Un examen critique de l'inclusion en immersion française : **A Multiple-Case Study at an Independent School in Ontario**

Shelina Adatia

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Doctorate in Philosophy degree in Education
Societies, Cultures and Languages Concentration

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

Abstract

French Immersion (FI) is a form of second language education with various programs in which French is both a subject and the language of curricular instruction (Canadian Parents for French [CPF], 2019). In 1965, when FI first began in St. Lambert, Québec, it was aimed at middle-class, anglophone students (Davis, 2017; Davis et al., 2019; Kunnas, 2019; Lambert & Tucker, 1972), but its population has since expanded to include culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners—that is, students whose first language is neither English nor French and whose cultural and linguistic repertoires represent a strength in their learning communities. These students may be enrolled in FI programs, but their cultures and languages aren't necessarily recognized, valued, and integrated as assets for personal and collective learning—calling into question the potential for true inclusion (Mady et al., 2017).

This study thus examines the inclusion of CLD learners in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario. Taking a multiple-case study approach, it uses critical race theory to explore the understandings, beliefs, and practices that CLD learners (n = 4), French as a Second Language (FSL) teachers (n = 3), teacher-administrators (n = 2), and parents and guardians of CLD learners (n = 12) associate with the inclusion of these students in FI. Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews, photo elicitation, in-person and virtual classroom observations, an online questionnaire, and a reflective journal.

Although participants' understandings alluded to greater visibility of CLD learners, the findings suggest that these students weren't always seen in their full complexity. In terms of beliefs, CLD learners were generally viewed through an asset-oriented perspective; however, tensions remain in accepting and understanding knowledge different from the White standard.

Finally, although practices were indicative of a pedagogy focused on students' academic success (Ladson-Billings, 2014), the findings showed evidence of a risk of underlying racial inequities.

Implications include the need to understand the endemic nature of racism, to problematize race through dialogue and stories that counter "master narratives" (Martinez, 2014), and to address underlying racial inequities consistently and concretely. Ultimately, this research contributes to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI.

Keywords: French Immersion; culturally and linguistically diverse learners; inclusion; critical race theory; racism

Résumé

L'immersion française est une forme d'enseignement de langue seconde avec divers programmes dans lesquels le français est à la fois une matière et la langue d'enseignement du curriculum (Canadian Parents for French [CPF], 2019). En 1965, lorsque l'immersion française a débuté à Saint-Lambert, au Québec, elle s'adressait aux élèves anglophones de la classe moyenne (Davis, 2017; Davis et al., 2019; Kunnas, 2019; Lambert & Tucker, 1972), mais sa population s'est depuis élargie pour inclure des apprenant·e·s issu·e·s de cultures et de langues diverses, c'est-à-dire des élèves dont la langue maternelle n'est ni l'anglais ni le français et dont les répertoires culturels et linguistiques représentent une force dans leurs communautés d'apprentissage. Ces élèves peuvent être inscrit·e·s à des programmes en immersion française, mais leurs cultures et leurs langues ne sont pas nécessairement reconnues, valorisées et intégrées comme des atouts pour l'apprentissage personnel et collectif, ce qui remet en question le potentiel d'une véritable inclusion (Mady et al., 2017).

Cette étude examine ainsi l'inclusion des apprenant·e·s issu·e·s de cultures et de langues diverses en immersion française au sein d'une école indépendante du sud-est de l'Ontario. En adoptant une approche d'étude de cas multiples, elle emploie la théorie critique de la race pour explorer les compréhensions, les croyances et les pratiques que les apprenant·e·s (n = 4), les enseignant·e·s de Français Langue Seconde (n = 3), les enseignant·e·s-administrateur·rice·s (n = 2) et les parents et tuteur·rice·s des apprenant·e·s (n = 12) associent à l'inclusion de ces élèves en immersion française. Les méthodes de collecte des données comprenaient des entrevues semi-structurées, l'incitation à partir des photos, des observations en classe en personne et virtuelles, un questionnaire en ligne et un journal de réflexion.

Bien que les compréhensions des participant·e·s aient fait allusion à une plus grande visibilité des apprenant·e·s issu·e·s de cultures et de langues diverses, les résultats suggèrent que ces élèves n'étaient pas toujours vu·e·s dans toute leur complexité. En termes de croyances, les apprenant·e·s issu·e·s de cultures et de langues diverses étaient généralement considéré·e·s à travers une perspective axée sur les atouts ; cependant, des tensions subsistent dans l'acceptation et la compréhension de connaissances différentes de la norme blanche. Enfin, bien que les pratiques soient révélatrices d'une pédagogie orientée vers la réussite scolaire des élèves (Ladson-Billings, 2014), les résultats ont mis en évidence un risque d'inégalités raciales implicites.

Les implications incluent la nécessité de comprendre la nature endémique du racisme, de problématiser la race par le biais de dialogues et d'histoires qui contrecarrent les *«* récits maîtres *»* (Martinez, 2014), et de répondre aux inégalités raciales implicites de manière systématique et concrète. En somme, cette recherche contribue au développement d'espaces d'apprentissage en immersion française qui sont culturellement et linguistiquement inclusifs.

Mots clés : immersion française ; apprenant·e·s issu·e·s de cultures et de langues diverses ; inclusion ; théorie critique de la race ; racisme

Acknowledgements

No honour is like knowledge. No belief is like modesty and patience. No attainment is like humility. No power is like forbearance. And no support is more reliable than consultation.

—Imam Ali, *The Peak of Eloquence*

My doctoral journey has been a collective effort of numerous individuals. It is thus with deep appreciation that I acknowledge the support of each one of them.

Je tiens tout d'abord à exprimer ma profonde reconnaissance à ma directrice de thèse, la docteure Donatille Mujawamariya. Vous m'avez acceptée à bras ouverts comme votre étudiante et vous m'avez offert de nombreuses occasions de développer mes compétences en tant que chercheuse et chef d'équipe. Bien que nos façons de comprendre et de nous positionner dans le monde soient différentes, je crois que c'est la plus grande force de notre partenariat, car nous pouvons apprendre l'une de l'autre. Cela étant dit, l'une des plus importantes leçons que j'ai apprises de vous est de me battre de tout cœur pour ce que je crois être juste et vrai, quels que soient les obstacles que je puisse rencontrer sur mon chemin. Murakoze et soyez assurée que c'est une leçon que je n'oublierai jamais.

I am equally appreciative of my doctoral committee members, Dr. Stephanie Arnott, Dr. Gail Prasad, and Dr. Marie-Josée Vignola, for their support throughout my journey. Stephanie, during my time at the University of Ottawa, I have had the opportunity to work and learn alongside you in various capacities. Through these opportunities, I have benefitted immensely from your expertise in the area of French as a Second Language, as well as your knowledge of qualitative research. Please know that I am incredibly thankful for the critical yet caring eye you always bring to your examination of my work. You are treasured, and I will always be grateful for the care and mentorship you have extended to me throughout the highs

and lows of my studies. Gail, I am so honoured to have you on my committee. Since first engaging with your work at the start of my doctoral studies, I have been in awe of the creativity and rigour you bring to your ongoing research alongside Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD) learners. It is indeed inspiring and has greatly enriched my knowledge and thinking as a scholar. Thank you for so generously sharing your time and insight throughout my own research with CLD learners. *Professeure Vignola, ça a été un grand plaisir de vous connaître davantage durant mon programme de doctorat. Parmi les vastes compétences que vous apportez à ce comité, je dois dire que vos connaissances dans le domaine de l'immersion française et votre attention aux détails lors de la lecture de mon travail sont inégalées. Je vous remercie pour vos commentaires réfléchis et votre soutien continu tout au long de ce parcours.*

I also acknowledge the exceptional contribution of my external examiner, Dr. Susan Ballinger, who has undertaken this role with such care and enthusiasm. I sincerely appreciate your time and dedication, as well as your recognition of rigorous scholarship.

