreciating the individualities of people, and the book highlights that everyone has their own way of being special. I like this book very much, but when I read it with the children, I did not sense that they were very engaged in the story or that they understood the message.

When I read *Suki's Kimono*, on the other hand, this opened up spaces for some very rich reflections on the children's own lived experiences, especially with Henry and Elizabeth. They both seemed to identify with the characters and images in the book. *Suki's Kimono* is written by Japanese-Canadian author Chieri Uegaki (2005) and illustrated by Montreal artist Stéphane Jorisch. The story takes place in Canada. It is about a young girl, Suki, and her first day of grade one. Despite her older sisters' warnings, she wears the kimono that she wore when her obaachan (grandmother) visited from Japan and they went to a Japanese summer festival. Children at school and in her class tease Suki. When her teacher asks her to talk about her summer vacation, Suki recounts her experience at the summer festival. As she remembers the festival and the

dancing, she starts to dance in front of the class. When her performance is over, the class is silent. But once her teacher starts to clap, the whole class bursts into applause for Suki. There is a strong message in the book of being proud of who you are.



**Figure 5.5: *Suki's Kimono***

***Elizabeth identifies with Suki.***

When I pulled this book out of the craft bag, and Henry and Elizabeth saw the cover of the book, they were captivated. As I read, Elizabeth wanted to find all the pictures that corresponded to the story. She also started to respond to Suki's actions with her own, as I show in the vignette below. Henry, on the other hand, listened quietly and seemed to be thinking deeply about the story.

[The three of us are sitting on the shag rug in the living room. We are leaning on the sofa. Elizabeth is sitting very close to me, almost on me. Henry is sitting nearby, but is not touching me. As I read the story, they both look carefully at the pictures. Elizabeth often touches them.]

Alison: "Suki took a deep breath and continued. The best thing was that my obaachan took me to a festival. And there were dancing girls, dressed like me, and they danced like this. She took a few steps and swayed her arms sideways."

[Elizabeth is sitting, but moving her arms a bit.] "'Look, now she's *dancing*,'

someone said. But Suki didn't hear. She hummed the music she remembered hearing at the festival. She remembered how it felt to dance barefoot in the open air, on fresh-cut grass that tickled her toes." [Elizabeth is standing up now and has her hands in the air, just like the picture of Suki. She is wiggling her toes on the shag carpet]. "She tried to picture the other dancers. How they moved forward in a circle."

Elizabeth: It doesn't tickle.

Alison: Well, there's no grass under your toes, is there? [I say this with a smile, then return to the story.] "They stamped their feet, first right, then left, swung their arms, first up, then down. How they stepped back and back and back, then clapped."

Elizabeth: [She has taken off her socks and is wiggling her toes in the shag rug.] Now it tickles. Now it tickles!

When I finished reading the story, Elizabeth said, "I've got a kimono!" and she ran downstairs to her room to get it. Henry took the book and slowly turned through all the pages and said he liked the book "Very much." When Elizabeth returned with her kimono,<sup>21</sup> she said, "It's right here!"

Alison: It's lovely. It has goldfish on it. That's for the summer, isn't it? That's nice.

My girls have ones that are with shorts, not a skirt. Oh, and look, it has butterfly wings just like Suki's kimono. (home visit 6, Mar. 14, 2013)

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<sup>21</sup> This was a two-piece cotton outfit with a skirt bottom and a shirt that ties up on the side.

It is short sleeved, but the arms are long, just like Suki's kimono.

Elizabeth then put the shirt on and we looked at the sleeves, the butterfly wings. Henry and I blew on them to see if we could make them blow in the wind like Suki's did. This story sharing created a space for Elizabeth to express her identity.

In addition to the books I brought, we sometimes read books that the children had at home. With James, he liked to show me the books he had taken out of the library. Part way through my first visit with him, he held up a book about airplanes and said, "Look, my favourite book!" (home visit 2, Dec. 5, 2012). He could tell me what was written on each page. Clearly, his parents had read this to him many times already. Looking at this book together led quite naturally to a conversation about the places he has been on an airplane. I learned that James had recently been to Hawaii for a vacation with his grandparents who live in Japan.

With Taichi, I read a Japanese book that he (actually, his stuffed Totoro) chose, as well as some library books, which I chose because he asked me to. I will say more about when Totoro chose a book in Chapter Six.

An important part of shared reading experiences from storybooks were the interactions and dialogue that occurred throughout. The stories provided an interesting point of discussion, as the children related their own knowledge and prior experience to the visual images and words of the stories. Overall, reading books with the children was a good way to open up spaces for them to express and represent themselves.

### **Playing.**

Providing spaces and time for children to play is a critical part of creating conditions in which children can express themselves. Above, I wrote about the importance of being playful with children, which involves laughing and being silly.



Playfulness is a quality that can certainly be present in children's play and play with children, but it is not always. There are endless ways to play and children all have their own favourite games to play or ways to play. Engaging in play that is largely led by the children creates spaces for meaningful conversations with them. There were many different props we used in our play, including the children's stuffed animals, toy cars, train sets, books, puzzles, card games, and board games. With James, especially, we engaged in a lot of sociodramatic play with his toy cars and airplanes.

The key point I would like to make here is that while I was interpreting the data, I realized how essential play was for creating contexts for conversations with the children; it provided the backdrop for all of our conversations. None of our conversations took place in isolation from other activities, as they might in interviews with adults. There was always something going on behind the scenes of the conversations. This gave the children something to focus on. It also helped me avoid the temptation, as an adult researcher, to fall into a question and answer interview-type interaction. This multimodal meaning-making had important implications for how I decided to represent our interactions as I was transcribing the data (see Chapter Four).

### **Carving Out Spaces for Children**

In Chapter Four, I wrote that conversations with parents, which included the initial home visits and small conversations we had during the home visits I spent with the children, were an important part of the process of generating data. As I was interpreting the data, I noticed a few commonalities with all the families when the parents were around, which I comment on here because they highlight the importance of making sure that the greater part of research time with children in fact takes place with just the

children. The first tendency I observed in my data is that the parents had a tendency to answer for their children.

***Marco speaks for Taichi.***

During the first visit to Taichi's home, when I was speaking primarily with his parents, Taichi was there too, so I also spoke with him a bit. However, as is clear in the excerpts below, when parents are around, it is not always easy to have conversations with their children.

[Marco and I are sitting on sofas in the living room. Taichi and his younger brother, Kazu, are playing with trucks on the mats in the living room. Marco has been telling me about the languages Taichi speaks and where. Taichi looks at me, so I ask him a question.]

Alison: Does anyone at daycare speak Japanese? [He shakes his head no]. English?

Taichi: A little bit. [He has climbed onto the coffee table and is spinning around on his knees.]

Marco: A couple of friends do. (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013)

Taichi did answer my question, but Marco felt the need to clarify what his son had said, though I had understood him just fine.

***Sayumi speaks for Henry.***

I noticed something similar in a visit to Henry and Elizabeth. Near the end of the visit, we were in the kitchen having tea and cookies (which I always brought) with Sayumi. The island in the kitchen was covered with soccer cards. I asked Henry if he traded them with his friends.

Henry: I trade them.

Sayumi: No one has those cards. [She corrects him.]

Henry: The only one who plays with me, with this is my friend Eric, because his dad is in the soccer world. [He corrects her.]

Sayumi: He went to England with Peter. [Peter is her husband, who is from England.]

Alison: Do players have different values? Or do you collect your favourite players?

Sayumi: They have values. [She answers the question.]

Alison: Like their defense strength. [I say this to Henry.]

Henry: His attack isn't very strong. He's a midfielder. See, tackle, power, shot, skill, pass. [He is showing me the statistics on the card.] (home visit 2, Jan. 17, 2013)

As a parent, I can understand this desire to clarify what our children are trying to say and I think it is a fairly normal part of being part of a family. However, as a researcher, I am reminded how important it is to carve out spaces and times to interact only with the children so they can speak for themselves and we can negotiate meaning and understanding together. And, as I see in the above conversation, parents (adults, in general) do not know everything about children's lives. This, of course, is one of the primary reasons for doing research *with* children.

***Elizabeth remembers the cake.***

[I have just walked in the door. Elizabeth runs upstairs, peeks her head into the hallway where I am standing and yells "Ahhhh!" I laugh. Sayumi starts to tell me that they were at a birthday party yesterday at a museum.]

Elizabeth: We had a cake!

Alison: That's the best part, isn't it?

Sayumi: You did a treasure hunt. [She starts to tell me about the treasure hunt at the museum.] (home visit 4, Jan. 28, 2013)

What I like about this vignette is that it reminds me that what stands out as important for children is not always the same as what is important to parents.

Another tendency I noticed in the transcripts was that children would disappear from the conversations altogether when the parents were around. The conversation would easily become adult-centric, as we talked about parenting or holidays, or planned our next visit.

***Taichi disappears from the transcript.***

After my first visit with Taichi in the library (home visit 3, May 24, 2013), I said to him, “Should we go find your mom?” He ran to the other side of the library where Yuki had been working and excitedly showed her the picture he had drawn of Angry Birds. For the last four pages of the transcript, the conversation moves between Yuki and me as we discuss my research, the courses we are both teaching, and the challenges of finding time to spend alone with each of our young children. I know that Taichi was present for this conversation, but to look at the transcript alone, a reader would never know it. I do not want to lessen the importance of these conversations with the parents; however, I do want to emphasize that doing research with children needs to happen with the children in spaces where they have agency to express themselves and be present in the interactions.

***James is persistent.***

I should also point out that when parents were around and the conversation was circling above the children, they were often very good at inserting themselves back into

the conversation. The children knew I was at their home to pay attention to them and not chitchat with their parents.

[I am walking up the stairs to their house. James and Aya shriek when they see me. I unzip my winter jacket and walk through their door.]

James: I have a front loader! [He shows me the drawing his mom did of one of his toys.]

Come and play. Let's play! [He is excited. But, alas, I start chatting with his mom about our respective winter holidays.] Let's play! [He repeats.]

Alison: Okay, let's play. How was your Christmas? [My attention has shifted to James now.]

James: Good. I got an Audi. (home visit 5, Jan. 18, 2013)

Part way through the same visit, James' dad, Ian, came home from work. At one point, James and I went into the living room. Ian went into a long monologue about their holidays. Meanwhile, James kept repeating, "Look at this!" I tried to politely ease my way out of the conversation with Ian. James helped.

[After repeating, "Look at this!" several times, James tries a new approach.]

James: Let's draw a killer whale!

Alison: I know, I've been distracted. Okay, what colour?

James: Black. [We go to the bedroom to look for a black marker.] (home visit 5, Jan. 18, 2013).

James is a middle child, and he seems to be quite used to jockeying for attention. In the final home visit, his mom, Natsumi, came into the bedroom while James and I were playing, and we started chatting. After a few minutes, James drew my attention back to him and said, "Let's play the monster game where you hide" (home visit 6, Feb. 22,

2013). In other words, stop talking and play with me. I listened and we negotiated the rules for the monster game.

Overall, in the home visits, the parents left me alone with their children most of the time and I never felt that I needed more time alone with the children. However, as I read through the transcripts, the conversation shifts that occurred when adults were in the same room were frequent enough that I felt it was worthy to include as a criterion for doing research *with* children. Creating spaces to engage alone with the children is at the heart of doing research with children; it was in these spaces that we negotiated our agendas, played together, and developed respectful relationships in which we could express ourselves.

### **Chapter Summary**

Doing research with young children is a dynamic, unpredictable, and creative process. As such, I do not think there can be any strict rules to follow as a researcher. That said, the four criteria that emerged from the data I generated with the children provide a good starting point for this methodological approach. By fostering respectful relationships with the children, being playful, using creative approaches, and carving out spaces to interact with them alone, we were able to generate some very rich data that respond to the guiding questions of this inquiry. I present and discuss these in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Six: Being and Becoming Multilingual - Significant Learnings**

“Everything in French for me! Everything in French.” (Taichi, age 4)

### **Chapter Overview**

In this chapter, I begin by sharing vignettes from the home visits and contextualizing the children’s individual experiences. I present vignettes in chronological order and for each child individually, beginning with James because he was the first child I met during this inquiry. Because I engaged with Elizabeth and Henry together, I present their vignettes in the same section, even though some times the conversations took place with only one of them. Taichi was the last child I met in this inquiry and I present the vignettes from our visits last. I then discuss common themes that emerged from the data from each child. This is done not in an effort to make generalizations, but because commonalities did emerge and they are worth discussing as such.

### **James**

James was always very excited to have me in his home and we got along easily. At the time of the inquiry, his family was living in a rented apartment, while their home was being renovated. In the rented home, he shared a room with his older brother, Oscar. His younger sister, Aya, had a bigger bedroom, where most of the kids’ toys were. We spent most of the time in Aya’s bedroom. All of the visits took place in the mornings before lunch and before Aya’s afternoon nap. Aya would wander in and out of her room, curious to join us, but for the most part, their mom, Natsumi, kept Aya with her. James was often sad when I told him that I would have to leave soon and would ask me why I had to leave. I sensed that it was special for him to have a visitor who was there just for him.

**Home visit 2 (Dec. 5, 2012, 10-11am).**

When I first arrived for this visit, James was driving his new radio controlled car around the front room. He was very talkative and excited. We spent the first few minutes of the visit in the kitchen with Natsumi and Aya eating the cookies I had brought with me. James gave himself six and offered one to his younger sister. After the snack, James showed me Aya's room and then he showed me the bunk beds in the room he shares with his older brother, Oscar. After this brief tour, we spent the rest of the visit in Aya's room playing with toy airplanes and cars and doing some drawing.

***James speaks Japanese.***

[James and I are in Aya's room. We are sitting on the floor playing with toy airplanes.]

Alison: There's a pilot. Where do you think they're going?

James: Where do you live? In Canada?

Alison: I live in Canada. But my husband is Japanese, so we have family in Japan, just like you.

James: I speak Japanese.

Alison: You do? Who do you speak Japanese with?

James: At Japanese school.

Alison: At Japanese school?

James: Yeah, and with the teacher. . . .

Alison: Do you like Japanese school?

James: Yeah.

Alison: What do you do there?



James: Play and (inaudible).

Alison: Do you sing songs?

James: Yeah.

Alison: What songs?

James: Uh, I don't know. Like Twinkle Twinkle.

Alison: But in Japanese, right? [I start to sing the song.] Kira kira hikaru.

James: Yeah, that one. Hey, look at the Mini Cooper! . . .

Alison: Do you speak Japanese with anyone else?

James: Yeah.

Alison: Like who?

James: Like, Baba and Jiji (Grandma and Grandpa).

Alison: And what about with your sister?

James: She speaks, uh, she's two.

Alison: Yeah, she's two. Do you speak Japanese with Oscar?

James: Uh, yes.

Alison: When?

James: I don't know. . . .

Alison: Do you speak Japanese with your Mommy?

James: Yeah! She's Japanese! That's a jumbo. [He is pointing at an airplane in his library book.]

In this vignette, I see that James has some fairly strong associations between language use and places (e.g., Japanese at Japanese school) and with certain people (Japanese with certain family members). When I asked him if he speaks Japanese with

his mom, he seemed surprised that I would ask a question with such an obvious answer. He shows that he has a good understanding of Natsumi's language rule that her children have to speak with her in Japanese.