Conducting this study would not have been possible without the consistent engagement of my participants. I am immensely grateful to the students, teachers, teacher-administrators, and parents and guardians who so generously gave of their time and knowledge for the benefit of this research. I have learnt considerably from your thoughtful reflections and practices, and I believe that your collective commitment to culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces is nothing short of remarkable. *Merci du fond de mon cœur*.

Additionally, I express my sincere gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for their outstanding financial support through the Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarships Program. I am also grateful to the University of Ottawa for their Admission and Excellence Scholarships, as well as multiple assistantships.

I would be remiss to not acknowledge the various mentors and friends who have assisted me throughout this journey. Although their expressions of support may be unbeknownst to them, they have certainly contributed to my success. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Nafissa Ismail, Dr. Mimi Masson, Dr. Catherine Mavriplis, Dr. Saba Alvi, Dr. Meike Wernicke, Dr. Billie Jane Hermosura, Rhéal Allain, Karim Mitha, Janelle Fournier, Nori, Nina, and Leo Ito, Jasmine and Sofia Rawji, and Shyam Patel. At the same time, I thank the faculty and student members of the various research units, teams, cohort, and collectives with whom I have had the privilege to both learn and unlearn throughout my studies: the EducLang Research Unit, *l'Unité de Recherche Éducationnelle sur la Culture Scientifique*, the EngFemmes and Equity Project teams, the Second Language Education Cohort, the Education Graduate Students' Association, and the Critical Research and Education Graduate Students of Colour collectives. I am also deeply indebted to the #AcademicTwitter community for uplifting me throughout this journey with humour, wisdom, resources, opportunities, and kindness.

Finally, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my family, both near and far, immediate and extended, living and deceased, for their unwavering love, support, and prayers throughout my studies. Words fail to adequately express my deep love and appreciation for each one of you but know that you have been instrumental to the completion of this thesis. A special thank you to my two nephews, Qayim and Qahir Karim Kanji. Being your *māsī* has been the greatest blessing of my life, and I will remain eternally grateful for your love, laughter, support, and sunshine.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to five of the most exemplary women in my life: my sister, **Femina Kanji**; my aunts, **Malek Jivraj** and **Yasmin Shivji**; my mother, **Yasmeen Adatia**; and my late grandmother, **Shakar Lalani**. Collectively, you are the embodiment of intelligence, strength, perseverance, kindness, and grace. I would not be the person I am today without you, so it is with utmost gratitude that I dedicate this thesis to you.

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List of Acronyms

CF: Core French

CLD: culturally and linguistically diverse

CLRT: culturally and linguistically responsive teaching

CPF: Canadian Parents for French

CRP: culturally relevant pedagogy

CRPWLT: critical race pedagogy for world language teaching

CRT: culturally responsive teaching

EF: Extended French

ELL(s): English language learner(s)

FI: French Immersion

FSL: French as a Second Language

GEA: Global Encounters Academy

IB: International Baccalaureate

IMM(s): immigrant(s) learning English

LD(s): learning difficult(y/ies)

OME: Ontario Ministry of Education

PD: professional development

POC: people of colour

TC(s): teacher candidate(s)

WL(s): world language(s)

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Chapter One:

Setting the Context

> Dear Canada, home of cultural and linguistic diversity, world leader in peace and harmony, *Comment des apprenant·e·s comme moi, dont la langue maternelle n'est ni l'anglais ni le français, sont-ils inclus en immersion ?* (SSHRC-CRSH [Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council-*Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines*], 2019)

Introduction

In this first chapter, I set the context for this research through a brief discussion of French Immersion (FI), culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners, and the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. As part of this contextualization, I also define some of the aforementioned key terms in this study. Subsequently, I identify the goal and significance of this inquiry, and outline the guiding research questions. I then reflect on my motivation for conducting this investigation—a discussion on the everlasting and ever-evolving impact of my experiences as a CLD learner in FI. Finally, I provide an overview of the various chapters in this thesis.

Context and Key Terms

FI is a form of second language education with various programs[1] in which students are immersed in French—both as a subject and as the language of communication and instruction (Canadian Parents for French [CPF], 2019). Although starting grades and percentage of

[1] The different programs within FI include Early, Middle, and Late FI. Considered "the optimal immersion entry point" (CPF, 2017, p. 22), Early FI begins in either Kindergarten or Grade 1, with students receiving 90–100% of their instruction in French. As English Language Arts are introduced in subsequent grades, this percentage is gradually reduced. Middle FI begins in Grade 4, with students receiving 90% of their instruction in French; this percentage is steadily lowered in later grades (CPF, 2017). Finally, Late FI begins between Grades 5 and 8, with students receiving 80% of their instruction in French; this percentage is progressively reduced in subsequent grades (CPF, 2017).

curricular instruction in French differ across Canadian provinces and school boards, the FI "language-through-content approach" (CPF, 2017, p. 23), wherein students simultaneously learn the French language and curricular content, remains consistent.

In 1965, when FI first began in St. Lambert, a largely English-speaking suburb of Montreal, Québec, it was aimed at middle-class, anglophone students (Davis, 2017; Davis et al., 2019; Kunnas, 2019; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Although French is the majority language in Québec, Graham Fraser (2011), former Commissioner of Official Languages[2], recalls that "the students in Saint-Lambert were part of a minority, embarking on an experiment to learn the language of the majority" (p. 7). The parents of these students found themselves "disillusioned with traditional methods of language-teaching such as drills and repetitions and were eager for their children to have a bilingual advantage in Québec" (Roy, 2008, p. 398), an aspect I discuss in detail in Chapter Two. Today, despite the fact that FI has been established throughout Canada (Makropoulos, 2009), and is widely regarded as the most effective approach for second language learning (e.g., Genesee, 2007a, 2011; Lazaruk, 2007; Yoon & Gulson, 2010), the middle-class, anglophone student remains the norm (Kunnas, 2019). Yet, Canada's ever-growing diversity, as evidenced by the approximately 4.6 million Canadians who speak a language different from English or French at home (Statistics Canada, 2022), has resulted in the possibility of a CLD FI student population.

I define the term "CLD learner" as a student whose first language is neither English nor French (i.e., students who are generally considered allophones or who are First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples). Regarding the term "allophone," Prasad (2012) notes that it was initially

[2] Amongst the many duties of Canada's Commissioner of Official Languages, they are "to protect the language rights of Canadians and promote linguistic duality and bilingualism across Canada" (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2021, About us section, para. 3).

proposed by Darbelnet as "the umbrella category for Canadians who spoke first languages other than Canada's two official languages [i.e., English and French]" (p. 193). He formulated the term in the 1960s from the French word *allogène*—referring to individuals *« d'une origine différente de celle de la population autochtone »* (Robert, 1993, p. 51, as cited in Prasad, 2012), as well as the suffix "-phone"—meaning speaker. The term allophone is thus "problematic as individuals in Canada who do not speak English or French as a first language are reduced to one group that is described as other than official" (Prasad, 2012, p. 193). The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*[3] was therefore a means of appeasing allophones in that it recognizes their cultures, but it fails to provide status or protection to their languages (Haque, 2012; Prasad, 2015).

Recently, Mady and Arnett (2015) have come to associate allophones with "newcomer students learning both English and French" (p. 92), but my definition of a CLD learner is not limited to students who are new to Canada and currently learning its official languages. In other words, a CLD learner may be an international student, refugee, (im)migrant, permanent resident, or Canadian citizen. Regardless, these learners often enter school with minimum proficiency in the language(s) of instruction. Consequently, being in FI can be a form of double immersion for those students learning English and French simultaneously (Reyes & Vignola, 2015; Taylor, 1992). Still, it is important to recognize that CLD learners are already knowledgeable in one or multiple languages; nonetheless, they are consistently mis-labelled as "second" or "additional language learners." On the surface, these labels may appear true or unproblematic, but in reality, they call attention to the languages these students lack versus those they already have in their communicative repertoires.

[3] Established in 1988, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* "enshrined into law the federal government's commitment to promoting and maintaining a diverse, multicultural society" (Berry, 2020, *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* section, para. 1).