When telling me about the songs he sings at Japanese school, James thought of a Japanese song, but told me about it in English ("Twinkle Twinkle"). Even though I had just told him that I have family in Japan, he did not take this to mean that I speak or understand Japanese, so he translated the experience into English for me. I sensed that James made an association between the way I look (i.e., White) and what language(s) I might understand and this assumption was stronger than the information I had just given him.

Something else I felt in my visits with James, and which is apparent in this vignette, is that he was not overly interested in talking to me about language. I think this is because his multilinguality is so completely normal for him that he does not have much to say about it. When I asked him questions about language, he would quickly redirect the conversation to more interesting topics, such as cars and airplanes.

Later in this visit James told me that he would learn French one day, but can only say "bonjour" for now. His older brother, Oscar, is learning French in school and James knows he will do the same. He told me that his dad speaks English and some French and that his mom speaks Japanese, English, and French. Just as James' multilinguality is normal to him, so too is the diversity of linguistic repertoires amongst his family members.

*Language in public space in Montreal.*

[James is colouring in a Mini Cooper I drew for him, using his sky blue marker. He has just finished telling me that when he goes shopping with his mom, he likes to ride in the shopping cart.]

Alison: When you go shopping, do you hear people speak French?

James: Yup, and English and Japanese. . . . In Canada, they speak only English.

Alison: Only English.

James: Yeah.

Alison: What about in Montreal?

James: Yup.

Alison: Only English?

James: In Montreal? Yes. . . . Can you draw this? [He wants me to finish the Mini Cooper drawing.]

Once again, James seems to have quite clear boundaries around where languages fit with respect to the languages he speaks, English and Japanese. For him, Canada is an English place and Japan and Japanese school are Japanese places. However, his language practices within those places are not determined wholly by these boundaries. For instance, in his home in Canada, he regularly speaks Japanese. Though James appears to have rather fixed boundaries around languages when they are associated with places, what happens in those places is much more fluid languaging and translanguaging. I observed many examples of his fluid bilingual languaging when he was in the room with both Natsumi and me. His ideas about languages are a reflection of his experiences in his social worlds, which have thus far been primarily English and Japanese. As Natsumi

commented in the first home visit, James has “no idea about French.” His ideas will surely continue to shift, especially once he starts learning French at school.

***Misunderstanding.***

[We are still drawing and colouring. Our conversation has been weaving in and out of the topics of grocery shopping and food we like, and our drawings.]

Alison: Do you like somen (Japanese noodles)?

James: Snowman? [He looks at me, confused.]

Alison: Somen. It’s a kind of noodle.

James: Somen, no. [He has said he does not like most of the foods I listed.]

In this vignette, James thought I was speaking English; he expected me to be speaking English. As with the first vignette I shared from this home visit, I felt that James really did not see me as a person who can or should be speaking Japanese since I am not Japanese. In this visit, James decided that I am an English-only person. It is true that I was speaking mostly English with him; however, I did tell him that I speak some Japanese and I showed him this in my languaging as well. Yet, it is as if the assumption he had already formed about me, based on in part on how I look, overrode what he was hearing from me.

**Home visit 3 (Dec. 10, 2012, 10-11am).**

After the previous visit, I asked Natsumi if she could email me a family photograph or two. She sent me two and I printed these out and brought them to this visit. James and I looked at the pictures together for part of the visit and he told me about his family members. I also printed out the pictures he had taken on my camera of his car

drawings last time. He was really happy to have these pictures. In addition to looking at pictures, we played with his toy Shinkansen (Japanese bullet trains) and airplanes.

***Dad's Japanese is funny.***

[James and I are sitting in the floor in Aya's room, looking at a photograph of his family from his last trip to Japan. He is pointing out the people he can name.]

Alison: Do Baba and Jiji speak English to you? [He has just pointed out his Japanese grandparents.]

James: No. Japanese.

Alison: Do they speak English at all?

James: No.

Alison: What about with your dad?

James: My dad? He speaks Japanese when they speak Japanese. It's so funny.

James established that his grandparents speak Japanese only and then commented on how his dad, Ian, struggles to communicate with them. James was able to make a judgement on his dad's Japanese language abilities. In so doing, James positioned himself as an expert Japanese speaker, someone who knows the difference between good Japanese and "funny" Japanese.

***Which language where.***

[James is playing with my camera, taking pictures of his toy cars. He looks out his window to the cars parked on the street to find my car. He tells me about his friend, Miyu, who has a Mazda, which he pronounces in Japanese: Ma-tsu-da.]

Alison: Is Miyu a friend at school?

James: Yeah.

Alison: Which school?

James: Japanese school. [He is taking pictures again.] . . .

Alison: At the train school, does anyone speak Japanese to you?

James: Japanese school they speak Japanese. Train school they speak English. And

Alison: And, the other school?

James: Jen's school, they speak English.

Alison: No French.

James: No French. Oscar's school is French. And the train school is English. . . .

Alison: Do your friends at the train school know you speak Japanese?

James: Nope. English.

James goes to three schools, two preschools, which are English, and Japanese school. He has very strong associations between these places and which languages he can speak there, to the extent that his friends at the "train school" do not know that he speaks Japanese. He adjusts his language practices to fit what he perceives as different language zones. However, as I noted above, when he is with certain people, the place-related boundaries around languages are less powerful in shaping his languaging. It seems as though the association between people and languages could be stronger than place-based boundaries.

***James finds a runway.***

[We are in James and Oscar's bedroom, looking through big plastic boxes of Lego, and toy cars and trucks. James picks up a Lego piece that looks like it is part of an airport set.]

James: Oh, a kasoro. [I get the sense he is talking to himself.]

Alison: What's that?

James: A runway. [He translates for me.]

Alison: Kasoro?

James: In English it's called runway.

Alison: Okay. And in Japanese, it's kasoro?

James: Yup.

Alison: I just learned a new word. Thank you!

James: Yeah, because I know everything. [Next, he shows me a concrete mixer, a motorcycle, and a Lexus from among the toy cars.]

Here, James showed himself to be a strong and competent bilingual, not to mention knowledgeable in general. Although James did not speak Japanese directly to me during the visits, and seemed confused if I said anything in Japanese to him, he did, on a few occasions, use Japanese when he was talking out loud to himself. This vignette shows that even though James has expressed clear ideas of which languages to speak in which places, his actual language practices are not always as tightly bound. Also, at home, he speaks both English and Japanese, so translanguaging here is normal for him.

#### **Home visit 4 (Dec. 14, 2012, 10-11:30am).**

In this home visit, in addition to drawing and colouring in Aya's bedroom, James and I built an airport together in his room.

#### ***Japanese in Japanese school.***

[James and I are sitting in Aya's room, on the carpet, colouring. This is a conversation we had while I tried, for the first time, to use the language prompt with James, when the story turned to toilets and pipes underground. See Chapter Five.]

Alison: When I go to Japanese school, because I'm going to go there soon with Mia, am I allowed to speak English? . . .

James: In my class? No. They speak Japanese.

Alison: Do you ever speak English there?

James: No.

Alison: What happens if you speak English?

James: They get mad. They will get mad.

Alison: Okay. Well, I'll practice then. What about Mommies and Daddies, do they always speak Japanese too?

James: My mom speaks Japanese and my Dad doesn't speak Japanese.

Alison: And that's okay?

James: That's not okay. Can you make a pipe for the water to go down? [We draw pipes for the toilet. He calls to his mom, in Japanese, to come into the room to see the picture we drew, which has a drawing of him on each side.]

James: [to Natsumi] Kore ga James no cranky face. (This is James' cranky face.) [He flips the page over.] Kore ga James no happy face. (This is James' happy face.) [Natsumi comments, in Japanese, that she prefers the happy face. She leaves the room.] Make an airplane.

In this vignette, James showed me, again, that he understands that he has to speak Japanese at Japanese school. He feels that his teachers would get mad if he speaks English and thinks it is not good that his dad cannot follow the rule of speaking Japanese at Japanese school. Yet, James shows in this vignette, as with above, that there are rules and boundaries, and there are actual language practices. James knows the rules of



language use and seems to have quite strict boundaries around what language belongs where, but when it comes to his language practices, to his languaging, James is much more flexible, as in the last part of the vignette when he showed the pictures to his mom.

***James is surprised by my Japanese.***

[We are in James and Oscar's bedroom, building an airport with Lego. Natsumi comes in with green tea for me and rice crackers (sembei) for both of us.]

Alison: [I take a bite.] Sembei oishii.

James: What? [He is surprised.]

Alison: Oishii.

James: Yeah, it's yummy. Because it's made of cookies.

Alison: It's made of cookies?. . . It tastes like shoyu (soya sauce).

James: Yeah.

Alison: And goma (sesame seeds).

James: Goma? These?

Alison: The little black ones are goma.

James: Oh, I know goma. In English, what are called these?

Alison: Sesame seeds.

James: And watermelons have seeds.

In my home, I tend to speak Japanese when I eat or prepare Japanese food, so my response to the snack James and I were eating felt very normal to me. James, however, was surprised that I spoke Japanese, and when I repeated the adjective "oishii," he replied in English. However, once he got over the unexpectedness of me speaking Japanese, he was able to engage in some negotiation of meaning as we both moved back and forth

between English and Japanese. This was the first time during the home visits that James acknowledged that I speak Japanese.

***Airport mados.***

[James and I are finishing our sembei and we start to play with Lego blocks again. I am building the airport and he is working on a bus.]

Alison: Does the airport have windows?

James: Yeah. [I look through the box of blocks.]

Alison: Here's a window.

James: Now we need a roof. [He is talking about his bus.] We need mados (windows).

We need a mado.

Alison: Oh yeah.

James: Oh, we need to put the mado up here. [He puts a window on the bus.]

Alison: That's right. Then the driver can see out. Oh, that's a cool bus!

James: I'm going to show Mommy. [He runs out of the room with the bus.]

As with the kasoro (runway) vignette from the third home visit, James translanguages with me. This conversation came after the above vignette, in which James acknowledged that I can speak Japanese. It seems as though his initial impression of me as English-only started to broaden in this home visit.

**Home visit 5 (Jan. 18, 2013, 10am-12pm).**

In this visit, as I discussed in Chapter Five, James' father came home from work and he spoke to me quite a lot. It felt quite natural to speak with him, as I was in their home; however because I spent more time talking with James' parents, James and I did not have as much time to engage together. Most of the data generated during this home

visit were more relevant to the discussion in Chapter Five. In this visit, we drew, coloured, and cut out a lot of killer whales. I also read the book *Spork* to James, but he was not very captured by the story. He preferred to show me his library books about whales. In this visit, he started to come up with a game that we continued in the next visit, which I have called “Canada and Japan.” The game was set up on his Tomica track, which is a fold out Japanese city, with streets to push the cars on, and the city rug on Aya’s bedroom floor, pictured below in Figure 6.1.



**Figure 6.1: James drawing on the city rug**

**Home visit 6 (Feb. 22, 2013, 10-11:30am).**

This was the last home visit with James. His family was about to move to their newly renovated house. James was excited and his mom, Natsumi, seemed exhausted. At the beginning of the visit, we sat in the living room together and talked about moving preparations while James and Aya played around us. James was cleaning the furniture and the television with a spray bottle of cleaner and a rag, and Aya was putting her rubber boots on and taking them off repeatedly. In this visit, James started calling me by name, Alisan. He was the only child in this inquiry to call me by name. I like his interpretation of my name: Alison-San (in Japanese) becomes Alisan (in English and Japanese).

*Canada and Japan, stuck together.*

[About 20 minutes into the visit, James and I go to his sister's bedroom. His Tomica track is open on the floor, near the city rug, set up the same way it was at the end of the previous visit.]

James: This is Canada. [He points at the city rug.]

Alison: This is Canada? And what's this? [I point at the Tomica track.]

James: Japan. And that's James Lake. [He points at the pond on the Tomica track.]

Stick them together.

Alison: Canada and Japan have to be stuck together?

James: Yeah. Now you're in Canada.



**Figure 6.2: In Canada (with James)**

I like this vignette because I feel it is representative of James' strong multilingual and multiethnic identity. He is Canadian and Japanese, he speaks English and Japanese. Both are "stuck together." There are boundaries, but these are fluid and shift depending on where he is and, more strongly, who he is with. When we played Canada and Japan, James mostly directed me to stay in Canada, which I also felt was representative of who he thinks I am.

***I love English!***

[Natsumi comes into Aya's bedroom, where James and I are looking at a globe. He is showing me where Japan is – it is the “sausage” – and where Canada is. Natsumi is holding an Anpanman (popular Japanese animation character) book that has a large pen on it. The pen makes noise and says words. It can be set to speak English or Japanese. The pen say the name of an object on the page and when you find the object on the page and hold the pen over it, the pen plays the Anpanman theme song and says “Sugoi!” (Great!).]

Natsumi: It's in English and Japanese.

Alison: Oh cool! What do you do with this? [I ask James and he shows me how it works on a page with sea creatures on it. He is using it in English.] Do you play with this in Japanese?

Natsumi: That's why I bought it, but he only uses it in English.

James: Because I LOVE English!

Natsumi: We were shopping the other day in a very French store and the people said, “Bonjour,” and he said, “I only speak English.” [She seems embarrassed by this.]

In previous visits, James reminded me that he speaks Japanese and expressed a strong affiliation with Japanese language and the people he speaks it with. This was the first time I heard him position himself as someone who loves English. From this vignette, it seems that James does not have a very good sense yet that French is the majority language in Montreal. Natsumi expressed some disappointment in this in the first home visit as well when she shared a similar story of when they went apple picking and James asked why everyone around them was speaking French. He has been socialized in

English and Japanese, but he has not had a lot of exposure to French. Even though his parents have told him that French is the majority language in Montreal and Quebec, James' own life experiences do not tell him this. It appears that he is basing his understanding of his social worlds on his own experiences and not on what his parents have told him.

**Summary: James.**

Overall, James showed me that he has strong affiliations with both Japanese and English and Japan and Canada. He expressed his expertise in Japanese. Although he knows that he will learn French in the future and his parents have told him that French is the majority language in Montreal, for the moment, his social worlds are English and Japanese, and this is reflected in his understanding of Montreal as an English city. That said, there are places in Montreal where he speaks Japanese (i.e., Japanese school) and people in Montreal with whom he speaks Japanese (his mom, his teacher, friends at Japanese school, sometimes with his brother). However, he knows that English is a more dominant language than Japanese in Canada and Montreal. Already, he seems to understand how his languages are placed in a hierarchy, depending on where he is. James has strong associations between languages and places and his friends and family, and a clear understanding of the rules of language use in those places and with different people. He seems to put quite clear boundaries around languages when they are associated with places, but his associations with people are stronger than the place-based boundaries. In other words, even if a place is English, if someone is there (e.g., his mom) who is Japanese, he will speak Japanese. In his language practices, boundaries around languages are much less rigid. In addition to his language decisions being shaped by places and the

languages he associated with people, I also felt that during the home visits, he decided early on that I was an English-only person, not only on the basis of language, but also how I look. It took awhile for him to start responding to me as a person who can speak and understand some Japanese: his first impression of me held strong until I gave him enough evidence in my languaging that countered this impression.

I now turn to presenting and discussing vignettes from the home visits with Elizabeth and Henry.

### **Elizabeth and Henry**

I started my home visits to Henry and Elizabeth in January 2013. We got along very easily and, according to their mom, Sayumi, they always looked forward to my visits. I sensed this as well. Henry really loved to tell stories and was an engaging and animated storyteller. Elizabeth was less talkative, but very active. She often sat on my lap, or would hang off me, or do handstands on me.