Like Prasad (2009), I believe that the "term CLD foregrounds the cultural and linguistic resources that such learners bring with them and can contribute to their communities of learning" (p. 9)—thereby shifting one's perception of these students from a deficit- to an asset-oriented perspective (Gay, 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2014, 2021a, 2021b; Prasad, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002, 2007). Hence, I further define a CLD learner as a student whose cultural and linguistic repertoire represents a strength in their learning communities.

At the same time, I recognize that "our identities are far more complex than one label" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 34). For instance, amongst other social markers, a CLD learner may identify as Black, female, lower-class, and bisexual. These students thus "experience racism in ways inextricably linked with and exacerbated by other forms of oppression such as sexism, classism, and homophobia" (Anya, 2021, p. 1057). Indeed, the way in which "one's SES [socio-economic status] interacts with race can determine one's relationship with FI" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 34). It is for this reason that in FI, we not only see more White students, but above all, middle-class students (Kunnas, 2019).

To challenge the status quo, the various ways in which our multiple identities intersect (Anya, 2021; Dei, 1999; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) should be discussed and reflected within Ontario's learning communities, wherein inclusive education is broadly defined as "education that is based on the principles of acceptance and inclusion of all students" (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME], 2014a, p. 87). Students should therefore "see themselves reflected in their curriculum, their physical surroundings, and the broader environment, in which diversity is honoured and all individuals are respected" (OME, 2014a,

p. 87). Kunnas' (2019) study, which examines race in FI programs, reflects otherwise—revealing a White, Eurocentric[4] bias in FI policies, curricula, and documents. Contrary to the OME's mandate, Kunnas' (2019) research speaks to the risk of FI "promot[ing] a racist status quo where what we actually ignore are inequity, White privilege[5], and injustice, not skin colour" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066).

Prasad (2009) adds an important nuance to the OME's definition of inclusive education, emphasizing that "*inclusion* in schools requires that diversity not simply be tolerated but rather that the complexities of difference collaboratively be examined, valued and incorporated within learning communities" (p. 11). Therefore, when discussing the inclusion of CLD learners, she specifies the importance of identifying, valuing, and most importantly, integrating, the resources or diversity these students bring to the classroom as "assets for their personal and collective learning" (Prasad, 2009, p. 11).

Given that the focus of this inquiry is particular to CLD learners, I define the term "inclusion" as the collaborative recognition, affirmation, and incorporation of CLD learners' cultural and linguistic repertoires as resources for individual and collective learning. Inclusion would thus be "critical" in that CLD learners would "not only be welcomed, but provided with support to ensure success" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 82). This support would take the form of pedagogies with a critical orientation—one such example being culturally relevant pedagogy

[4] My understanding of the term "Eurocentric" aligns with that of Chang (2020), who associates it with "a preponderance of texts [that] come from the Western canon, . . . dominant perspectives and values [that] spring from a narrow [White] history, and . . . a suite of expositions [that] is presented to the exclusion of other perspectives and experiences" (p. 65), thereby upholding settler colonial viewpoints.

[5] The term "White privilege" refers to "an invisible package of unearned assets [or capital]" (McIntosh, 1989, p. 10).

(CRP), which focuses on student achievement, cultural identity, and critical perspectives (Ladson-Billings, 1995b).

Shifting to the context of Ontario's French as a Second Language (FSL) programs, one of the guiding principles is that "FSL programs [like FI] are for all students" (OME, 2013, p. 10). In addition to FI, these programs include Core French (CF), in which "French is taught as a subject . . . in two to five lessons a week for usually 30 to 40 minutes," and Extended French (EF), wherein "students take two or three subjects taught in the French language, in addition to French Language Arts" (CPF, 2019, p. 19). Depending on a student's FSL program, by the end of elementary school[6] (i.e., Grade 8), they must complete a minimum of 600–3800 hours of instruction in French (OME, 2013). To graduate from secondary school[7], students must complete one FSL credit, equivalent to 110 hours, from any three programs—CF, EF, or FI (OME, 2013, 2014b).

At this point, it is important to acknowledge that both federal and provincial government policies impact access to FSL programs (Davis, 2017; Davis et al., 2019; Mady & Turnbull, 2010, 2012). For example, in their analysis of federal documents, Mady and Turnbull (2010) found that "opportunities for Allophones to learn *both* official languages is absent" (p. 5); in English Canada, the context for this investigation, "immigrants must learn English, but their access to also learn French at school is not guaranteed by federal policy documents" (p. 5). In terms of provincial documents, Ontario does "ensure access to FSOL [French as a Second

[6] In Canada, elementary school is generally for students aged 5–12 (Government of Canada, 2022). In Ontario, these ages translate to Kindergarten to Grade 8.
[7] In Canada, secondary school is generally for students aged 12–18 (Government of Canada, 2022). In Ontario, these ages translate to Grades 9–12.

Official Language[8]] education" (Mady & Black, 2012, p. 499). Nevertheless, across Canadian provinces and territories, mandates regarding French language learning vary significantly (Davis, 2017; Mady & Turnbull, 2010). For instance, in British Columbia and the Yukon, learning a second language is mandatory, but French is not the only option; alternatively, in Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador, French language learning is compulsory; conversely, in Alberta, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, it is optional (Mady & Turnbull, 2010). Given these discrepancies, Mady (2007) contends that decisions on inclusion in FSL "are based on hearsay evidence and intuitive choices rather than on research or the expectations of ministries of education" (p. 746). Davis (2017) also indicates that despite select provinces mandating French language learning, "the policies do not ensure that Allophone learners in those regions have access to such programs" (p. 17).

Unsurprisingly, then, teachers and school administrators (i.e., vice-principals and principals), considered gatekeepers to FI, commonly espouse the following deficit-oriented beliefs: **a)** learning English and French simultaneously is too demanding for CLD learners (e.g., Mady, 2013c; Mady & Turnbull, 2012) and **b)** the acquisition of English is a prerequisite for success in FI (e.g., Arnett & Mady, 2018; Mady & Masson, 2018). For example, in Mady (2013c), a questionnaire completed by 69 FSL teachers showed that "French immersion respondents were less supportive of inclusion than their core French teaching counterparts" (p. 51). This finding was largely due to the fact that FI was deemed too challenging for students with none to limited English. In Mady and Masson (2018), principals expressed similar

[8] "French as a Second Official Language" is "a general umbrella term which includes a variety of programming options: from core French to the more intensive French Immersion" (Mady, 2013c, p. 57).

perspectives concerning the inclusion of English language learners[9] (ELLs) in elementary school FI programs:

> We get kids that are ELLs later, maybe new arrivals to Canada. I think at that time the load is a little bit different and maybe developmentally it's a little more challenging for them, so I would say that their needs as a student maybe better served in that core French environment. (p. 80)

As is evident from these examples, "people in power often assume a patronising stance towards the minority . . . while acting kindly, [they] have a negative perception of the other's potential and abilities" (Mady, 2013c, p. 53). Consequently, to even enroll in FI, CLD learners are expected to have acquired a certain level of English language proficiency. CF, perceived as less challenging (Arnett & Mady, 2017), is thus suggested in its place, whereas FI, the "crème de la crème of second language education" (SSHRC-CRSH, 2019), is reserved for "an intellectual elite, and that elite does not include immigrants" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 24).

Looking beyond FI itself, the OME (2016) advises that all FSL programs "reflect the diversity of the student population, including . . . students who are English language learners" (p. 6). However, Mady and Arnett (2015), whose study investigated the perceptions of 15 FSL teacher candidates (TCs) regarding the inclusion of allophone students and students with learning difficulties (LDs) in FSL, came to the following conclusion:

> for the teacher candidates who did work with Allophone students during their practicum, the vast majority (7/9 or 78%) could not access any scientific knowledge about these students and their learning needs to support the work in the practicum, thus revealing a

[9] The term "ELLs" refers to "immigrant students who are adding English and French to their language repertoires" (Mady & Masson, 2018, p. 89).

> disconnect between the content of their teacher education program and the classroom reality in most cases. (p. 87)

Along similar lines, in a questionnaire examining the viewpoints of 1,305 FSL teachers towards teaching French in Canada, Lapkin et al. (2006) identified student diversity as the greatest challenge they faced, with the presence of allophone students specifically mentioned as one aspect of that diversity. Findings such as these imply a significant gap between theory and practice—suggesting that those CLD learners who are in FI may not be adequately supported, as their teachers were not sufficiently trained, or require further knowledge, to do so. As stated by Guo (2015), "immigration is now the main source of Canada's population growth . . . the preparation of teachers, however, has not yet caught up to these demographic changes" (p. 125).

The lack of support for CLD learners elicits great concern about their inclusion in FI. Although they may be enrolled in FI programs, their cultures and languages aren't necessarily recognized, valued, and integrated as assets for personal and collective learning, "rais[ing] questions about the potential for true inclusion" (Mady et al., 2017, p. 103).

Goal of the Study and Significance

I recognize that true inclusion—that is, not simply welcoming CLD learners but supporting their success (Kunnas, 2019)—cannot be achieved without explicit attention to power, which is unequally distributed according to various social markers, such as race, class, language, gender, and sexuality. Hence, the goal of this inquiry is to understand inclusion in FI through critical race theory, "an analytical framework originating in legal studies to examine how racism and systemic bias disenfranchise individuals of colour . . . with particular relevance to racial inequity in education" (Anya, 2021, p. 1056). Specifically, I will engage in a critical

examination of the understandings, beliefs, and practices that key stakeholders, including students themselves, associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Kunnas' (2019) investigation, which draws on critical anti-racist theory (Dei, 2013) and sociolinguistics (Heller et al., 2018), is the only study thus far to explicitly consider race in FI programs. Yet, scholars in FSL have called upon researchers to engage with similar frameworks, such as critical race theory and LangCrit (i.e., Critical Language and Race Theory) (Crump, 2014), stating that "the extent to which various minority groups are underrepresented in French immersion might be the result of practices that privilege certain ethnic and linguistic populations to the detriment of others" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 60). To understand how such practices (dis)empower, it is necessary to name and engage with race (Dei, 1999), which "is central to all structures, institutions and social discourses in Euro-American society" (Dei, 2000, p. 35). Alternatively, fields like FSL risk perpetuating the notion of "racelessness" (i.e., the denial of race) (Dei, 1999) by "treating white experiences as a universal norm in language learning and language teaching" (Makoni, 2021, p. xii).

This inquiry thus stands to make a significant contribution to knowledge and practice in that it would be amongst the first to use critical race theory to interpret inclusion/exclusion in FI. It is also unique in that it amplifies the voices of racialized peoples[10] (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) through the perspectives of CLD learners—both my own and those of the participants. The importance of this aspect is emphasized by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995): "without authentic voices of people of color . . . it is doubtful that we can say or know anything useful about education in their communities" (p. 58). At the same time,

[10] The term "racialized peoples" refers to "bodies not simply *of* colour but *that* colour space(s)" (Patel, 2022, p. 20).

recognizing that true inclusion is a collective effort, this investigation accounts for the opinions of other key stakeholders—namely, FSL teachers, teacher-administrators, and parents and guardians of CLD learners. Overall, it is well positioned to speak to inclusion in FI by "meaningfully reckon[ing] with race and racial inequity in our field" (Anya, 2021, p. 1067).

Research Questions

In order to understand the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, this study addresses the following research question:

How are CLD learners included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario? To respond to this question, this inquiry is guided by three interconnected secondary research questions:

1. How do participants understand the inclusion of CLD learners in FI?
2. What beliefs guide participants' understandings of the inclusion of CLD learners in FI and the practices participants associate with this form of inclusion?
3. What practices do participants associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI?

Researcher Motivation

My concern for the inclusion/exclusion of CLD learners in FI is deeply rooted in my experiences as a student. Upon the advice of my Grade 5 CF teacher, my parents and I collectively decided that as of Grade 6, I would enroll in FI—a FSL program in which I would remain throughout secondary school. Despite fond memories of reciting Jean de La Fontaine's *La Cigale et la Fourmi*, acting out scenes from Marcel Dubé's *Zone*, and reading and watching

Arlette Cousture's *Les filles de Caleb*, never did I see myself—a Brown, Canadian, Ismaili[11] Muslim girl—reflected in the curriculum.

Apart from the occasional assignment where I had to introduce myself using a personal artefact, my identity as a CLD learner was largely hidden. This erasure was something I came to believe was the norm, but these were some of the questions that stayed with me, long after my time as a student:

- Would the inclusion of my cultural and linguistic background have enhanced my learning?
- Would it have contributed to the collective classroom learning?
- How would I have felt if I had seen myself reflected in what was taught, how it was taught, and how it applied to the world at large? (Chumak-Horbatsch et al., 2020, p. 25)

Upon becoming a FI teacher myself, I began to incorporate my students' cultural and linguistic diversity in small ways, inviting them to reflect on their home languages during grammar lessons and introducing them to the world of dual-language books. Nonetheless, I now wonder whether I was simply using my students' home languages to help them learn French or whether I was intentionally making space for these languages, while also scaffolding for the integration of French into students' repertoires (García et al., 2021).

Years later, as a doctoral candidate, I finally found the words to articulate the environment I had longed to experience and implement. I also realized why I was consistently questioning and reflecting upon my experiences as a CLD learner. In effect, as expressed by American poet and activist, Amanda Gorman, in "The Hill We Climb," "the norms and notions

[11] Commonly known as the Ismailis, the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims form part of the Shia branch of Islam. Worldwide, there are approximately 12 to 15 million Ismailis living in more than 25 countries (the.ismaili, 2022).

of what just is Isn't always just-ice" (Maclean's, 2021, Amanda Gorman's poem: 'The Hill We Climb' section, lines 7–9).

In the FI classroom, aside from my own identity, which was largely hidden from sight, I learnt of colonialisms only in a positive light. Canada was indeed portrayed as a "world leader in peace and harmony" (SSHRC-CRSH, 2019). Its role in the ongoing genocide of Indigenous peoples and the erasure of Indigenous cultures and languages remained an unjustly hidden reality. The Portuguese decolonial philosopher, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, would refer to this erasure as "abyssal thinking"—a form of hegemonic reasoning that "creates a line establishing that which is considered 'civil society,' and declares as nonexistent those colonized knowledges and lifeways positioned on the other side of the line, thus relegating them to an existential abyss" (García et al., 2021, pp. 203–204).

Now, knowing the significance of Truth and Reconciliation—which I understand as first acknowledging and raising awareness of the abuse Indigenous children experienced when forced to attend government-funded residential schools[12], and subsequently, as healing relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples through individual and collective actions, I see the positive characterization of Canada's leadership not as a celebration of diversity but as part of an imagined vision to critically assess in community. It is with this critical mindset that I have undertaken the work of this thesis.

[12] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada states that residential schools were "a systematic, government-sponsored attempt to destroy Aboriginal cultures and languages and to assimilate Aboriginal peoples so that they no longer existed as distinct peoples" (National Centre *for* Truth *and* Reconciliation, 2022, Residential school history section, para. 3). This particular definition is noteworthy given its use of the term "Aboriginal," whose prefix "-ab," meaning "away from" or "not," could convey the idea of originating away from the land (Animikii, 2020). In contrast, the term "Indigenous," derived from the Latin word "indigena," refers to coming from the land (Animikii, 2020); hence, it is the term I have used within this thesis.

Overview of the Thesis

In the paragraphs that follow, I provide a brief overview of the thesis to familiarize the reader with its organization while providing insight into each subsequent chapter.

Chapter Two presents a multiplicity of views—namely, a brief overview of FI, followed by definitions of the study's key concepts, and an examination of the inclusion of CLD learners in FI through the viewpoints of key stakeholders. I end this chapter with a summary of the literature review.

Chapter Three lays the theoretical foundation of this inquiry through a discussion of critical race theory. Subsequently, I describe four pedagogies, rooted in the same movement, through which I examine inclusion in FI. Finally, I present the emerging theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this investigation.