#### **Home visit 2 (Jan. 17, 2013, 2-3:30pm).**

This was the first time I visited Henry and Elizabeth. I arrived at their house just as they were getting home from preschool. They had a board game, called City Square Off, with them that they had borrowed from a friend. They sat down in the hallway and started to play the game, so I joined them. As we played, we chatted. Attention was mostly focused on the game (e.g., negotiating turns, reflecting on moves, predicting later moves), but conversation flowed easily to other things as well.

#### ***Crab hands and Mr. Bean.***

[Henry and I start to play the game. Elizabeth has chosen not to play, but she turns the cards over for us.]

Henry: Elizabeth, put the card down. [She turns a card that has the shape of a square letter C on it. Henry and I start to look through our blocks for one that is the same shape.]

Alison: It's a C.

Elizabeth: It's a crab.

Alison: Like this? [As I say this, I make the Japanese hand gesture for kani (crab). She smiles and nods and does the same gesture. To do this gesture, both hands are held up as if making peace signs and the two fingers open and close.]

Henry: For me, it's a telephone. [He holds his hand up to his ear.] Hello, hello, hello.

Alison: Hello. [I hold my hand up to my ear.] Who's there?

Henry: No one's there.

Elizabeth: Mr. Bean! [She giggles.]

Alison: Mr. Bean? Mr. Bean doesn't say much, does he?

Elizabeth: Do you know Mr. Bean? [I nod.] He says allo.

Henry: The only two things he can say in French is Bonjour and -

Alison: Does he speak French?

Henry: He only speaks two words of it. He speaks allo and merci beaucoup.

Alison: Does he speak any Japanese?

Both: NO!! [They laugh. This is clearly an absurd thing to suggest. Elizabeth then starts to tell me the story from a Mr. Bean episode they saw. Henry and I start playing the game again. He repeats several times that he is "mucking up" his board.]

In the first part of this vignette, Elizabeth and I were talking in English and at the same time, we made the Japanese crab gesture with our hands. To me, this highlights the



multimodality of translanguaging. It also suggests that, in a single moment, language practices can have multiple layers of meaning, meanings that are created not in one language or another, but by drawing on multiple language resources.

In the second part of the vignette, we all started to talk about Mr. Bean. Henry and Elizabeth associated Mr. Bean with French, even though the character does not speak. Mr. Bean is played by a White British comedian. When I asked if Mr. Bean could speak Japanese, they answered “No!” in unison, with matching degrees of disbelief in their voices at the absurdity of my question. This tells me that they have a similar boundary around their perceptions of the limits of possibility for Mr. Bean. And speaking Japanese is beyond those limits. However, Mr. Bean does not talk, so the audible aspect of his character cannot be responsible for influencing their judgments. It must be in part because of what Mr. Bean looks like (White).

***Elizabeth speaks a lot of Japanese.***

[Henry and I are still playing City Square Off. Elizabeth is watching, and is turning the cards over for us. We are talking about their friends at school.]

Alison: Does anyone else at your school speak Japanese?

Elizabeth: Um, yes. But my Japanese girl goed somewhere.

Alison: Where did she go?

Elizabeth: Vancouver.

Alison: That’s far away.

Henry: There’s one in grade 7. I know him. His name is Ryota-kun.

Alison: And he’s Japanese?

Henry: Yes. His mom is from Japan. He speaks the same languages as us.

Alison: The same three. French and English and Japanese. So when you see him, what language do you talk to him in?

Henry: Any language.

Elizabeth: And the Vancouver one too.

Alison: You speak to her in any language or in Japanese.

Elizabeth: Japanese and English and French. . . . I speak a lot of Japanese.

Henry: Okay, put it down. [He brings our attention back to the game.]

Henry and Elizabeth seem to have a good awareness of their abilities to language flexibly with others who speak the same languages they do. They do not put strict boundaries around which language they will speak with their friends who have the same language resources; rather, they feel free to speak any language. Although school is a French place, their languaging seems to be determined more by the people they are with, at least on the playground.

In this conversation, Elizabeth identifies herself as someone who is multilingual, but she emphasizes that she speaks a lot of Japanese. In the first home visit with her mom (Dec. 11, 2012), Sayumi told me that Elizabeth speaks more Japanese than English or French and in this vignette, Elizabeth echoed this affiliation with Japanese.

Henry participated in this conversation about school friends and languages only for a short time before he wanted to start focusing on the game again. I felt, as I did with James, that talking about his languages was not the most interesting or exciting topic of conversation for Henry.

***I speak all of the language!***

[Henry has gone into the kitchen. Elizabeth and I have cleaned up City Square Off and I take it to the dining room to put it on the table. The table is covered with crafts. Elizabeth tells me that she made a paper purse with her friend from school, but the string fell off.]

Alison: Who is your friend?

Elizabeth: Diana. [She is trying to tape the string back onto her purse.]

Alison: What language do you speak with her?

Elizabeth: English and French. Look! [She fixed her purse.]

Alison: Great! It works again.

Elizabeth: It opens here. [She shows me that the purse has a pocket. She puts it down and then starts to run down the hall to the kitchen.] I speak all of the language! I speak all of the language! [I follow her to the kitchen.]

Here, Elizabeth showed me that she has a strong sense of her multilinguality. She plays with her friend from school in English and French, but she also knows “all of the language.” She is aware of which language resources are most appropriate in certain social contexts to connect with and engage with her friends.

***Soccer or football.***

[Henry, Elizabeth, and I are sitting at the island in the kitchen. Sayumi has made us tea and opens the box of cookies I brought for them. The island is covered with Henry’s soccer cards.]

Alison: What’s your favorite team?

Henry: Chelsea. This one.

Alison: I don't know much about soccer. Do you call it football, or soccer?

Henry: I call it both. When I speak to one of my English friends, I say football, and when I'm here I say soccer.

Alison: That makes sense.

Sayumi: That's another research. [She laughs.] English English or Canadian English.

Alison: So, you're actually more than trilingual because you can speak British English and Canadian English. [Their dad, Peter, walks into the kitchen.]

Sayumi: [to Peter] You should teach him Cockney!

Peter: Cockney. So, Henry had is barney cut the other day. What's barney? [He asks Henry.]

Henry: Cut. A hair cut. Hair.

Alison: Well, there you go. You know four languages! [Everyone laughs.]

Henry seems to identify quite strongly with his British heritage. He has been to England three times. He speaks English with some British pronunciation. I also noticed several British English expressions in his speech (e.g., mucking up). He is clearly aware of how to use his language resources to navigate different social contexts, as he knows that "here" (in Canada) he has to talk about soccer, but in England, it is football.

### **Home visit 3 (Jan. 21, 2013, 2-3:30pm).**

We spent most of this visit in the hallway on the floor, until tea and cookie time in the kitchen with Sayumi. Henry showed me a photo album from when he was a baby and another from when he was five years old, while Elizabeth did some drawing. Henry told some very animated stories about his camping trips. After we looked at the albums, I

read *Spork* to Elizabeth and Henry, and then we all did some drawing and told stories about what we were drawing.

***Mixing languages with friends.***

[Henry has been showing me his photo albums. He points to his friend, Eric, and tells me that he has a Francophone mom and an Anglophone father from Ottawa.]

Alison: When you're playing with Eric, do you speak English or French?

Henry: Both.

Alison: How do you know which one?

Henry: I don't really know.

Alison: Yeah, you just mix.

Henry: Yeah. [He starts to tell me a long story about a camping trip he went on. Later, he shows me his class picture.]

Alison: Your school is a French school, right?

Henry: Yeah.

Alison: Do you have to speak French all the time?

Henry: Not all the time.

Alison: What about when you play outside?

Henry: Anything.

Alison: If you're playing with friends in English and other friends come who speak French, do you keep speaking English?

Henry: Both. [He turns the page in his album and points at another picture.] This is when I got a leech on my knee.

In this vignette, Henry shows himself to be a very confident multilingual, who does not feel a lot of strict boundaries around his languaging, yet he can shift his practices appropriately to the situation. Although school is French, he does not feel restricted to speak only French when playing with his friends on the playground. Whereas he knows the place is a French place, what happens in that place as Henry interacts with his friends is flexible multilingual languaging, or translanguaging. As I noticed in an earlier vignette, Henry seemed to find the topics of language and multilingualism a bit dry and he was much more interested in telling me stories about the pictures (e.g., his camping trips) than talking about language.

***Responding to Spork.***

[I have just finished reading the book *Spork* to Henry and Elizabeth. I ask them if they know what the book is about. They both say no, so I try to explain that it is about people who have a mom and a dad who are from different places, such as Japan and England.]

Elizabeth: I'm Japanese.

Alison: Yeah.

Elizabeth: I'm Japanese *and* English *and* French.

Alison: That's great.

Elizabeth: My teacher speaks French.

Alison: Do your friends speak French when you're at school?

Elizabeth: Yeah. Two of those people speak bit of English. And one girl speaks

Japanese and bit of French. And my other friend speaks English, French, English,

but no Japanese. [Henry is looking through the craft bag and finds markers. We start to do some drawing.]

Though Elizabeth and Henry did not understand the message in the book *Spork*, when I explained it to them, this created a space for Elizabeth to tell me that she is Japanese. She then revised her statement and included all of her languages. She is both Japanese and multilingual. Once again, I see that she seems to have a strong affiliation with Japanese. This is perhaps why she identified so strongly with Suki when we read *Suki's Kimono* (see Chapter Five). It is hard to tell, in this vignette, if she is referring here to language affiliations, or ethnic ones, or both.

Elizabeth then told me about her friends at school and who speaks what and how much. By making these judgments on other people's language abilities, she positioned herself as a competent multilingual. She can tell whether another person speaks a lot or a little bit of English, French, or Japanese.

#### **Home visit 4 (Jan. 28, 2013, 2-4pm).**

The day before this visit, Henry had lost his third tooth. This was an important theme in the visit and we spent most of it downstairs, in their bedroom, where the tooth fairy footprints were. During this visit, we played with some of the toys in their room and Henry and Elizabeth showed me their treasure boxes. I also showed them a photo album of my family.

#### ***Back in London.***

[We are in Henry and Elizabeth's room. Henry is playing soccer with a balloon. Elizabeth runs upstairs to give her dad a goodbye hug before he goes to work. Henry

starts to tell me about the last time he went to London and how it was just before the London Olympics.]

Henry: So I was lucky because that day was the opening ceremony back in London and we watched it at my friend's place.

Alison: The Olympics.

Henry: Yeah. We were playing soccer and it turned 3:30 and got home at their home and we saw (British pronunciation) just as the ceremony started.

Elizabeth: Baaaaahhhhh! [She has run back downstairs.]

In this vignette, what stands out to me is the way Henry referred to the opening ceremonies as being “back in London.” Similarly, in the third home visit (Jan. 21, 2013), when he was showing me his photo albums, he said he was going “back to Japan in four months. . . . And when we come back here, it's going to be Elizabeth's birthday.” What I take from his way of referring to England, Montreal, and Japan is that Henry has a strong affiliation to each of these parts of his heritage. Instead of saying “going to Japan,” or “in London,” he said “back to Japan” and “back in London,” which suggests that he feels he is returning to a place to which he has strong attachments.

#### **Home visit 5 (Feb. 14, 2013, 1-3pm).**

When I arrived for this visit, Elizabeth and Henry were in the kitchen with Sayumi, finishing their lunch. When Henry and Elizabeth were done eating, they left the kitchen and went down the hallway towards the dining room. Elizabeth wanted to show me some art she had made. Henry found my craft bag and this led us to the shag rug in the living room, where we spent the rest of the visit. About half of the visit was spent doing a collaborative drawing on the language prompt. I include here parts of what is a



much longer vignette. Still, what I have included here is quite long and there is a lot to comment on. Instead of keeping all the comments until the end, I have included some brief notes in italics in square brackets to flag my main observations. I expand on these in the discussion that follows the vignette.

*The language prompt.*



**Figure 6.3: Collaborative drawing with Henry and Elizabeth**

[I give Elizabeth a copy of the language prompt and start to draw the outline of a body on another piece of paper for me to colour in. At the start of this conversation, she is working on her own drawing.]

Alison: So, let's see. I speak English, French, and a bit of Japanese and a little bit of Spanish. [As I say this, I take out one marker for each language.]. . . . Because I speak only a little bit of Spanish, I'm just going to make purple ears. Just a little bit.

Henry: And what about English? You speak English. [*Henry associates me with English.*]

Alison: I speak mostly English. [I am drawing the body with red, for English.]

Henry: Do the legs and the arms. [With red, for English, he means.]

Alison: How far should I go? [I am colouring the body and have not started to colour in the arms and legs yet.]

Henry: Maybe like that. [He points at the knees, so I stop the red there.] French, you could go for the face. . . .

Alison: I'm going to have Japanese hands because sometimes when I speak Japanese, I can't explain myself very well, so I have to use my hands. Do you ever have to use your hands to explain yourself? [I colour the hands with green, for Japanese.]

Henry: Not many times. [*Henry does not struggle to express himself in any of his languages, as I do in Japanese.*]. . . . Elizabeth speaks Japanese the most. . . . I speak English, then Japanese. [*He says what I observed in other home visits, which is that Elizabeth identifies more strongly with Japanese and Henry with English.*]

Alison: And what about French?

Henry: Yeah, and Spanish.

Alison: So, English the most and then Japanese?

Henry: Then French, then Spanish. A bit of Spanish. Maybe I could do two ears like you.

Alison: Two ears of Spanish. . . . Do you ever speak in French when you do activities?

Or just at school?

Henry: Just at school. Sometimes when I have a friend come over. [*He associates*

*French with school and school friends.*]

Alison: What about when you go shopping to the store, do you speak French?

Henry: To who?

Alison: To the people in the store.

Henry: If they speak French to me, I speak French to them. [*He says this in a way that suggests this is a silly question.*]. . . .

Alison: Well, there you go. [I am looking at the picture.] This is Alison. [I write my name on the paper]. . . . Uh oh, what are you doing to me? [Henry is drawing on the face.]

Henry: Giving you eyes. [He draws on eyes, a crooked nose, and straight spiky hair.

Then, he draws smoke coming out of the ears and claws the toes. We laugh. He starts to play with the UNO cards by himself. Elizabeth is still drawing on her own.] . . . .

Henry: [He comes back to the drawing and starts colouring over the red body with blue, for French.] You have French all over you! . . . Now you have less and less English. [He picks up the purple marker and starts colouring over the body with purple, for Spanish.]

Alison: Oh no! My English is disappearing, but it's under the Spanish. I can still see it, so it's still there.

Elizabeth: And *this* is English. [She has stopped working on her drawing and is looking at what Henry is doing to the drawing. She points to the red parts that are still showing. Henry continues to cover up the red parts with purple and repeats that my English is disappearing.] . . .

Henry: What happens if you can't speak English and there's somebody that wants to speak English?

Alison: I don't know. I'll have to ask someone for help. I'll say, help me, help me! Oh, except I won't be able to say it because I won't be able to speak English. I'll say aidez moi! Aidez moi!

Henry: What happens if there's nobody that knows how to speak English? And no one speaks French.

Alison: Then, I'll say it in Spanish. I'll say ayudame!

Elizabeth: You can still see the red. [She is pointing to the red parts that are still showing through on the drawing.] [*Elizabeth seems determined to defend my Englishness.*]

Alison: It's true. The English is still there.

Henry: Only a bit.