Chapter Four outlines the plans for this study through a discussion of the setting, design, and participants. I then describe the instruments and procedure for data collection, as well as the various stages associated with data analysis. To conclude this chapter, I address the following aspects: validation, ethics, and positioning of the researcher.

Chapter Five focuses on understanding individual perspectives. I set the scene through a counternarrative reflecting on FI as a space of (in)visibility. Subsequently, I present the findings of within-case analysis and discuss them in relation to pertinent literature. For the first three cases, CLD learners, FSL teachers, and teacher-administrators, I use profiles to introduce each participant's cultural and linguistic repertoire while also contextualizing the findings presented within their thematic narrative. The themes for each narrative correspond to the inquiry's research questions and key concepts: understandings, beliefs, and practices. For the fourth case, parents and guardians of CLD learners, given that they were secondary participants in this

investigation (herein referring to individuals whose involvement was limited to a single method of data collection—in this case, the online questionnaire), I provide a brief participant summary, followed by a collective thematic narrative. I end each case by synthesizing the findings to identify the commonalities and differences between participants' understandings, beliefs, and practices as related to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Chapter Six connects stakeholder perspectives through cross-case analysis and discussion. In the first three sections of the chapter, I examine the commonalities and differences amongst these perceptions while discussing the study's findings with respect to relevant literature. In the fourth section, I consider the findings through the pedagogical lenses of this inquiry. In the last section, I connect the findings back to theory, making analytical generalizations and reflecting on the theoretical implications of these insights.

Chapter Seven concludes this thesis and looks ahead to future possibilities. To start, I formally answer the research questions. Then, I discuss important implications of this inquiry for practice, teacher education, and parental involvement. Subsequently, I describe the contributions and limitations of this investigation and suggest areas for future research. I end this chapter with some final thoughts on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Prior to moving to Chapter Two, it is important to note that despite writing the majority of this thesis in English, I have purposely chosen to keep select words and participant quotations in French, as I conducted data collection in both languages. Where appropriate, I have paraphrased these quotations—thereby maintaining the authenticity of participants' words and ideas. Furthermore, although my preference is for the term CLD learner, I have used ELL and allophone within this thesis to accurately reflect the context of empirical studies.

Finally, it is equally important to note that I use the terms "race" and "White" both narrowly and broadly within this thesis. As stated by Dei (2013), "The reality of race emerges from the everydayness of racism and not the other way around . . . it is racism that has made race real" (pp. 3–4). Race is thus a socio-political construct that I define as the colour of one's skin as well as an effect of racialization (Ahmed, 2002; Patel, 2022)—referring to the act of ascribing bodies to skin colour (Fassin, 2011). White is both a (skin) colour and broadly associated with a hegemonic system in which privilege is accrued over time (Carter et al., 2007; Fine, 1997; Patel, 2022).

Chapter Two:

Presenting a Multiplicity of Views: Literature Review

In this second chapter, I present a multiplicity of views. At the onset, I provide a brief overview of FI. Then, I define the key concepts of this study. Subsequently, I examine the inclusion of CLD learners in FI through the viewpoints of key stakeholders. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the literature review.

Overview of French Immersion

In this first section of the literature review, I further contextualize this inquiry through a discussion on the sociopolitical context, origins, goals, benefits, and key tenets of FI.

Sociopolitical Context

As specified in Chapter One, FI began in St. Lambert, Québec in 1965 (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). To understand how it became Canada's model of bilingual education (Genesee, 2011), it is necessary to examine the sociopolitical context in which it was developed.

In 1965, *La Révolution Tranquille*, known as "The Quiet Revolution" for its "relative lack of violence" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 3), was well underway in Québec. Led by the Quebec Liberal Party, it was a period of political, economic, and social change, resulting from rising "discontent" amongst Québec's francophones over long-standing "linguistic and cultural inequities" (Genesee & Gándara, 1999, p. 671). Prior to its onset, English was becoming the dominant language in bilingual spaces (Genesee & Gándara, 1999; Kunnas, 2019). Furthermore, despite its French-speaking workforce, the economy in Québec—a majority French-language province—was largely ruled by anglophones in senior-level positions (Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017; Genesee & Gándara, 1999; Heller, 1990; Kircher, 2014; Kunnas, 2019). Consequently, concerns

over language and identity loss were understandably mounting amongst Québec's francophones (Heller, 1990; Kunnas, 2019; Makropoulos, 1998).

La Révolution Tranquille was thus a means of linguistic and cultural revitalization (Genesee & Gándara, 1999; Heller, 1990; Kunnas, 2019). As in its slogan, « *Maîtres chez nous* » ("Masters of our house") (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2021), it was also an assurance of "a francophone population [and leadership] base" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 4). Essentially, "the unwritten rules that had been in place for over a century—which meant that, to succeed in life, Anglophones did not have to learn French but Francophones had to learn English—were breaking down" (Fraser, 2011, p. 6). Amongst the various outcomes of *La Révolution Tranquille*, newcomers to Québec who didn't identify as anglophones would now have to attend French-language schools, French had been declared as the official language of the workplace in "The Charter of the French Language" (*Loi 101*)[13] (Cepin, 2012; Kircher, 2014; Kunnas, 2019), and the Québec government, as opposed to the Catholic Church, now controlled education (Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017; Heller, 1990).

Given the establishment of The Charter, and Québec's overall revitalization, anglophone parents were genuinely worried that their children lacked the French language competencies to compete for employment—particularly, in what was now a French economy (Cepin, 2012; Davis, 2017; Davis et al., 2019; Fraser, 2011; Genesee & Gándara, 1999; Heller, 1990; Kunnas, 2019; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Makropoulos, 1998). Hydro-Québec, for instance, was now run and controlled by francophones (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2021). Learning French, the

[13] Adopted in 1977 by the Québec government, the goal of The Charter is "to preserve the quality and status of the French language" (Éducaloi, 2022, What is the *Charter of the French Language*? section). In addition to the workplace, it also declared French as the official language of government, commerce, and education (Éducaloi, 2022).

language of the majority, was thus not only a matter of survival but an assurance for anglophone parents that "their children maintain economic and political power" (Dagenais, 2003, p. 270).

Origins

Initially proposed as the "St. Lambert Experiment," FI was developed out of concern from a group of middle-class, anglophone parents (Kunnas, 2019; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Dissatisfied with the French instruction their children had been receiving, Melikoff (2018), one of the parents, notes that the group was eager for "a high level of French within the English school system" (The starting point section, para. 1). Following much discussion, community outreach, and increased parental support, the group's quest for a bilingual model of education resulted in meetings with local school boards and communication with world-renowned experts—namely, social psychologist, Dr. Walter E. Lambert, and neurosurgeon, Dr. Wilder Penfield (Fraser, 2011; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Melikoff, 2018). Despite the challenges that would follow, parents believed that Québec was "their home and they were determined to make it a better place for their children" (Fraser, 2011, p. 7). Eventually, this persistence would lead to a group of 26 Kindergarten students entering the first FI classroom at Margaret Pendlebury Elementary School in September 1965 (Fraser, 2011; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Melikoff, 2018). Parents were thus the drivers of FI.

Shifting away from language teaching as drills and repetitions, "an immersion language experience was tested" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 5). In discussing the transition to content-based instruction, Lyster (2008) notes that "traditional methods isolate the target language from any substantive content except for the mechanical workings of the language itself, whereas content-based instruction aims to integrate language and cognitive development" (p. 5). Parents therefore believed that it would be far more effective in teaching their children French (Fraser, 2011;

Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Melikoff, 2018). They were also strongly invested in its success, as they "knew that life in Quebec was lived in French, and they wanted their children to be able to understand that life and participate in it" (Fraser, 2011, p. 7). As word of immersion spread, and with the creation of the first "Official Languages Act[14]," enacted in 1969 to give French and English equal status in Parliament and the Government of Canada (2015), FI was established throughout the country (Makropoulos, 2009).

At this point, it is necessary to state that outside of Québec, French is a minority language, so learning it wouldn't constitute a matter of survival. In fact, for the majority of FI students, "it is only within the French immersion classroom that a language other than English has power" (Ballinger et al., 2017, p. 47). Still, in Canada, it is undeniable that French and English are esteemed above all others (Dagenais, 2003; Davis, 2017; Kunnas, 2019; Yoon & Gulson, 2010): a "discourse of dualism" exemplified through their status as the country's official languages (Davis, 2017, p. 1). This status is indeed the reason francophones have traditionally been offered English language learning, and anglophones, French (Davis, 2017).

English, however, is regarded as the most important to learn (Dagenais, 2003; Davis, 2017; Kunnas, 2019; Yoon & Gulson, 2010). This perspective comes to light through the conception of our nation as a White space[15], wherein "linguistic capital . . . is closely associated with white people" (Yoon & Gulson, 2010, p. 705). Historically speaking, French and English are both languages from White nations; yet, it is important to recognize that the French and the

[14] The Act was established upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, whose mandate was "to inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada" (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, n.d, 1963 section, para. 1).

[15] The term "White space" refers to "spaces where culture is deployed in ways that secure White racial interests and subordinate non-Whites" (Brunsma et al., 2020, p. 2002).

English are perceived as different races (Haque, 2005; Kunnas, 2019). In Michèle Lalonde's poem, "Speak White," this stance is heard as she calls out the linguistic discrimination directed towards French-speaking Canadians (Dormira Jamais, 2010)—particularly, the *Québécois*—in a nation where "English [is] seen as White" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 15). As such, with Canadian identity viewed "not only [as] bilingual, but White bilingual" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 15), FI represents various forms of capital—cultural (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977, 1982; Olson & Burns, 1983), linguistic (e.g., Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Makropoulos, 1998), and economic (e.g., Jedwab, n.d.; Makropoulos, 2009)—all of which function in relation to one another.

Goals and Benefits

The goals of FI were linked to increased English-French bilingualism and national unity (Olson, 1983; Olson & Burns, 1983). Indeed, one of its key benefits, supported by research (e.g., Barik & Swain, 1978; Bienvenue, 1986; Genesee, 2007b; Lyster, 2019; Mannavarayan, 2002), is "functional bilingualism and communication skills with no negative academic effects on either the first or second language" (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2021, pp. 2–3). A related finding, equally backed by research (e.g., Barik & Swain, 1978; Bournot-Trites & Tallowitz, 2002; Harley et al., 1986; Lyster, 2019), is that FI students generally "obtain average to above-average results in academic work, such as literacy in both languages and numeracy, when compared with their English-educated peers" (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2021, p. 3). Here, Makropoulos (1998) highlights an important nuance, stating that high achievement scores aren't "directly linked to the pedagogical implications of the program but rather, attributable to the fact that immersion classes catered to [White] children whose families promoted academic success and valued the socioeconomic benefits of knowing French" (p. 93). Nonetheless, when taking the

above findings into account, FI appears to be meeting its initial goal of increased English-French bilingualism.

Arriving at a consensus regarding its second goal, increasing national unity, is not as evident. Considering that "federal and provincial governments have embraced the [FI] program as a means to unite Anglophones and Francophones through official-language bilingualism" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 29), one could infer that national unity was increasing. Nevertheless, as found by Heller (2008), many francophones grow to resent anglophones, as they "confront stiff competition for bilingual jobs from people who learned standard French in school" (p. 518). Hence, in discussing national unity, it is important to acknowledge the fact that "Canadian bilingualism" (Kjolseth, 1977, p. 249) can be perceived differently by anglophones and francophones. According to Kjolseth (1977), "For Anglophones, Canadian bilingualism is additive and in no way presents a threat to English language maintenance. For Francophones, Canadian bilingualism tends to be displacive or replacive and presents a major threat towards French language shift." (p. 249). Returning to Heller's (2008) finding, one could argue that in light of the economic tension, "the FI program has, contrary to its goal, exacerbated relations between the French and English in the nation" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 5). Adding to this complexity is the fact that francophones do, in fact, access FI, for reasons of academic bilingualism and language maintenance (Kunnas, 2019; Makropoulos, 2009). As noted by Ballinger (2017), in Québec, francophone parents who attended an English-language school in Canada, and thus meet the provincial requirements for that school system, "often enroll their Francophone or bilingual children in French immersion programs to allow them to learn English in an additive bilingual environment" (p. 186). That being said, "Canadian immersion programs outside of Quebec do not, as a rule, enroll French speakers" (Ballinger, 2017, p. 185).

Key Tenets

Moving beyond FI's initial goals, Johnson and Swain (1997) first listed the following eight tenets as characterizing immersion programs in Canada:

1. The L2 is a medium of instruction.
2. The immersion curriculum parallels the local L1 curriculum.
3. Overt support exists for the L1.
4. The program aims for additive bilingualism.
5. Exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom.
6. Students enter with similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency.
7. The teachers are bilingual.
8. The classroom culture is that of the local L1 community. (pp. 6–7)

Although these tenets were representative of immersion programs in the past, they no longer reflect "the current Canadian context" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 30). Realizing the need for revision, Swain and Lapkin (2005) highlight the following points: the immersion language (i.e., French) should be identified as an additional language and not a second language or L2, support should be in place for all first languages or L1s, and all cultures represented in the classroom should be recognized—thereby reflecting Canada's growing population of CLD learners. Having provided a brief overview of FI, I now focus on the key concepts of this investigation.

Defining the Key Concepts

In this second section of the literature review, I define the key concepts of understandings, beliefs, and practices. As a collective, researchers have found that they are interconnected and influenced by contextual factors (e.g., Beach, 1994; Borg, 2003; Tabachnick

& Zeichner, 1986). Indeed, they exist within a sociocultural context. Below, as part of the discussion of individual concepts, I draw on the context of L2 teaching and critical race theory.

Understandings

Within the L2 context, Borg (2003) associates the term "understandings" with that of "teacher cognition"—that is, "the unobservable cognitive dimension of teaching—what teachers know, believe, and think" (p. 81). In turn, these cognitions can be informed by an educator's own experiences as a learner (Borg, 2003; Holt-Reynolds, 1992). For instance, within the context of FSL, "TC beliefs are rooted in conceptualizations and experiences they had before their training" (Masson et al., 2021, p. 173). That being said, Clandinin and Connelly (1987) proposed the term "personal practical knowledge"—which they view as "embodied and reconstructed out of the narrative of a teacher's life" (p. 490). As in critical race theory, in which counternarratives amplify experiential knowledge of racism (Anya, 2021; Delgado, 1990), Clandinin and Connelly (1987) emphasize experience and context. Similarly, I define understandings as knowledge based on one's own experiences and sociocultural context.

Beliefs

For researchers, it is impossible to understand a participant's beliefs "without first deciding what they wish *belief* to mean and how this meaning will differ from that of similar constructs" (Pajares, 1992, p. 308). Indeed, the term itself can assume the form of "values," "perceptions," "ideologies," "opinions," and "attitudes"—to name but a few examples. As alluded to in the previous sub-section, one of the biggest sources of confusion lies in distinguishing between beliefs and knowledge, as it can be "difficult to pinpoint where knowledge ended and belief began" (Pajares, 1992, p. 309). Beliefs, after all, can also be considered a form of knowledge. Unquestionably, the term itself is challenging to define, but as

Pajares (1992) asserts, beliefs are "the best indicators of the decisions individuals make throughout their lives" (p. 307).

Within the L2 teaching context, the importance of examining beliefs is highlighted by studies such as Masson et al. (2021), who state that research on FSL teachers and TCs suggest that "both groups could be participating in the active marginalization of ELLs and those with LDs from FSL" (p. 173). There is thus a risk of maintaining FI's (White) status quo, as TCs—in reflecting on their own experiences as students—are left thinking that "what constituted good teaching then constitutes it now" (Lortie, 1975, p. 66).