Alison: I'd say ayudame in Spanish and then someone would help me.

Henry: And what happens if there's no one that speaks Spanish?

Alison: Then I'll say tasukete kudasai.

Henry: What if there's only people that speak Spanish?

Alison: Then I have to speak Spanish.

Henry: What if there are no people who speak it?

Alison: Then I will use my hands.

Elizabeth: But your hands are Japanese.

Alison: I guess I'd be in big trouble. I guess I would just sit down and cry. [I pretend to cry. They laugh.]

Elizabeth: But there's more English here. [She's pointing out the red bits that are still showing.]

Alison: Oh, and I have English hair.

Henry: Yah, but then it gets [he colours over the hair with purple]. . . . Look what happened to you!

Alison: I turned into this amazingly multilingual person who doesn't speak any English at all.

Henry: But what happens if there's someone that wants to speak to you in English.

Alison: And I can't? But don't you think that happens sometimes? When people can't speak the same languages?

Henry: But your face, it looks like you're English. [His voice gets quiet when he says this, almost as if he is not sure if it is okay to say.]. . . . [*Henry has been having fun creating hypothetical what if situations. Here, he makes a declarative statement, full of certainty, and no longer hypothetical.*]

Alison: Do you think nobody would believe me that I don't speak English? [Elizabeth is doing headstands with her head in my lap and her bum in my face.]. . . .

Henry: Alison is English. [*Another declarative statement.*] [He becomes determined again to cover up the red on the picture and starts colouring over the body with purple.]. . . .

Alison: Wow, that's really well covered up. Well, what would I do then if people speak English? I'd be in big trouble, eh?

Elizabeth: What about your cousins? [In the previous home visit, I had shown them my family album.] [*Elizabeth assumes, correctly, that my cousins speak English.*]

Alison: I could ask my cousins to help me.

Henry: But you can't speak English.

Alison: I think I'm going to have to grow a tail.

Henry: Okay, grow it and I'm going to colour it.

Alison: I'm going to grow a tail, a really big tail. [I draw this, using red for English.]

Henry: I'm going to colour it. [He's overtaking the red with purple.]

Elizabeth: It's going to be this long. [Elizabeth joins in the collaborative drawing now.

She draws an even longer tail that wraps all over the page, in red. She tries to keep one step ahead of Henry and his purple marker.]. . . .

Alison: [I start to draw red rain drops.] Rain drops! [Elizabeth shrieks. Henry finds another language prompt paper in the craft bag and they both go crazy with the red versus purple colouring, each one trying to claim some free turf – see Figure 6.4 below.]. . . .

Henry: I have to find my black.

Alison: You want the crayon or the marker? Wait a second, what's the black? . . .

Henry: Black is not even a language. [I tell Henry that I would just cry, but he argues I can't cry because crying is a language too. Eventually, he decides that he wants to shift gears and play UNO.]



**Figure 6.4: Alison's languages (by Henry and Elizabeth)**



**Figure 6.5: Henry and Elizabeth colouring together**

There is a lot going on in this long (and partial) vignette. Here, I expand on the comments I made throughout, in order. As I began to explain the language prompt

activity and I was talking about the small amount of Spanish I speak, Henry brought the conversation to back to English, the language he associates with me. This idea is more strongly stated later in the conversation.

Whereas I told him that I sometimes have to use my hands to explain myself when I speak Japanese, Henry expressed that he does not often struggle to explain himself in any language; he is a fluent and competent multilingual. That said, he told me that he and Elizabeth have different abilities in their languages. His comment is in line with my earlier observations that Elizabeth identifies strongly with Japanese (her mother noted this as well) and that Henry has a strong affiliation with England and English. Though Henry and Elizabeth have been socialized in the same language environments (same parents, same schools – French preschool and Japanese school), they do not have the same attachments to their languages, and they order their abilities differently. What this shows is that language socialization is not a one-way street, where children are passive recipients of language, but rather, are active agents in their own becoming. Also, even though they are fluent multilinguals, they see their own competencies as gradable or measureable. Whether this is a reflection of affiliations with other speakers of particular languages (in this case, Elizabeth with her mom or Henry with his dad), or actual proficiency differences, I cannot say. However, it shows a sophisticated self-awareness in these young children.

In this conversation, Henry described French as a school language, but later added that he speaks French in public spaces (stores) if other people speak French first. Thus, he seems to understand that French is the majority language and that there are certain places where French is most appropriate. In many ways, this echoes Quebec's language



policy, Bill 101, which mandates that French be the language of use in public places and education (with the exception of those who qualify for English education).

When Henry started to collaborate on the drawing with me, the conversation developed two parallel paths: Henry's hypothetical situations and Elizabeth's more literal defense of my English. Elizabeth's comments stayed more focused on the drawing and she seemed determined to stick up for my English-ness. I see this as a reflection of her positioning me as an English speaker. Henry was having fun imagining "what if" language scenarios, but when I asked him what he thought happened when people couldn't speak the same languages, he left the realm of imagination and possibility and made the clear declarative statement, "But your face, it looks like you're English." When Henry was speaking of hypothetical situations, his voice was loud and confident and he was animated. However, when he made the statement about my face looking English, his voice became quiet, as if he was not sure if what he said was okay to say or not. He then revised his statement as "Alison is English," where he retracted the comment about my appearance and positioned me instead in terms of language. This suggests to me that Henry has a sense of the taboos around talking about visible differences or the meanings associated with the way people look. Instead, he seems to have an understanding that it is okay to couch discussions of visible difference in terms of language.

As the conversation continued, Elizabeth made a comment about how my cousins would be able to help me if everyone spoke only English except for me. Although I never told her that my cousins speak English, she had seen pictures of them in a photo album in the previous home visit. What she saw was an album full of White faces. That, paired with her understanding of me as an English speaker, was enough information for

her to base her assumption on. She was right that my cousins speak English, but she came to that assumption without me mentioning anything about my cousins' languages.

**Home visit 6 (Mar. 14, 2013, 1-3pm).**

Three days after this final home visit, Henry and Elizabeth were going to Japan with their mom for a few weeks. They were very excited when I arrived and the energy level was high for the first part of the visit. Elizabeth was doing handstands in the hallway, and then started to hang off of me. We spent this visit in the living room, on the shag rug, playing UNO, drawing, and playing with the felt storyboard.

At the beginning of this visit, I noticed that Elizabeth was speaking to Henry in Japanese. For example, when he was telling a story about a soccer game, she kept repeating, “Dare no ko? Dare? Dare?” (Which boy? Who? Who?). He answered her in Japanese: “Wasureta namae” (I forget his name). However, as we started working with the felt storyboard all together, they started to speak to each other in English. This subtle shift in their language practices made me aware of the effect of my presence on our conversations. In other words, once we all started engaging together, they fluidly shifted their languaging to what they felt would include me.

At one point, I asked them if there would be anyone in Japan to speak French with and they replied, in unison, “No!” They had no association between Japan and French and could not imagine that they would speak French there.

***Alison is English.***

We were playing with the felt storyboard, creating a story about a family that was going to the airport to fly to Japan. The conversation moved in and out of being about the

people we are creating with the felt pieces and about Henry and Elizabeth's upcoming trip to Japan.



**Figure 6.6: Collaboration on felt storyboard (with Henry and Elizabeth)**



**Figure 6.7: At the airport (with Henry and Elizabeth)**

[We have made suitcases for this felt family and given them all tickets.]

Alison: What about their passports? I bet you have your passports all ready.

Henry: The passports. Why do you need passports?

Alison: Why do you need a passport? It tells who you are. Do you have a Japanese passport?

Henry: I have three passports.

Alison: Of course. I have two. Canadian and English.

Henry: Why do you have an English one?

Alison: My dad is from England.

Elizabeth: And you're English. I'm going to make two swerve legs. [We go back to negotiating the felt story and Elizabeth starts doing headstands on me.]

In this vignette, Elizabeth reaffirms her impression of me as an English person. Later, when Henry left the room, Elizabeth looked through the craft bag and pulled out a copy of the language prompt. Although it had been over a month since the previous home visit, she immediately picked up a red marker and said "I'm going to use red and do MORE English. . . . You're all English!" In the previous home visit, she got very serious about defending my English by pointing out all the red parts that were showing through. Here, without her brother to cover up the red, she had the chance to draw me as she sees me: As an English speaker.

*Alison's camera.*

Although I did not take many pictures during the home visits, because I found it removed me from the interactions with the children, I did take some pictures during this visit. I tried to do this quietly, while Elizabeth and Henry were engaged in working with the felt storyboard. However, the camera did distract them. They stopped what they were doing and started to look through the other pictures on my camera. They liked

seeing pictures of my daughters and my home. There were some videos on the camera, too.

[We are watching a video of Mia singing and Emi looking for something in our living room. Their dad, Hisashi, had taken the video.]

Henry: Who said “oh oh?”

Alison: Emi.

Henry: Why?

Alison: I think she’s looking for something under the couch. [Emi, on the camera, is now lying on her belly on the floor, pointing under the couch, repeating “oh oh.”]

Elizabeth: Why she keeps saying that?

Alison: That’s about all she can say right now.

Henry: Does she say anything else?

Alison: She says hello, oh oh, and no, and boots, and toe, and more. And she can say ch-, which means cheese.

Hisashi: [His voice only, on the video.] Kore wa Daddy no ya na (This is Daddy’s).

[Elizabeth looks surprised to hear Japanese.]

Emi: [On the video.] Dadda.

Hisashi: Daddy no Biodome no membaship (Daddy’s Biodome membership).

Elizabeth: Who is that?

Alison: That’s Hisashi. You hear him speaking Japanese.

Elizabeth: Where is he?

Alison: He’s holding the camera. He’s taking the video. [We start to talk about our respective visits to the Biodome.]

Although Henry and Elizabeth both knew that my family was a mix of Anglophone and Japanese, just like theirs, in this vignette, Elizabeth was surprised to hear a Japanese voice in the space of my family life. Her reaction made me think that she was not expecting to hear anything except for English. Once again, I feel that my White face carried a strong message of English-ness for Elizabeth, which overrode what I had told her about my family.

**Summary: Elizabeth and Henry.**

Both Elizabeth and Henry have a very strong sense of themselves as multilingual, yet they each have different affiliations with their languages. Whereas Elizabeth identifies strongly with Japanese, Henry associates more with English. Though they have been socialized in the same language environments, they have their own individual affiliations with their languages and this reflects how they order their language abilities. This highlights their agency in their becoming. Elizabeth asked me at the end of the second home visit (Jan. 21, 2013), “Why do you want to know about *our* languages?” In other words, she did not really understand why I would be interested in learning about their languages. For Henry and Elizabeth, being multilingual is completely normal.

For them, as with James, language was not the most interesting topic of conversation, with the exception of when we were doing the collaborative drawing on the language prompt. Though they associated places with languages (e.g., school is French), they also felt free to language flexibly depending on who they are around. In other words, their language practices are shaped not only by linguistic zones, but also what they know about other people’s language repertoires. It seems that their judgements of others’ language repertoires are also formed in part by intersections of what the other person

sounds like and what they look like, especially Whiteness and French (Mr. Bean) or English (me).

Henry and Elizabeth talked about languages as things that are gradable in terms of proficiency; however, Henry also expressed an understanding of language as a multimodal form of communication (e.g., crying is a language). The translanguaging I engaged in with Elizabeth shows that languaging is not confined to the realm of spoken language, but also includes non-spoken actions and gestures.

In the next section, I present and discuss the vignettes from my visits with Taichi.

### **Taichi**

Due to scheduling challenges, my visits to Taichi were quite spread out, at times with more than a month between two visits. These long gaps could have contributed to his initial shyness with me during the visits, although his mom, Yuki, told me that he tends to be shy in general. In fact, at the end of the third visit (May 24, 2013), she said, “He’s shy, but he was talking to you!” She seemed a bit surprised and impressed that he spoke to me at all. I felt that Taichi really enjoyed the visits and Yuki told me he was always very excited about me coming and would tell all his friends at daycare that “Alison-Sensei” was coming to visit him today. She said that my visits were really special for him.

#### **Home visit 2 (Feb. 8, 2013, 1:30-3pm).**

This visit was on a Friday afternoon. Yuki picked Taichi up from daycare just before his naptime and brought him home to meet with me. In the morning at daycare, he had been playing in the gym. He still had a lot of energy when I arrived at his house. We spent a long time playing with his train set from Japan and later, when he got over-

excited and was jumping on the bed, we read a book together, which his stuffed Totoro chose. “Tonari no Totoro” (the English version is called “My neighbour Totoro”) is a Japanese animated film written and directed by Hayao Miyazaki and produced by Studio Ghibli (1988). It is very popular in Japan and internationally.

***Taichi corrects my Japanese.***

[I have just arrived and Taichi is excited and wants to show me his box of toy cars, which are on the mats in the living room. I kneel on the floor beside him and pick up a police car.]

Alison: What’s this?

Taichi: Japanese police car.

Alison: Oh, what’s it called in Japanese? Is it a keisatsu?

Taichi: Keisatsu. The guy that goes in is keisatsu.

Alison: What’s the car then?

Taichi: Paturo-kaa.

Alison: Oh right. . . . [I pick up a toy delivery truck. It has Japanese writing on the side.]

What’s this one? It’s a Japanese one too. [I read what is written on the side.]

Kuro Neko. [This means Black Cat. It is the name of a delivery company in Japan.]

Taichi: Kuro neko? [He is checking if that is what I said.]

Alison: Kuro neko. [I repeat it.]

Taichi: Kuro. [He corrects my pronunciation. After we look at his toy cars, I try to engage him in doing some drawing, which he resisted – see Chapter Five.]



In this vignette, which is from one of the first conversations I had with Taichi, he positioned himself as an expert Japanese speaker. He corrected my understanding of the word keisatsu and also corrected my Japanese pronunciation. He did not seem surprised when I spoke Japanese, however, as James did. Perhaps this is because his mom had told him that “Alison-Sensei” speaks Japanese.

***Enter Totoro.***

[We are playing with Taichi’s train set. I am trying to get to know him a bit.]

Alison: Do you know Totoro?

Taichi: Yeah. I have a big one. [He runs to his room to get his stuffed Totoro.]

Alison: That’s a giant Totoro! What about Neko-Basu? [I am referring to another character from the film, Cat-Bus.]

Taichi: We don’t have it.

Alison: We have a Neko-Basu at my house. Do you think your friends at daycare know who Totoro is?

Taichi: No. Nobody knows Totoro.

Alison: Nobody knows Totoro?

Taichi: They’re not Japanese.

Alison: I see. [Taichi starts to throw Totoro at me and we play catch.]

Taichi: I have a baby Totoro.

Alison: Can I see it? [Taichi, Big Totoro, and I go to his room to look for the little Totoro. He asks his mom, in Japanese, where it is and eventually finds it in one of his dresser drawers. He starts throwing it at me to catch. Then, he starts jumping on his bed.] Do your friends at Japanese school know Totoro?

Taichi: Yeah. [He is still jumping on the bed.]

Here, Taichi expressed an awareness of boundaries around what his daycare friends and his friends at Japanese school could know about and what parts of his lived experiences he can share with whom. In other words, Taichi feels that there are certain parts of his knowledge that he can relate only to his Japanese friends. He crosses between different social spaces, and as he does so, he draws on and puts into use different language and knowledge resources.

***Totoro picks a book.***

This vignette follows closely after the previous one. Because Taichi was quite excited and jumping on his bed, I thought I should try to encourage him to switch gears somewhat.