My definition of the term "beliefs" is therefore based on certain key assertions—both in education generally and in L2 teaching. Namely, as a system (Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968), beliefs:

- may be positively or negatively impacted by teachers' own experiences as students (e.g., Lortie, 1975; Phipps & Borg, 2009);
- act as a filter through which teachers can interpret new understandings and practices (e.g., Pajares, 1992; Phipps & Borg, 2009; Schommer, 1990);
- are impacted by contextual factors, such as the curriculum, time, and examinations (Phipps & Borg, 2009); and finally,
- can be deep-rooted (e.g., Almarza, 1996; Phipps & Borg, 2009).

Beliefs, then, can be defined as a complex system whose structures are influenced by individual experiences and context. Given "the potent affective, evaluative, and episodic nature of beliefs" (Pajares, 1992, p. 325), the system itself can further be seen as a filter through which one can interpret new understandings and practices. Ultimately, it is through this system that an

individual can come to define and understand both the world and one's self (Lewis, 1990; Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968).

Practices

Understandings and beliefs are integral to shaping practices. Within the L2 context, for those TCs who fail to see their role as agents of change, Pajares (1992) highlights the risk of "students becom[ing] teachers [who are] unable, and subconsciously unwilling, to affect a system in need of reform" (p. 323). Borg (2003) thus defines "classroom practice" as the interaction between cognition and context—a notion exemplified in Anya's (2021) assertion that educators facilitate "safe, supportive spaces . . . for racism to be discussed, along with providing linguistic and cultural support for new learners to understand and describe their ideas and experiences" (p. 1067). In other words, as posited by critical race theory, and as a means of inspiring societal change, educators in FSL should seek to counter the "culture of power" (Anya, 2021) inherent to FI.

That being said, in defining "practices," I draw on L2 teaching and critical race theory; my definition of the term is therefore as follows: strategies based on the interaction between understandings, beliefs, and context, with a focus on equity and social justice. After all, "principles of CRP [here referring to critical race pedagogy] do not prescribe specific paths or lessons for CRT [herein defined as critical race theory]-based instruction, but instead, lend to the elaboration of pedagogical techniques and strategies with an emancipatory CRT focus" (Anya, 2021, p. 1057). Having defined this study's key concepts, I now turn to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion

In this third section of the literature review, I examine the inclusion of CLD learners in FI through the viewpoints of the learners themselves, as well as those of FSL teachers, administrators, and parents and guardians of CLD learners. At the end of each sub-section, I discuss key points, identify gaps in knowledge within existing literature, and reflect both on the need to conduct this study and on the significance of the findings.

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

CLD learners are the focus of this inquiry. Although various investigations have examined topics related to their inclusion in FI, the perspectives of the learners themselves haven't necessarily formed part of those studies. Three inquiries emphasizing the perceptions of CLD learners are discussed below.

First, as part of their research on literacy practices and identities in FI classrooms, Dagenais et al. (2006) observed Sarah: a multilingual, FI student in British Columbia who was in elementary school. During interviews, Sarah discussed her multilingualism in a positive light, noting that her friends wanted to learn her family language of Cantonese. In terms of classroom practices, during small group work with trustworthy peers, Sarah shared her expertise and "express[ed] her identity as a literate multilingual and competent participant in knowledge construction" (Dagenais et al., 2006, p. 212). For instance, while preparing her presentation on *Ma culture*, Sarah practised and consulted with a friend, occasionally explaining some Chinese customs. Conversely, in larger group activities, "Sarah was more passive and silent; she made few attempts to share information with others or display her knowledge" (Dagenais et al., 2006, p. 213). In fact, when it came time to formally present on her culture, Sarah believed that she had been "overlooked and forgotten, which may in some sense have suited her, as she customarily

preferred to remain silent in such whole-class activities" (Dagenais et al., 2006, p. 213). Yet, within this collective classroom space, Sarah's silence speaks volumes as to the perceived *« locuteur légitime* [legitimate speaker] *»* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 21) of French.

Second, Dagenais (2008), whose focus was on school recognition of plurilingualism, observed two FI students as part of a longitudinal investigation with children of immigrant families in British Columbia.

Vanessa, a secondary school student whose first language was Spanish, believed that her knowledge and understanding weren't truly acknowledged by her teachers:

> *Ils vont en parler s'il y a eu un désastre, comme El Niño. Ils vont parler de ce genre de choses. Mais si vous, comme, parlez une autre langue, ils vont demander d'où viennent vos parents, d'où vous venez. Et c'est à peu près tout.* (Dagenais, 2008, p. 360)

Vanessa's description, particularly in relation to El Niño, is reflective of Banks' (1998) ethnic additive approach—wherein teachers add "ethnic content" (p. 37) without re-thinking their curriculum's structure and purposes. Taught through a Eurocentric lens, students fail to view and understand "society from diverse cultural and ethnic perspectives" (Banks, 1998, p. 38). Indeed, curricula that normalize the hegemonic system of whiteness (Carter et al., 2007; Patel, 2022) "delegitimize the 'racialized other' . . . render[ing] their experiences insignificant" (Duhaney & El-Lahib, 2021, p. 422).

In comparison, Chaska, a Grade 4 student whose first languages were Spanish and French, had a very different experience. While finalizing her assignment on trilingual pride, Chaska's teacher showed evidence of validating her language skills and positioning her as an expert: *« Tu es douée ! Tu parles trois langues ! Moi, je ne parle que deux langues. »* (Dagenais, 2008, p. 365). During her presentation, Chaska's pride was evident through statements such as

the following: *« J'aime parler trois langues parce que je peux parler à ma famille. »* and *« Je peux apprendre de nouvelles choses pour parler une autre langue. »* (Dagenais, 2008, pp. 365–366). Afterwards, in discussion with her classmates, Chaska had the opportunity to model her expertise in Spanish and her knowledge of French. The class as a whole showed great interest, learning new words in Spanish and delighting over word plays—one example being the Spanish word *"gato"* ("cat") and the French word *« gâteau »* ("cake"). Dagenais (2008) thus came to the following conclusion: *« dans ce contexte-ci, les ressources linguistiques des enfants plurilingues sont valorisées dans les activités pédagogiques »* (p. 364).

Third, as part of her doctoral study, Prasad (2015) conducted research with Grades 5 and 6 students in an Ontario FI program. For one of the activities, students worked in groups to prepare plurilingual books. Each book, describing Toronto through the five senses, contained a minimum of four languages: French, English, and two additional home languages. This task was especially significant for CLD learners, as it represented a "repositioning of students who spoke additional languages as students with resources to share rather than linguistic challenges to overcome" (Prasad, 2015, p. 117). Indeed, Prasad (2015) noted that throughout the activity, the other students in the class regularly commented on their gratitude for their CLD classmates: "they appreciated discovering their peers' languages and they recognized the contribution it made to their collective book" (p. 117).

Overall, these inquiries show that CLD learners take great pride in their identity, and with support, they can indeed thrive in FI. That being said, through the examples of Sarah and Vanessa, we begin to see the different ways in which whiteness can be echoed and reflected in FI pedagogy and curricula. To ensure that CLD learners are successful, it is imperative that teaching practices attend to their academic needs (Ladson-Billings, 1995a) and be meaningfully situated

within their lived experiences and frames of reference (Gay, 2000). After all, when the knowledge and understanding of CLD learners is recognized, affirmed, and incorporated, the benefits can extend to the class as a whole. At the same time, the lack of studies within this sub-section highlights a significant knowledge gap in the viewpoints of CLD learners—particularly, amongst students in Grades 7–12. Addressing this gap is crucial, as "racial minorities are known to feel excluded and under-represented in Western schooling systems" (Kunnas, 2019, pp. 31–32). The following sub-section considers the perspectives of FSL teachers.