[We are in Taichi's room. He is jumping on his bed. I am standing beside his bookshelf, which is very well organized. Board books are on one shelf and the rest of the books are on other shelves, arranged according to language, English, French, and Japanese.]

Alison: Let's calm down a bit and do something quiet. Do you want to read a book with me? . . . [Taichi is poised to throw the little Totoro at me again.] Don't throw it, okay. Taichi, come here. Is Totoro going to pick a book? Or Taichi's going to pick a book? [This gets his attention and he starts to calm down.]

Taichi: Totoro. [He laughs.]

Alison: Does he need a Japanese book or an English one or a French one?

Taichi: A Japanese book. [I hold up a board book because I think I could handle reading it in Japanese.] These are baby Japanese books. . . .

Alison: Can Totoro read in English?

Taichi: No!! [He is astounded by the ridiculousness of my question.]

Alison: Can Totoro read in French?

Taichi: No!! [Again, my question is absurd.] . . . You pick.

Alison: Me?

Taichi: No, Totoro pick.

Alison: Okay. [I pick up the Totoro book – it is based on the film. I have the same book at my house and have read parts of it.] Tonari no Totoro. [I read the title.]

Taichi: But it's very long.

Alison: What's this? [I pick up another board book about food.]

Taichi: Baby.

Alison: Okay. [I read some book titles out loud.]

Taichi: Um, I think this one. [He takes a book off the shelf.]

Alison: Fushigi hakken ehon (Discovery picture book). Oh, I see. [I flip through some pages.] It is a picture book of insects. . . . Okay, are we going to read this one?

Taichi: Yeah.

Alison: Here or in the living room?

Taichi: In the living room. [We walk to the living room. He is holding his two Totoro stuffed animals.]

Alison: This is Totoro's pick. Can the little Totoro sit still?

Taichi: He wants to play a lot.

Alison: He wants to play a lot. [He throws it against the wall. His mom comes out of the kitchen and tells him, in Japanese, to be gentle.] Okay, let's read this book. [We sit down on the mats in the living room, leaning against the sofa.]

In the first vignette, Taichi established that Totoro is only something that Japanese people know about. In this vignette, he reaffirmed this association between Japanese and Totoro by rejecting the possibility that Totoro could read a book in English or French. Totoro's book choice had to be in Japanese. In his strong reactions to my suggestions (as if what I suggested was beyond the realm of possibility), Taichi expressed clear boundaries around his languages and where they can fit and with whom.



**Figure 6.8: *Fushigi Hakken Ehon***

*Alison reads in Japanese.*

[I start reading the book, slowly as I make out the words in Japanese. Taichi is very engaged though, and comments on the pictures, mostly in English.]

Alison: “Kabuto mushi to kuwu-” (Horned beetle and stag-) [I am trying to pronounce the names of the two main character insects in the book.]

Taichi: Kuwagata mushi (stag beetle). [Taichi corrects my pronunciation.]

Alison: Thank you. Kuwagata mushi. . . . What’s this?

Taichi: Mitsu (honey).

Alison: Mitsu? [I am checking my pronunciation. Mitsu means honey or three, depending on how it is pronounced.]

Taichi: Mitsu. Mitsu.

Alison: Mitsu? [I try again.]

Taichi: Honey. [He gives up on me getting the Japanese pronunciation right and switches to English to make sure I understand]. . . .

Alison: [I am reading.] “Yoru. Kabuto mushi to kuwagata mushi ga inai ne. Doko ni iru no kana? Doko ni iru?” (It’s evening. The horned beetle and stag beetle are not there. Where could they be? Where are they?) [Taichi lifts a flap on the book and points at the insects under the tree bark.]

Taichi: Because it’s cold, that’s why. . . .

Alison: “Mushi o nanbiki mitsukerareru kana?” (How many insects can you find?) [This is a page with many different insects that we are asked to count.]

Taichi: You count.

Alison: Let’s count butterflies. Choucho wa? (What about the butterflies?)

Taichi: Ichi, ni, san, shi, go. [He is pointing at the page and counts five butterflies.]

Alison: Okay. Kabuto mushi wa? (What about the horned beetles?)

Taichi: Ichi, ni, san, shi, go, roku, nana. [He counts seven horned beetles.]

Alison: Tentomushi wa? (What about ladybugs?)

Taichi: I didn't count this one. [He points to a horned beetle he missed the first time.]

Alison: Okay, let's try again. [We continue counting insects and then turn the page and find a pocket with a board game that has cutouts of insects and what looks like a wrestling ring – See Figure 6.9 below. We start to play this game. After awhile, I ask him if he wants to read one more story from the book, before I go home. He picks a story. I start reading.] “Naka naka bedo ni haerimasen.”

Taichi: He don't want to go to bed. [He translates for me.]

Alison: He doesn't want to go to bed, does he? . . . Okay. [I keep reading, but am very slow].

Taichi: Your Japanese is very funny.

Alison: [I laugh.] I can't read very quickly. Should I continue, even though my Japanese is funny? [He nods]. Okay. [I finish the story and then get ready to leave.]



**Figure 6.9: Totoro watches the insect battles**

Though it was hard for me to read the book in Japanese, doing so created opportunities for negotiation of meaning, which we did through translanguaging, and more chances for Taichi to correct my pronunciation. In doing this, Taichi positioned himself as an expert Japanese speaker. At times, he responded to the questions in the book in English (when he lifted the flap) and at times in Japanese (when counting). With respect to the former, he engaged in multilayered translanguaging as he responded to what he was hearing in Japanese with an action (lifting the flap) and an explanation of his action in English. Near the end of the last story I read from the book, I think Taichi was concerned that I did not understand what I was reading, so he translated the meaning for me. Shortly after that, he told me that my Japanese was funny. As with James, who made a similar comment about his dad's Japanese, I feel that Taichi expressed a strong affiliation with Japanese. He was confident in making judgements about my pronunciation and my very slow reading.

**Home visit 3 (May 24, 2013, 1-3pm).**

This was the first of two library visits with Taichi. Again, his mom took him out of daycare to come and meet me. Yuki stayed in another section of the library and Taichi and I went to the children's corner and spent most of the visit sitting at a low round table playing board games (from the library) and with the contents of my craft bag.

***Taichi will learn Italian.***

[Taichi has chosen a game from the library shelf, called Blockus. We are sitting at the round table and he is putting blocks on the Blockus board.]

Alison: What language do you think you speak the most?

Taichi: When I'm going to be big, I'm going to talk in Italian.

Alison: Oh yeah? Like your dad? [He nods.] Do you hear him talk in Italian sometimes? [He nods.] Do you understand it? [He shakes his head no]. . . . Who would you talk Italian to?

Taichi: Daddy.

Alison: Daddy. Anyone else? [He shakes his head no.]

Taichi: Finished all the red ones. [The conversation goes back to game strategy.]

Taichi did not answer my question directly, but instead told me about a vision he has of himself when he is bigger. For now, Taichi does not understand when his dad, Marco, speaks Italian. Although, Marco speaks Italian with his family members in Montreal and wants Taichi to speak Italian with them too, for now, Taichi imagines that Italian, when he can speak it, will be a language just for him and his dad. As I tried to explain to Marco in the first home visit (Feb. 3, 2013), young children will learn languages that they need for socializing and not for the sake of learning a language. For now, it seems that Taichi does not have a very large social context for speaking Italian. Though he hears Marco speaking Italian with his own parents, Taichi speaks English with his Italian-Canadian cousins and grandparents.

***Everything is in French.***

[Taichi is still playing Blockus. I am watching.]

Alison: Last time I saw you, you were doing cross country skiing. I guess not now, there's no snow. Do you remember doing skiing? [He nods]. Did you like it?

Taichi: We talked in French when we were doing ski.

Alison: Oh yeah?



Taichi: My school too! Everything in French for me! Everything in French. [He sighs, makes a disappointed face].

Alison: Everything in French? . . . What about TV? Do you watch TV sometimes in French?

Taichi: Everything in French.

Alison: Everything in French? What's in English?

Taichi: Nothing in English.

Alison: But you're talking to me in English. What about at home? Do you speak English at home? [He nods.] What about with your brother? Does he say some words now? [His brother is 18 months old.]

Taichi: Yeah, just in Japanese he says some words. . . .

Alison: Does your dad talk to you in French?

Taichi: [He is looking for blocks. I wait for him to say something]. He don't talk, I talk better than my Daddy in French.

Alison: You do?

Taichi: He knows just a little bit.

Alison: Oh yeah? [He returns to putting the blocks on the board.]. . . . Do you ever speak French at home? [He shakes his head no. He looks like he has had enough of this game, so I help him clean it up.]

Just as Taichi previously positioned himself as an expert Japanese speaker, in this vignette, he showed his sense of expertise in French. That is, he speaks better French than his dad. This is interesting because Marco grew up in Montreal and learned French and English in school and considers himself to be trilingual. In the first home visit (Feb.

3, 2013), Marco said he chose not to speak French with his sons because he does not have a “native” accent. Taichi judged his dad’s French as less strong, perhaps based on the degree of nativeness of his accent. Also in this vignette, Taichi expressed some frustration at the amount of French in his life; he does everything outside of home in French and watches TV in French at home. Part of his parents’ language planning strategy, which has been shaped by their perceived market values of languages, is to give Taichi as much exposure to French as possible, through daycare, extra-curricular activities, and TV programs. Taichi certainly feels the weight of this family language planning and expressed some regret that “nothing [was] in English.”

**Home visit 4 (June 18, 2013, 10am-12pm).**

This was the last visit with Taichi, and again, Yuki took him out of daycare to come and meet me at the library. The family was preparing to travel to Japan to spend the summer. Marco would join them for the first couple of weeks. In this visit, we read a library book, played UNO and a board game from the library, and played with the felt storyboard. Before the end of the visit, I gave Taichi an UNO game and the book *Spork*. He was excited and asked his mom if he could take those to Japan with him.

***Taichi speaks Italian.***

[I am shuffling the UNO cards.]

Alison: Did you ask your dad what uno means in Italian?

Taichi: One.

Alison: Yeah?

Taichi: I know how to count in Italian.

Alison: You do? What’s after uno?

Taichi: Due. [He hesitates.]

Alison: Due. Tres? [I am not sure.]

Taichi: Quattro. Cinque. Sei. Sette. Otto. Nove. Dieci.

Alison: Well done! [The cards are shuffled and Taichi tells me to deal the cards.]

At the end of the previous visit, I suggested to Taichi that he ask his dad what uno means in Italian. From this vignette, it looks as if he did, and this opened a space for his dad to teach Taichi how to count in Italian. Taichi previously told me that he does not understand when his dad speaks Italian. I was surprised, therefore, to hear him count to ten in Italian. He seemed very pleased with himself.

***Coming back to Japan.***

[We are playing UNO and talking about his summer vacation, which he will spend in Japan. He will be in Japan for his fifth birthday.]

Taichi: I'm not going to get any more presents because they already gave me my presents.

Alison: Who already gave you presents?

Taichi: Daddy.

Alison: Because he won't be in Japan with you?

Taichi: No. He's going to come back to Japan with us first. Ha ha ha! [He is excited about his UNO cards. The conversation turns back to the game.]

Like Henry, Taichi referred to Japan in such a way that suggests a very strong affiliation to Japan. Rather than saying, "to Japan," Taichi said "back to Japan," which carries a stronger meaning of connection to a place than the bare preposition.

***Who speaks what.***

[We are playing with the felt storyboard and I have just made an airplane. We are talking about when he will take an airplane to Japan in a few weeks.]

Alison: Who will meet you at the airport?

Taichi: Grandma, my grandparents.

Alison: What do you call them?

Taichi: Jiji and Baba (Grandpa and Grandma).

Alison: Do they speak English at all?

Taichi: No.

Alison: How does your dad talk to them?

Taichi: In English. [We go back to talking about what we are creating on the felt storyboard.]

Though Taichi does not comment further on his dad's inability to communicate with his Japanese grandparents, that his family members all have different language repertoires seems to be quite normal for Taichi. Taichi, however, is a fluent multilingual who can expertly communicate with everyone in his family. Growing up in a mixed-language family in a city where the majority language is different from the languages spoken at home means that he is being socialized to speak languages that his parents do not necessarily speak, or speak as well as their children.

**Summary: Taichi.**

Taichi expressed some clear identity and language boundaries with respect to Japanese language and toys (i.e., Totoro). Taichi repeatedly positioned himself as an expert Japanese speaker when he corrected my pronunciation, translated part of a story

for me, and told me my Japanese was “funny.” He also felt his parents’ language planning for French strongly in that for him “everything is in French” and “nothing is in English.” On the other hand, he also expressed an identity of competence in French, as he judged his French to be better than his dad’s. As Marco said in the first home visit (Feb. 3, 2013), he does not speak French with a “native” accent.

### **Common Themes**

Though I interpreted the data for each child independently and was not looking to make generalizations based on the experiences of these four children, there were some recurring themes that were common to all the children. I discuss these here.

#### **Strong multilingual and multiethnic identities.**

All of the children expressed confidence and expertise in their multilinguality. They also have strong affiliations with their multiple linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, though all affiliations are not equal. The children’s parents espouse a one parent-one language (OPOL) approach to raising their children and the children are inheriting two languages from their parents. However, in the case of Henry, Elizabeth, and Taichi, they are also inheriting a language that is not associated with their families: French. This complicates Rampton’s (1990) notion of inheritance as occurring “*within* social boundaries, while affiliation takes place *across* them” (p. 99; emphasis in original). Inheritance, in the case of children who are growing up multilingual, and whose language repertoires are different from their parents’, takes place not only within social boundaries, but also across them. Inheritance, according to Rampton, tends to be associated with a sense of shared history. Once again, the language socialization experiences of Taichi, Henry, and Elizabeth mean that they are inheriting a language that they do not connect

with family; instead, they are being socialized into the shared history of French in Quebec, and they understand that French is a majority language in Montreal. James does not yet have this awareness, even though his parents have told him about French and his brother is learning French in school. I feel that this is because his personal experiences thus far have not given him this perspective on Montreal. Interestingly, none of the children expressed an overly strong affiliation with French, perhaps because they do not associate it with their families. In this sense, affiliation occurs within the social boundary of their families, and not across social boundaries, as Rampton proposed. With these children, the difference between affiliation and inheritance is hard to discern. Perhaps it is better to speak more broadly of what Rampton (1990) called language loyalty than to try to sort out which symbolic values of language occur within social boundaries or across them. Of course, all of these terms—expertise, affiliation, and inheritance—are relative and negotiated, and social boundaries are not static.

The children's multilinguality provides them with the linguistic resources to interact with ease with everyone in their families and in their social lives. For instance, Taichi and James can speak Japanese with their Japanese grandparents, which is something their dads, Marco and Ian, respectively, cannot do. The children's sense of competence in areas where their parents do not have the same degree of competence promotes their strong multilingual identities and feelings of expertise in their languages.

### **Languages and languaging: Fixed and fluid boundaries.**

The children expressed fairly clear ideas of languages as countable and measurable entities. Henry and Elizabeth, for example, ranked their abilities in their different languages. The children also associated languages with places and people, and

created boundaries around what belongs where and with whom. These boundaries had implications for how they used their language resources in different places and with different people. For instance, James spoke only English at daycare and said his friends there did not know that he speaks Japanese. Henry and Elizabeth, on the other hand, appeared to have more flexible boundaries when it came to their language practices with their friends. That said, against the backdrop of this fixed understanding of language, all of the children engaged in fluid language practices during the home visits. What the children interpret as possible with respect to their languaging in different social environments is informed by their interpretations of language ideologies and language rules (management). In other words, these young children experience, interpret, and negotiate their understandings of the three interrelated components of language policy (Ricento, 2000; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2009).

With respect to language ideologies, both James and Taichi made judgements about what is right in a language, compared to what is “funny,” which suggests that the “social force” (Baily, 2007, p. 271) of the ideology of language as a thing is strong. This ideology seems at odds with the fluid and multiple identities that the children perform in their daily lives as they move through different social settings. Yet, this points to authoritative discourses of normativity that are a part of the children’s social environments. This sense of normativity with respect to language is tied up with an ideology of language purism; that is, that it is possible to evaluate what is good and proper in a language (Weber & Horner, 2012). As Cameron (1995) argued, it is not only possible to evaluate language; it is common practice for individuals to comment on language use, using their own socially constructed norms as a benchmark for what is right.

Marco, Taichi's father, said that he chose to speak English with his sons because his "accent [in French] is not native" (home visit 1, Feb. 3, 2013). He also said he wanted his sons to be "perfectly fluent" in English and French, but to have enough Japanese to be able to "get by in Japan." Taichi seems to have picked up on this evaluative component of language. Although language ideologies are often associated with, and criticized in, educational contexts (e.g., Davies, 1991; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990; Ruecker, 2011; Widdowson, 2004), what the data from this inquiry suggest is that language ideologies are a part of the funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) that children carry with them from home and community to school. In other words, before they start formal education, young children are already developing ideas about language and these language ideologies mediate their language practices (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). For instance, children who enter school with an idea that there is good language and "funny" language might not be willing to take the risks necessary when learning a new language. Although these multilingual children problematize the notions of native speaker and mother tongue, which are both terms that are based on the idea of a single first language, this does not make them immune to appropriating ideologies of language that seem at odds with their own multilinguality.

When it comes to language management, the children all seem to have a clear sense of rules related to language use, such as what to speak with whom and where. Taichi, for example, has a keen awareness of his parents' language planning, which is to emphasize his exposure to French by having him do all extra-curricular activities in French and watching French television. James, too, knows the rule that he has to speak Japanese with his mom and at Japanese school. Henry and Elizabeth appear to have a



more flexible understanding of the expectations around their language use at preschool. This must be a reflection of the language rules and ideologies that are circulating there. All the parents adhere to an OPOL approach, and all the children speak Japanese with their mom and English with their dad. What the children do with their languages beyond their interactions with their parents is shaped by their understandings of socially constructed boundaries, which are tied up their understandings of language ideologies and language management, but also, as I discuss below, by intersections of meanings they associate with the subject-as-seen. The children's language practices are also shaped by their individualities and agencies to draw on their linguistic resources in creative ways.

Hill (2010) found in her research with Puerto Ricans in New York that language boundaries are differently constructed depending on where the individual is positioned at the moment, or what sphere they are in. She argued that the outer sphere is White (and English) public space, a space where boundaries around languages are strict. The children in this inquiry showed that they construct different boundaries around their languages, depending on where they are and who they are with. They may perceive some boundaries as less flexible, such as James' understanding of Japanese school as a place where he has to speak Japanese, and Taichi's understanding of having to speak French during extra-curricular activities, or more flexible, such as Henry and Elizabeth's sense of freedom to translanguage with friends at school. By engaging with these children, I was able to see how they draw on the semiotic resources of their social worlds and use their own internally persuasive discourses to interpret, appropriate, and resist authoritative discourses.

During the inquiry, there were some moments when the children and I engaged in translanguaging that involved not only spoken language, but also gestures and other non-verbal action. This tells me that these young children have tremendous abilities to use their language resources creatively and multimodally as they position themselves. I sensed that these multilingual children have a sharpened awareness of the social functions of language, which is knowledge they can play with when interacting with family and friends.

### **Intersections of audible and visible identity.**

Language, as Sarkar, Low, and Winer (2007) argued, is not the carrier of all meanings of difference; these impressions are also influenced by the intersecting axis of the subject-as-seen. What I learned from the children is that being multilingual and navigating multilingual identities in different language environments is not just about using language and responding to the ways in which other people use language. The children also seem to adjust their language practices based on their interpretations of meanings they associate with the way people look. These assumptions are not fixed, however, and given evidence to counter initial assumptions, the children seem to be very apt at continually adjusting their perceptions, which in turn leads them to adjust their languaging.

During this inquiry, there were several moments when I felt that the children were making judgements based on intersections of audible and visible, not so much in relation to their own identities, but to mine (and Mr. Bean's). By ascribing a White Anglophone identity to me, this affected how they performed their own identities through language. I noticed, for example, that Henry and Elizabeth stopped speaking Japanese to each other

when we all engaged together. James, too, resisted speaking to me in Japanese for the first few visits. Taichi did not resist my efforts to speak Japanese, especially when I was reading a book to him; however, he did make a point of correcting my pronunciation quite often and he told me that my Japanese was funny.

These young children, with the exception of Taichi, showed me that they have a sense of social meanings attached to race, particularly Whiteness (mine and Mr. Bean's). Their first impressions of me were likely shaped in part by their experiences with their respective White non-Japanese fathers, none of whom speak Japanese. While the children performed fluid language identities and expressed affiliations with multiple ethnicities, they seemed to have an easier time ascribing a more fixed positioning to me (and Mr. Bean, in the case of Henry and Elizabeth). Part of the process of language socialization appears to be a process of being socialized into understandings of audible and visible difference and how to talk about them or not talk about them. Henry, for example, showed some hesitation to position me in terms of my appearance, which makes me think that he has picked up some sense of the taboo around talking about visible traits. He reframed his statement about who I am, based on the way I look, in terms of language. This shift mirrors the pattern in academic and official discourse as well, to subsume discussions of visible difference under the umbrella of language (Haque, 2012).

Elizabeth and Henry, however, showed very open attitudes towards the linguistic and ethnic diversity of their friends. This suggests that judgements based on the subject-as-seen could be powerful in influencing first impressions, but that with enough counter-evidence, those impressions can shift. Once again, this highlights the dialogic nature of

becoming, and it shows that there is more at play in performing multilingual identities than language alone.

### **Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I presented vignettes from the home visits with each child and included my interpretations of these. In the last section of the chapter, I drew together common themes that emerged from my interpretations of the data. In Chapter Seven, I provide a synopsis of the thesis, address the guiding questions specifically, and include concluding remarks for the thesis.

## Chapter Seven: Concluding Reflections

“Why you want to know about *our* languages?” (Elizabeth, age 4)

### Chapter Overview

This chapter begins with a brief synopsis of the thesis. Following this, I address the guiding questions of the inquiry, which I stated in Chapter Four. This leads into a discussion of LangCrit, the theoretical framework that I articulated in Chapter Three, in light of the findings of this inquiry. Then, I discuss methodological, theoretical, and pedagogical implications of the inquiry. Although it is common in the final chapter of a thesis to find a section where limitations of a study are set out, I have decided not to include this section. I feel that the notion of limitations suggests that there is something ideal that has been aimed for and either achieved or not. Still, the process of doing the inquiry and writing these chapters has raised many questions, some of which I hope to have the chance to explore one day, or perhaps that others will be inspired to explore. I discuss these in the penultimate section, Further Directions. The thesis closes with some final remarks.

### Thesis Synopsis

I opened the thesis by painting a popular picture of Montreal as a city where language is the main political issue and is the carrier of discussions of difference. In Chapter Two, I examined the historical emergence of language as *the* political issue in Quebec, which was confirmed in law in 1977, with Bill 101. I argued that while the *visage linguistique* (linguistic face) of Montreal is now securely French in terms of language use in public space and public signage, as per the intentions of Bill 101, with increasing immigration from non-European (non-White) countries since the 1980s, the

face of the carriers of the French language has become less and less White. In light of the reasonable accommodation debates and the PQ's proposed Charter of Secular Values (Bill 60), it is apparent that speaking French is no longer sufficient for determining belonging in Quebec. As a result, the study of multilingualism and multilingual identities in Montreal needs to be informed by a theoretical perspective that can account for the intersections of audible and visible identities. In Chapter Three, I developed one such framework, which I coined LangCrit, by drawing together literature related to the subject-as-heard and subject-as-seen. In Chapter Four, I justified my use of an exploratory case study approach, and described the foundational principle of my methodology, which was to engage in research *with* children. As I was interpreting the data that I generated with James, Henry, Elizabeth, and Taichi, two separate but intricately connected streams of findings emerged. In Chapter Five, I discussed methodological learnings related to doing research with young children, according to four themes that I saw in the data: 1) fostering respectful relationships; 2) being playful; 3) using creative approaches; and 4) carving out spaces to engage with the children on their own. Against the backdrop of these criteria, in Chapter Six, I presented and discussed vignettes from each home visit with each child. Three common themes emerged from my interpretation of these vignettes: 1) strong multilingual and multiethnic identities; 2) fixed and fluid perceptions of language and languaging; and 3) intersections of audible and visible identity. In the next section, I address the guiding questions of the inquiry, with reference to these three themes.

### **Addressing Guiding Questions**

1. What language practices do the Japanese-Canadian children who participated in this inquiry engage in as they move through different social contexts?

The children in this inquiry engage in a range of language practices, from more fixed (e.g., Japanese only at JLC) to more fluid (e.g., translanguaging with me in their homes) (theme 2). Sociolinguists in Montreal have shown that multilingual elementary school students (Dagenais et al., 2007; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007) and youth (Lamarre et al., 2002; Lamarre, 2003, 2013) have a high degree of awareness of their surroundings and that they are adept at fluidly shifting their language practices according to where they are and who they are talking to. This inquiry has added the perspectives of preschool-aged children to that scholarship. The children in this inquiry are highly attuned to their different social environments and easily shift their language practices as they move between different linguistic zones, depending on who is in those zones (themes 1 and 2). I noticed that the children expressed stronger associations between language and people than they did with language and places. In other words, if the children were in a place they associated as English, but with a person who they associate with Japanese, they would speak Japanese.

As Lamarre (2003) has argued, becoming multilingual is a multisite language socialization process. This inquiry highlights that this process is not the same for all individuals, even siblings, who are socialized in the same language environments. For instance, Henry and Elizabeth ordered their language competencies differently, even though they have both been socialized in the same contexts (home, Japanese Language Centre, and preschool). Though they expressed different affiliations with their languages, they both have equally strong multilingual identities (theme 1). Language socialization is tied up with feelings of language loyalty (affiliation and inheritance), and it is a process that is full of the agency and individualities of children as they move through their social

worlds and position and re-position themselves. As the children expertly navigate different social spaces and adapt their language practices to suit where they are and who they are with, they continually negotiate boundaries around languages, which they sometimes see as fixed, and other times as more fluid (themes 1 and 2).

## 2. How do they perceive their multilinguality?

As I discussed in Chapter Six, the children all showed strong affiliations to their languages and ethnicities and demonstrated pride in their expertise in their languages. In other words, they performed strong multilingual and multiethnic identities (theme 1). The children see their languages as things that belong to them, and that can be counted and ordered into hierarchies of competence. However, they also understand that their hierarchies of competence do not always align with language use in public space (e.g., where they perceive French – or English, in the case of James – as the majority language). Nevertheless, rather than interpret this difference as a source of tension, they showed a sense of pride in their multilinguality, which they see as a resource that can be played with differently in different social contexts, depending on where they are and who they are with (themes 1 and 2). This was highlighted by their awareness that they can do things with language that their parents or grandparents cannot do. The children are aware that their particular multilingual repertoires and hierarchies are unique to them, even within their families. Their multilinguality often positions them as experts in their families, as members who can communicate with everyone in their social worlds (theme 1).



3. In what ways, if any, do visible aspects of their own or others' identities shape the children's language practices?

As I found in the data in Chapter Six, visible aspects of identity do appear to shape the children's language practices (theme 3). Although the children did not make any specific comments or reflections on their own visible identities, there were some instances where I felt they were making assumptions about me based on my Whiteness. In the face of Whiteness, the children appear to enter a space that is primarily English or French, and this shapes which language resources they draw on, though with some counterevidence, such as me speaking Japanese, this boundary could be negotiated.

I saw evidence of an association between Whiteness and French or English while doing this inquiry in the children's homes, and I imagine a similar association could be made outside of their homes, in public space. This complicates somewhat the notion of inner and outer spheres that Hill (2010) articulated. The outer sphere, in Hill's research with Puerto Ricans in New York, was White public space that confined individuals' languaging; the inner sphere was home and the local community, where flexible Spanish-English languaging was the norm. However, in my inquiry with Caucasian-Japanese multilingual children, the inner sphere is also a partially White space, and flexible languaging is also present in the outer sphere (e.g., on the playground at Henry and Elizabeth's preschool). In the pluralist and multilingual city of Montreal, where language trumps race in public and academic discourse, the children nevertheless seem to be learning to negotiate social meanings related to how someone looks, and these interpretations shape how they position themselves through language.

Drawing on the responses to these questions, and the three themes that emerged from the data in Chapter Six, I now revisit and expand on LangCrit, as I defined it in Chapter Three.

### **LangCrit Revisited**

The three themes that emerged from my interpretations of the data in Chapter Six are interrelated and co-dependent on one another. Using LangCrit as a theoretical and analytical lens enabled me to see the data as situated in meanings beyond the singular axis of the audible. The available frameworks for analysis in multilingualism and language policy scholarship, fields which focus on the subject-as-heard, would have led me to finding the first two themes, but not the third (intersections of audible and visible identity). In Chapter Three, I drew on literature related to the subject-as-heard and subject-as-seen, and defined LangCrit as an ecosocial lens that: 1) acknowledges that racism is commonplace in everyday society; 2) accounts for socially constructed and negotiated hierarchies and boundaries among social categories, such as language, identity, and race; 3) emphasizes local language practices and individual stories, yet also connects these to higher-impact local practices; and 4) sees nested relationships among different patches of interactions that are woven together through “webs of social relations” (Lemke, 1995, p. 30). Here, I respond to this formulation of LangCrit in light of the findings of the inquiry (see also Crump, in press).

At the core, LangCrit is an interdisciplinary and ecosocial framework that posits that all practices are local (Pennycook, 2010), but interconnected. As such, it connects practices in the private sphere with practices in the public sphere. The ecosocial perspective of LangCrit is important because it keeps the focus on individuals and their

local practices in a way that the ecology of language metaphor, which conveys an image of how languages (rather than people) interact and which has become popular in language policy scholarship, does not. An ecosocial perspective maintains the metaphor of an ecology as a system of interrelated processes, but emphasizes the human social practices that drive those processes. In this inquiry, I have found that the children's language practices are shaped by their understandings of what is allowed or what is the norm in different social contexts, as well as by associations between Whiteness and French or English. As the findings of this inquiry suggest, the children's ecosocial systems, which are nested within broader systems (e.g., language policy), include meanings associated with the subject-as-heard as well as the subject-as-seen, and these meanings influence how they position themselves through language. This awareness of the interplay between the subject-as-heard and subject-as-seen, though for the most part implicit, shows a degree of reflexive sophistication in preschool-aged children that language researchers have not yet acknowledged.

LangCrit is a critical theory of language and race because it challenges fixed assumptions related to categories such as language, identity, and race, and argues that these categories are socially and locally constructed. However, LangCrit acknowledges that fixity plays a role in shaping identity possibilities, in setting the tone for becoming. For example, while the children all expressed strong affiliations and loyalty to Japanese, none of them suggested at any point that Japanese is a majority language in Montreal. Based on their socialization experiences thus far, Taichi, Henry, and Elizabeth are aware that it is French, while James thinks Montreal is an English city. Thus, the children all seem to have an implicit awareness of an imposed hierarchy of their languages (as fixed

entities that can be ordered), which puts Japanese lower down than French and English. This social ordering of languages, to which the children seem to be attuned, also reinforces a racial ordering that puts Whiteness at the top. The socially dictated hierarchy, which is a reflection of language policy (practices, ideologies, management), is not, however, how the children order their languages. This points to boundaries and hierarchies that are constantly being negotiated, and the children do this with ease, positioning themselves as confident multilinguals who can language monolingually in some places (e.g., daycare) and with some people (e.g., Baba and Jiji), or who can translanguage in other places (e.g., at home) and with other people (e.g., with me, some friends, and family members). This also highlights that all interactions are interconnected social practices that are nested within higher-impact social practices.

Looking at local language practices and individual stories through the lens of LangCrit has enabled me to explore how these practices are nested within higher-impact local practices, such as parents' language management, language rules at daycare or preschool, and Quebec's language policy (Bill 101). This has highlighted that young children are deeply attuned to their social environments, and suggests that although discussions of race in public discourse in Quebec are swept under the umbrella of language, there is indeed a link between language and race that is perceptible, even to young children. While LangCrit is a theory that I conceptualized for my inquiry in the particular context of Montreal, I feel that it could resonate in other multilingual and plural contexts as well. This brings me to discussing the implications of this inquiry for other areas of research.

## **Implications**

I engaged in this inquiry fully expecting to come to some theoretical and pedagogical implications of my work. I did not, however, expect methodology to take on such a prominent role in the process, though, looking back, how could it not? As such, there are three strands of implications that I discuss in this section, beginning with those relating to methodology.

### **Methodological**

When I started this inquiry, I understood methodology as a guideline for how to conceptualize and approach an inquiry, and as a way of understanding and rationalizing the methods (tools) used. But as I started to embody my methodology in the process of generating data with the children, I realized that it was a central part of every action I took during the inquiry. With this shift in my own understanding of the role of methodology in qualitative research, as I was interpreting the data, I was able to see themes in the data that I argued could be used as guidelines for doing research with children. Though it was not initially my intention to do so, in this thesis (Chapters Four and Five), I have articulated a detailed methodology for engaging in research with young children in ways that are meaningful to them. The children language in response to their local and social contexts in ways that are not always predictable from the perspective of adults. As such, I have made a case for including children's perspectives in research that directly affects their lives, rather than making assumptions about their experiences based on what adults have to say. I have come to feel very strongly that children's perspectives can enrich qualitative research (also Crump & Phipps, 2013).

My approach to researching *with* children in their homes and letting the conversations evolve and be co-created represents an important potential shift for language research with young children. It is, for instance, a stark contrast to Thornton's (1996) elicited production technique that is popular in language acquisition research. This very controlled technique involves developing scripted stories that will elicit particular syntactic structures from young children. According to Thornton, elicited production could not be a reliable technique with children under the age of three because they would produce too much spontaneous speech. In other words, young children would not reliably or predictably answer the researcher's questions. For my inquiry, it was this spontaneity and unpredictability that I wanted to foster and allow. I did not ask pre-scripted questions to which I expected a particular answer, but rather questions that showed I was genuinely interested in the children's lives and experiences. What I found was that when children felt comfortable expressing themselves and their desires, they shared insights and perspectives that would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to elicit through a controlled approach.

This inquiry has broad implications for childhood studies as it contributes to a movement that emphasizes the importance of doing research *with* children, not *about* them (e.g., Fraser, Lewis, Ding, Kellet, & Robinson, 2004; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Prout & James, 1997). Related to this, I see strong implications of this methodological approach for the emerging field of family language policy (FLP) (Curdt-Christiansen,

2009, 2013; Fogle, 2013; Pérez Baéz, 2013),<sup>22</sup> as well as for multilingual language socialization research (e.g., Garrett, 2007; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2004; Quay, 2008). These are both areas that directly concern the lives and wellbeing of children, yet they are also areas that have not paid very close attention to children's perspectives. While scholars in both fields are interested in highlighting the agency of children (e.g., Fogle, 2013), as Schwartz (2010) pointed out, very few studies have considered both parents' and children's perspectives; instead, parents generally provide reports of children's behaviours and language practices. Therefore, I feel that the methodology I have articulated in this thesis could be very beneficial to FLP, especially, in terms of gaining insights on how the children in families are experiencing, shaping, and negotiating their FLPs.

As I reflect back on my experiences as a humble researcher (Graue & Walsh, 1998), and on trying my best to live ethical practice (Groundwater-Smith, 2011), I also see implications for articulating ethical guidelines for engaging in research with young children. As I wrote in Chapter Four, McGill's REB requirement for gaining assent from children (i.e., including a script of how I would introduce myself) does not reflect the dynamic, improvisational, and creative processes of engaging with children in research in a way that respects their agency and individualities. This inquiry could encourage qualitative and interpretive researchers to think of ethics not as a standalone bureaucratic

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<sup>22</sup> FLP is interested in examining explicit and overt decision-making processes that parents make with respect to home language use and looking at how this accounts for why some children become multilingual and maintain their multilingualism, while others do not.

hurdle to get over, but rather as an integral part of research designs and processes, researcher positionings, and practices used for recording and reporting findings (Gordon & Patterson, 2013). With respect to reporting findings, I hope that my work has highlighted the importance for qualitative researchers to be explicit about how they are representing and interpreting themselves and others through their transcription practices.

I turn now to discussing the theoretical implications of my findings.

### **Theoretical**

In this thesis, I developed LangCrit as the theoretical framework I felt was necessary for addressing questions about multilingual racialized children's identities and languaging. LangCrit bridges critical race theory and the sociolinguistic study of multilingualism, and provides a point of departure for understanding how individuals position themselves and others through language, and also how these negotiated positionings are tied up with socially constructed meanings attached to the visible self. LangCrit offers a new way of interpreting identity experiences and possibilities for individuals in multilingual and plural societies. This framework has implications for research on language, identity, and belonging in Quebec, the latter, which is clearly not determined on the grounds of language alone.

In Chapter Two of this thesis, I discussed the emergence of language as the key political issue in Quebec in order to set the stage for my inquiry, which looked closely at individual language practices within the language policy context of Quebec through the lens of LangCrit. My findings that the young children who participated in this inquiry have an implicit awareness of language hierarchies in the public sphere, and that they associate Whiteness with English or French, offer theoretical understandings of how



public policy affects the private sphere. These findings suggest, for example, that the social toolbox is indeed full of racial meanings, even in a city where language trumps race. And, where multilinguality is increasing, especially among immigrant-background Montrealers (Lamarre, 2013), LangCrit provides a lens for understanding how individuals are negotiating, resisting, and appropriating a public policy (e.g., Bill 101 and the proposed Charter of Secular Values) that privileges Whiteness.

In addition, I see fairly broad implications of LangCrit for scholarship in critical language studies (e.g., multilingualism, language policy), heritage language research, and language education. These are all areas that are informed by language socialization theory and poststructuralist notions of language and identity. Yet, with the exception of TESOL in language education (e.g., Curtis & Romney, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009b), these areas of scholarship have not considered how the subject-as-seen intersects with performances of linguistic identities, nor have scholars in these areas proposed a unified theoretical framework for doing so. Sarkar, Low, and Winer's (2007) construct of intersecting axes of seen and heard was an important step in this direction, and it is one that I have developed further in this thesis.

This inquiry has specific implications for the study of multilingualism, as it contributes the perspectives of preschool-aged children, who have thus far not been included, to a body of scholarship that is interested in better understanding what multilingualism and multilinguality mean for individuals (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Heller, 2007; Lamarre et al., 2002; Norton, 1997; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Sarkar, Low, & Winer, 2007), education (Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; García, 2009a, 2009b; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman, 2006; Hélot & de Mejia, 2008;

Hélot & Young, 2006), and language planning and policy (Hornberger, 2003; Lo Bianco, 2010; May, 2001; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006). By gaining the perspectives of preschoolers, we can develop a broader understanding of how multilingualism develops and changes within certain policy contexts, which could inform language education policies and practices. For example, the children in this inquiry expressed strong multilingual and multiethnic identities, and see their multilinguality as a resource. The hope, of course, is that they will begin their formal schooling and these strong identities will be recognized and validated, and their language resources will be exploited for learning. However, language education continues to be influenced by monolingual ideology (i.e., that languages need to be kept separate in order to be learned). Listening to what children have to say about their own experiences can, and should, inform how we approach our thinking about educational policies so that the funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) that the children bring with them to learning situations will be recognized as such.

One of the goals of a social approach to multilingualism (Weber & Horner, 2012) is to normalize multilingualism; that is, to understand multilingualism in its own right and not on the basis of a comparison to a monolingual norm whose existence is often difficult to justify. This thesis contributes to this movement. The children in this inquiry all showed a great degree of confidence in their multilinguality, and they are all in families where everyone has different language repertoires and different language expertise and loyalties. As a result, being multilingual is completely normal for these children, so much so that it was not a very interesting topic of conversation for the most part. As Elizabeth asked me, “Why do you want to know about *our* languages?” (home visit 2, Jan.

17, 2013). In other words, what's the big deal that we speak three languages? In many ways, it is not a big deal. Simultaneous multilingualism in children is increasingly becoming the norm in Montreal, but not only in Montreal. This thesis, therefore, contributes to a movement among sociolinguists to normalize multilingualism, which means questioning language ideologies, such as the mother tongue ideology, monolingual ideology, and the native speaker ideology.

Although being multilingual is normal for the children in this inquiry, this does not mean that they trivialize their language repertoires. Rather, they have a high degree of awareness of their languaging abilities, and I felt that they saw their multilinguality as a resource that they could draw on and play with as they positioned themselves in different interactions. This suggests some implications for heritage language research with respect to conceptualizing the positioning of languages as heritage versus mainstream/ dominant/ majority. The idea of Japanese as a minority or heritage language is very much at odds with how the children affiliate with their languages, and in particular, Japanese. In other words, Japanese is not a minority or heritage language for these children. It is an integral part of their being, of their multilinguality and multiethnicity, of what Nicholas and Starks (2014) would call their multiplicity. As García (2005) argued, positioning languages as heritage languages is “rear-viewing” (p. 601), and does not convey an image of a resource that is used every day and will continue to be used in the future. This inquiry thus adds to a growing discussion among language researchers regarding the need to rearticulate many of the concepts that still guide language and identity research and theory (e.g., García, 2005; Heller, 2008; Lamarre, 2013; Pennycook, 2004b, 2010).

To this end, Nicholas and Starks (2014) have proposed a broad, but unified framework for understanding individuals' communicative repertoires, which they argue is a more apt way to talk about languaging, since communication consists of more dimensions than just language. The framework allows for an almost infinite number of variations as individuals activate and draw on the four dimensions in their communicative repertoires: modes (sound, movement, image, and spatial orientation); mediations (human body, analogue, digital, digital control); varieties (macro geopolitical, micro geopolitical, personal body, personal history, temporal context); and purposes (macro-text, micro-text, activity, key, otherness/ creativity). Multiplicity is the four-dimensional space in which individuals store, combine, and draw on features of their communicative repertoires, which can range from monolingual to translanguaged, depending on the context. This is a theoretical framework that captures the multimodality of communication and emphasizes individual creativity and agency. In developing this framework, the authors were motivated by a desire to bridge the fields of applied linguistics and language education. I feel that they did this well; however, they did what language scholars, in general, do and elided any mention of race or other r-word derivatives in their book. They did not consider how racialized meanings could be interacting within an individual's multiplicity; however, I see room in the emerging theory of multiplicity for LangCrit, perhaps in the varieties (e.g., personal body) dimension.

Finally, I see important theoretical implications of my findings for the field of language policy, and in particular family language policy (FLP), with respect to the link between socially constructed meanings associated with subject-as-seen and subject-as-heard that I found in my engagements with the children. As FLP researchers have shown,

FLPs interact in complex nested relationships with economic and political processes outside the home, and these interactions are shaped by language ideologies (Curd-Christiansen, 2013; Fogle & King, 2012; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2009). In other words, FLPs have been theorized in terms of the interrelationships among the three elements of LP: language practices, language ideologies, and language management. This scholarship has also shown that FLP is not a private family matter, but one that is implicated with power relationships, ideologies of language, and perceptions of cultural and symbolic values of languages. I have found that ideas about language are shaped, in part, by the subject-as-seen. This is significant for FLPs scholarship because a lot of the research is done with racialized (visible) minorities. LangCrit could offer a lens that acknowledges the intersections between seen and heard in explorations of language, identity, and belonging. The field of language policy, more broadly, could also benefit from some further theorizing on these intersections, which would build on and contribute to the critical work that Haque (2012) has done on Canadian language policy and the maintenance of a White settler narrative in the racial ordering of Canadians.

Many of these theoretical implications have clear links to the pedagogical ones I discuss in the next section.

### **Pedagogical**

In Chapter Two, I stated that one of my rationales for working with preschool-aged children in this inquiry was to explore what funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) they might bring to formal learning contexts when they start primary school. As such, I see some pedagogical implications of this inquiry, in light of both the methodological and

theoretical findings. First of all, the four methodological criteria that I discussed in Chapter Five related to doing research *with* children could be useful for early childhood educators or other practitioners who work with children. In addition, the methodology I detailed for engaging with children in their homes in a non-directive way could contribute to an already rich and deep body of scholarship that highlights the link between children's play and literacy (e.g., Gillen, 2002; Gregory, Volk, & Long, 2013; Kendrick & McKay, 2004; Long, Volk, Gregory, 2007; Paley, 2004; Roskos, Christie, Widman, & Holding, 2010). Although the focus of my inquiry was not on children's literacy practices, the non-directive, negotiated approach I took to engaging with the children could be useful for research on multilingual literacy development in formal educational contexts.

I found that the children in this inquiry drew heavily on their own lived experiences as they articulated their understandings of themselves and their social contexts. For example, even though James' parents explained to him that French is the majority language in Montreal, his own experiences had not led him to this conclusion yet and he expressed an understanding of Montreal as an English city. This suggests some implications for encouraging experiential learning in early childhood education (e.g., Cuffaro, 1995), and drawing on student-centered educational philosophies, such as those of Celestin Freinet (Legrand, 2010), Reggio Emilia (Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 1998), and Maria Montessori (1948).

Language education research has tended to focus on school-aged children who are learning additional languages in school (Nicholas & Starks, 2014). To this, my inquiry contributes the perspective of simultaneous multilingual children, who have yet to start

formal school. This lends support to challenges of the usefulness of concepts such as L1 and L2 (first and second language), which underline current language education theories and practices. If more and more children are entering school with diverse multilingual resources, which is the case in Montreal, then the current models of L2 learning need to be re-considered to reflect and address more appropriately who learners are and what they bring with them to class. As Bourne (2001) so aptly noted regarding bilingual primary school children, where young children go, so too do their languages, and they draw on those as resources for their learning. Similarly, the four preschool-aged children with whom I engaged in this inquiry saw their multilinguality as a resource. Our task as educators, then, is to continue to advance the movement among language educators that advocates for multilingual education, additive multilingualism, and fostering multilingual identities in language education (Crump, 2013; Cummins, 2007; de Jong, 2011; Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; García, 2009a, 2009b; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman, 2006; Hélot & de Mejia, 2008; Hélot & Young, 2006; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Meiring & Norman, 2002; Weber, 2014). This points to some implications for teacher training programs with respect to preparing pre-service teachers to question their own assumptions about multilingualism and the role of children's home languages in the classroom.

In addition, in light of the findings related to the intersections of audible and visible identity, I see implications for advocating not only multilingual education, but also anti-racist education. Michael-Luna and Marri (2011), for example, showed that pre-service teachers in an urban elementary education program were able to develop more complex understandings of diversity when they were encouraged to see race, not in its

essentialized form, but as interconnected with other identity categories, such as language. This is an important implication for Montreal, where anti-racist education remains an underdeveloped research area (Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises [CEETUM], 2011).

Some of the implications I have discussed here link to possibilities for further directions in research. I discuss these and others in the next section before bringing this thesis to a close.

### **Further Directions**

This inquiry points to several directions for future research, some of which follow directly from the implications discussed above. First, it would be highly valuable to engage in a similar process of inquiry with young children in Montreal whose home languages are French and Japanese to see how they understand their positionings as speakers of the majority and official language of Quebec. It would be interesting to see what their experiences with and perceptions of English (if any) are. Another area to focus on would be the role that the Japanese Language Centre plays in reinforcing for the children that Japanese is a resource that can be used outside of the home and how children's perceptions of this role may change over time.

For researchers who have different linguistic repertoires than I do, it would be valuable to undertake similar inquiries with multilingual children from a variety of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. It would be exciting to see the emergence of a widespread database of young Montrealers' language and identity experiences as they move through their social lives in Montreal. This would complement the work that Lamarre (2013) has been doing with multilingual youth in the city, in her "Montreal on



the move” project, which has revealed a much more complex picture of language use in the city than census data offers.

In the relatively new field of family language policy (FLP), I see some important further directions, which combine methodological with theoretical possibilities. First of all, I hope that my inquiry will inspire other researchers to take into account the perspectives of young family members as well as those of the parents. There are many ways to do this; in this thesis, the children and I used various creative methods to generate data, but we certainly did not exhaust all the possibilities. Photovoice, for example, is a relevant method of engaging in research with young children (e.g., Phelan & Kinsella, 2011, 2012; Waller, 2006), which I feel could benefit FLP scholarship. In one notable FLP study (Patrick, Bulach, & Muckaloo, 2013), the researchers used photovoice with Inuit parents and children to elicit their perspectives and experiences in a family literacy program. The researchers concluded that photovoice is a very effective tool for FLP. It would be encouraging to see other creative approaches used with young children in this field. Generating FLP data using child-centred methodologies would make it possible to push the field further in terms of its theoretical understandings and articulations of relationships between language policy contexts (which I have argued are racialized contexts; also Haque, 2012) and individual experiences by adding the perspectives and experiences of those most closely touched by a family language policy: the children.

As I was doing this inquiry, I felt that this type of exploration of language and identity would lend itself nicely to a longitudinal design. For instance, it would be beneficial to continue to visit with these and other children as they make the transition

into formal schooling. Another possibility would be to take a cross-sectional approach and work with multilingual children and youth across a wider age range, such as from preschool to high school, and explore their responses to, and positionings within, a specified context and moment in time.

As I found in this inquiry, and as others have argued with respect to elementary students, children are not naïve with respect to their social environments (e.g., Connolly, 2002; Dagenais et al., 2008; Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007; Michael-Luna, 2005, 2009; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Thus it is important to create pedagogic spaces in which children can learn about and appreciate the diversity of their environments. This has been done successfully through language awareness programs and activities (e.g., Candelier, 2003; Dagenais et al., 2007; Hawkins, 1984; Pérregeaux et al., 2003), which can involve exploring local linguistic landscapes, describing and reflecting on the languages used within and outside of class, and connecting with students' families (Svalberg, 2007). For example, Hélot and Young (2006) engaged in a three-year language awareness project with teachers and parents in an elementary school in Alsace, where minority languages had been viewed as a problem (not a resource) and there were reports of discrimination against immigrant-origin students. The researchers found that the project led to increased positive attitudes towards the linguistic diversity in the community. Significantly, they also found a greater degree of tolerance and appreciation for the cultural diversity of the school, thus fewer incidents of discrimination. Based on the positive outcomes of language awareness activities and projects, they have now been integrated into pedagogical practices and teacher training programs in some schools in Europe (Svalberg, 2007). This is certainly an area of work that could benefit young

learners in Montreal, as Dagenais et al. (2007) have shown, and it is one that is rich with opportunities to explore intersections of visible and audible identities in ways that are relevant, accessible, and meaningful to young children.

Another pedagogical approach to increasing students' awareness of linguistic diversity and of reflecting on their own multilinguality is the European Language Portfolio, or ELP, which was piloted by the language policy division of the Council of Europe (CoE) in the 1990s (CoE, 2011). The portfolio allows individuals to keep track of their language learning, to reflect on their language learning and plurilingualism (what I have been referring to as multilinguality), and become more aware of societal multilingualism. The Canadian Association for Second Language Teachers (CASLT) has recently published several reference kits for language teachers in order to develop and use language portfolios with their students (2008, 2011). Given the increasing linguistic diversity in Montreal, and the language policy context of Quebec within Canada, it would be valuable to work on developing such resources for teacher training programs, in-service teachers, and language curricula in Quebec. The more aware pre-service and in-service teachers are of the sociolinguistic complexities of Montreal, the better they can work with their students in ways that recognize all of the resources they bring to class with them.

Finally, I hope to be part of a movement of scholars and early childhood practitioners who advocate for and develop strategies for multilingual and anti-racist education. Copenhaver-Johnson (2012) suggested opening dialogues with elementary school children about race and racism by using books that deal directly with race (though these are not listed on book flyers), reading fewer books and allowing more time for

discussion and children's responses, and taking children's questions or curiosities about race seriously (also Michael-Luna, 2005, 2009). As I found in my inquiry, children can respond very positively to books that serve as mirrors for them, and reading and responding to books together can open up spaces for conversations about identity.

In addition, my inquiry points to further directions related to teacher training with respect to developing teachers who are able to engage in, or at least consider the possibilities of, multilingual and anti-racist education. Through continued engagements with young children and by listening attentively to their perspectives, children could also contribute some valuable insights into what multilingual, anti-racist education could look like. This could offer an important step towards bringing issues of visible identity out from under the umbrella of language in Montreal.

### **Closing Remarks**

My intention in this thesis was to tell a story of local language practices within the context of Bill 101 in Montreal. Yet, even in a city where language trumps race at the level of official and academic discourse, through my engagements with James, Henry, Elizabeth, and Taichi, I found that racial meanings also make up part of their social environments, and these meanings influence their languaging. Thus, I have offered a counterstory to the dominant portrait of language and identity politics in Montreal. It emerged on the grounding of LangCrit, as well as a commitment to being a humble researcher and to validating and respecting children's individualities and agency. This thesis represents a first step for critical sociolinguistic scholarship on multilingualism and language policy that recognizes that young children can and should be included in research that directly affects their becomings. It highlights how young multilingual

racialized children navigate, negotiate, and perform their identities in a city where talk about language is everywhere.

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## Appendix A: Bilingual Flier

### **Looking for Japanese-Canadian mixed families to participate in a McGill University study about child multilingualism**

If you have a child between 3 and 5 years old who is bi- or multilingual, please read on.

I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at McGill University. I am also the mother of 2 Japanese-Canadian children. I am trying to learn more about how children understand their own multilingualism. I am conducting a study that involves 6 home visits (1 to 2 hours each) and 2 phases:

- 1) informal interviews with parents about the languages used inside and outside of the home
- 2) a book-making project with your child(ren), using drawings or photographs, as a way to understand what languages they use with different people and in different settings.

If you are interested in learning more, please contact me:

Alison Crump  
514-845-2731  
[alison.crump@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:alison.crump@mail.mcgill.ca)

Supervisor: Dr. Mela Sarkar ([mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca](mailto:mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca))

## マギル大学における子供のマルチリンガリズムに関する研究に参加して下さる日本・カナダ国際結婚のご家族を探しています

バイリンガル、あるいはマルチリンガルの3歳から5歳のお子さんをお持ちの方を対象としています。

私、マギル大学・教育学部博士課程の学生でアリソン・クランプと申します。また、日加ハーフの二人の子供を持つ母親でもあります。現在、子供たちがどのように自分たちのマルチリンガリズムを理解しているのかということについて研究に取り組んでおります。今回、その研究に関わって、6回の家庭訪問（1回1～2時間）を含む調査にご参加いただける方を探しております。

今回の調査では、以下の二つのことへのご協力をお願いしております。

ご両親への家庭内外で使用される言語についてのインタビュー  
お子さんとの本作りプロジェクト（どの言語を誰とどのような場面で使用しているのかを理解するために、絵や写真を使ってお子さんと本作りをします。）

調査への参加をご検討いただける方、またご質問等おありの方がいらっしゃいましたら、下記までご連絡ください。調査の詳細についてご説明させていただきます。

お手数をおかけしますが、どうぞよろしくお願いいたします。

アリソン・クランプ Alison Crump

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メール [alison.crump@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:alison.crump@mail.mcgill.ca)

指導教官： メラ・サーカー教授 Dr. Mela Sarkar

メール [mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca](mailto:mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca)



## Appendix B: Informed Consent Form



### Department of Integrated Studies in Education

3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2

Dear Parent(s),

I am a PhD student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University. I am doing a study on preschool children's experiences and understandings of their multilingualism. Participation in the study will provide you and your child(ren) with the opportunity to add a much-needed perspective to research on multilingualism and education, which has focused on parents only. This kind of knowledge can inform educational approaches for multilingual students.

The study will involve roughly 6 home visits, each lasting between 1 and 2 hours, from January to April 2013. These visits can be arranged at a time that suits your family's schedule. In the first home visit, you will be asked to participate in an audio-recorded informal interview. In the next 4 or 5 home visits, your child will be asked to work with me on creating a book about him or herself. This may involve drawing pictures or gluing personal photographs onto pages and talking about topics such as: my family; my friends; things I like to do; places I visit; what languages I speak; what languages other people speak, and so on. I will provide craft supplies and small snacks. Before the final visit, I will laminate and bind the pages into a book for your child to keep. For the purposes of the research, I will take photographs of the pages of the book after each visit. All home visits will be audio-recorded, with your permission. Audio-recordings will be used for transcription purposes only and will be deleted following transcriptions. In order to ensure confidentiality, all family members' names will be removed from transcripts and replaced with pseudonyms. In addition, I will blur the faces of photographs that may be included in your child's book.

All information and data will be kept safely in a locked file cabinet and password protected files on my laptop and only I will have access to them. The results of the project, including excerpts of transcriptions and photographs of your child's book, will be used for my PhD thesis, research presentations, conferences, and publications. The data will be kept for use in future related studies for a period of 5 years. Even if you agree to participate now, please understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I will keep a key linking your family members' names and pseudonyms in a password protected file on my laptop and only I will have access to it. This will ensure that I can withdraw your data, if you choose to withdraw from the study at any point.

If you are willing to participate, please sign this consent form. Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions about the study.

Student Researcher: Alison Crump, PhD candidate (alison.crump@mail.mcgill.ca)  
Supervisor: Dr. Mela Sarkar (mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca)

**Do you agree to have the visits audio-taped? (Please circle one)**      **Yes**      **No**

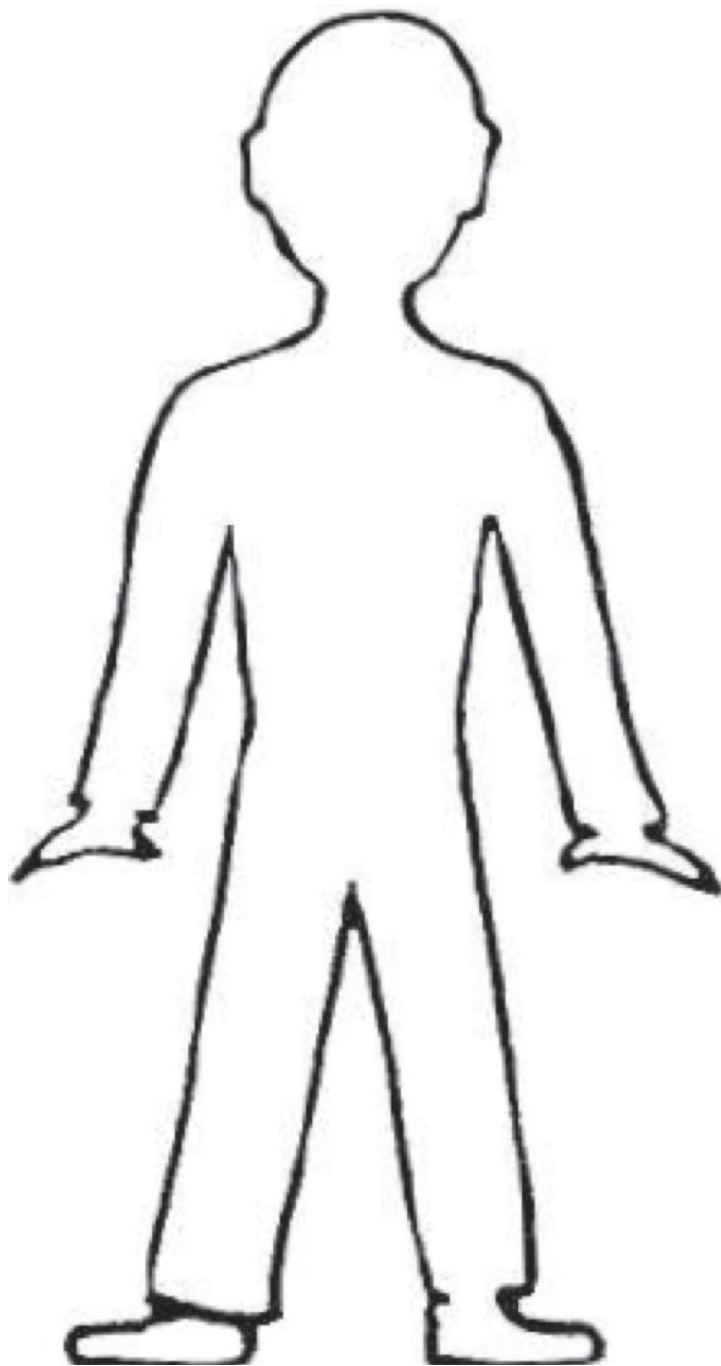
Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Appendix C: Guiding Questions for Parents**

1. I'd like to hear about what languages you speak with each other and with your children and why you make those choices.
2. Do you have any language-related rules in the house?
3. Do you feel you need to support their language learning in any/ all of their languages? If so, how do you do this?
4. What languages do you want your child to be able to speak as an adult? Why? What do you need to do to support that?
5. Can you tell me about languages in the books you read to your children? What about TV? Movies? Music?
6. What about daycare or preschool or other extracurricular activities?
7. What about with friends, extended family, when shopping?
8. Is there anything that I didn't ask you that you think would help me understand the language environments of your child(ren)?

### Appendix D: Language Prompt



Reproduced with permission from Dr. Krumm and Dr. Jenkins (original material in Krumm & Jenkins, 2001).