French as a Second Language Teachers

FSL teachers are integral to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. Nonetheless, the findings from the inquiries that follow, conducted with TCs, novice teachers (i.e., those with less than five years of experience), and teachers with varying levels of experience, elicit concerns about the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Teacher Candidates. For their investigation on the inclusion of allophone students and students with LDs in FSL, Mady and Arnett (2015) conducted interviews to examine the perceptions of TCs. Of the 15 participants in the study, many of whom had teaching experience in FI, only two "reported both teacher education and practicum experience with Allophone students" (Mady & Arnett, 2015, p. 87). Hence, it isn't surprising that most TCs couldn't recall any scientific knowledge about these students and their learning needs. This lack of understanding speaks to the urgency to support TCs in developing an inclusive pedagogy. At the same time, it alludes to the need to "reflect critically on beliefs and practices that might unintentionally create obstacles" for CLD learners (Davis et al., 2019, p. 57).

Arnett and Mady (2017) also explored the viewpoints of TCs in FSL. Their focus, however, was on the best and worst FSL programs for students with LDs and ELLs. Specific to

ELLs, questionnaires showed that TCs with experience in FI were "more inclined to favour ELLs in core and immersion programs" (Arnett & Mady, 2017, p. 29), grounding their preferences in judgements of the programs themselves and of student needs. Essentially, CF, perceived as "less demanding," was considered a possibility for ELLs; FI, however, was at times, deemed "too demanding" (Arnett & Mady, 2017, p. 29). Although "there is no evidence that immersion programs are unsuitable for any identifiable category of students" (Cummins, 1983, p. 117), TCs were indeed perpetuating that very stance—the underlying message "only those who obtain high grades and are perceived as intelligent are 'suited' for immersion" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 21).

Mady et al. (2017), whose emphasis was particular to allophone students, studied how FSL TCs perceived these learners and the implications for inclusion. Questionnaires showed that TCs were in favour of allophone students in FSL. Despite little variation between pre- and post-practicum questionnaires, three statements resulted in statistically significant changes—meaning that over time, TCs were more in favour of the following: the inclusion of allophone students in CF, the learning of French supporting the learning of English, and the strategies to effectively support allophone students as consistent with those used to teach French. Interviews, however, revealed important nuances. TCs didn't necessarily understand that one's status as an allophone doesn't change (i.e., an allophone student cannot be considered an anglophone once they've learnt English). Furthermore, they expressed no concern about students' English language development. Deemed the responsibility of peers or the system, they didn't "feel compelled (either through obligation or authority) to ensure that the Allophones understood any of the English that was being used in the classroom or that their job as a French teacher could be supporting English language development" (Mady et al., 2017, p. 113). This perspective is

revelatory of deficit thinking, "a worldview that explains and justifies outcome inequalities—standardized test scores or levels of educational attainment, for example—by pointing to supposed deficiencies within disenfranchised individuals and communities" (Gorski, 2012, p. 313). Nevertheless, without a "systemic culture change" (OME, 2017, p. 19), inequalities in both instruction and outcomes will continue, as "racism pervades our institutions, our beliefs, and our everyday practices" (Harris, 2012, p. 330).

Novice Teachers. Arnett and Mady (2018) examined the beliefs of novice FSL teachers concerning the best and worst FSL program for ELLs and students with LDs. Considered a "means of gaining French proficiency" (Arnett & Mady, 2018, p. 606), participant interviews showed a preference for FI. However, English proficiency, age, and parental support also factored into participants' recommendations for ELLs—maintaining the stance that FI is not suitable for all students.

Working with the same data set, Mady and Arnett (2019) studied perceptions on the use of languages in FSL classes with ELLs. Pre- and post-teacher education questionnaires showed similar responses: using French as the language of instruction, minimizing English, and applying students' first language as a learning tool. Participant interviews, however, revealed a preference for CF over FI—the rationale being to "allow them [ELLs] to focus on their English development" (Mady & Arnett, 2019, p. 88). Moreover, despite an openness towards plurilingualism, this approach was generally limited to "the teachers' language repertoires rather than providing space for students to share and use their language repertoires" (Mady & Arnett, 2019, p. 91). In favouring CF over FI, it could be said that teachers were mirroring deficit thinking (Gorski, 2012) towards the potential and intelligence of ELLs.

Teachers With Varying Levels of Experience. Mady (2012) conducted an inquiry on the inclusion of ELLs in FSL by examining the knowledge and beliefs of Ontario teachers. Participants, whose experience ranged from 4–10 years, shared their responses through a questionnaire and most strongly agreed with the following points: the inclusion of ELLs in CF, the use of strategies to support ELLs as consistent with those to teach FSL, and the need for professional development (PD) to better support ELLs. Most participants also identified various advantages for ELLs learning French—namely, prior language learning experience, transferability of skills, and motivation. The one acknowledged disadvantage was the use of English: "sometimes the only way to explain things is in English and they are missing out on those instructions until I can get beside them and clarify what I was saying" (Mady, 2012, p. 10). Hence, although most teachers believed that ELLs should not be exempt from FSL, two of the most cited reasons for exclusion were LDs and struggles with English language acquisition—falsely suggesting that FI is not only for "an academic elite, but a racial and linguistic elite" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 21).

Using the same data set to further examine viewpoints regarding the inclusion of immigrants learning English (IMMs), Mady (2013c) noted that "teachers judged immersion as less appropriate for IMMs and necessarily less inclusive in general" (p. 52). This finding was linked to the difficulty teachers associated with FI, as well as the absence of necessary accommodations. Data also revealed that teachers prioritized English language acquisition and were concerned about their students' ability to learn English and French simultaneously. Such findings suggest that IMMs would likely be excluded from FI—despite clear evidence of their ability to succeed and to consistently outperform their anglophone peers (e.g., Bild & Swain,

1989; Izquierdo & Collins, 2008; Mady, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b; Swain et al., 1990; Taylor, 1992).

Education, however, has never been neutral in that "all developments within schooling [have] occurred within a highly racialized society, based on a hierarchy of intelligence and ability" (Connor, 2017, p. 227). Within that hierarchy, those of "European descent were at the pinnacle of the pyramid, and people of African descent were placed at the bottom, with all others on a continuum between" (Connor, 2017, p. 227). It is the White student, then, who society perceives as the most intelligent and who remains the norm in FI (Kunnas, 2019).

Mady (2016) then studied the beliefs of Ontario Kindergarten teachers concerning the inclusion of ELLs in Grade 1 FI. As per survey results, teachers believed that ELLs should be included but felt that FI was "a less desirable program [compared to CF] . . . and that there are times when ELLs should be excluded" (Mady, 2016, p. 261). When considering exclusion, factors taken into account were first language and English proficiency, progress in Kindergarten, and home support.

The affective domain—that is, "risk taking, interest, motivation, and confidence" (Mady, 2016, p. 262)—was most frequently cited as a key point of consideration for parents and teachers. This thought process occurred despite such characteristics having long been deemed insufficient in predicting success (Naiman et al., 1978). It is thus clear that enrollment decisions are often made without consideration of "students' talents or aspirations" (Mady, 2013c, p. 55). As in other investigations, there was a strong preference that ELLs focus on English and a firm belief that FI was not for everyone.

Finally, Davis et al. (2019) explored the perspectives of FSL teachers in Saskatchewan through a questionnaire and interviews addressing language learning and inclusion. The majority

of participants had been teaching in elementary FI programs for 1–10 years, whereas for others, it had been 11–30. Most FI teachers felt that it was beneficial for allophone students to learn English and French. Yet, to be successful, some expressed that it was necessary to acquire a certain level of English language proficiency: "How am I supposed to teach them French when they can't speak English?" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 37). Despite this perception, teachers also believed that allophone students had select advantages—namely, "cross-linguistic connections and less dependency on English" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 38). Additionally, the majority of teachers thought that allophone parents had the right to select FI, but some argued for their own right to exclude. In effect, certain teachers felt FI wasn't appropriate for all students, whereas others considered Late FI a more suitable option than Early FI. Although most teachers wouldn't discourage allophone parents from FI enrollment, the fact that some "felt prohibited from dissuading such families in light of expectations from the school board" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 44) reflects opposition in the form of deficit thinking (Gorski, 2012):

> I think they're [allophone families] just struggling to, you know, have proper clothing and lunches . . . obviously if they're teaching in French, it's just another stress at home, and I think we should just look at it as "let's learn English first." (Davis et al., 2019, p. 41)

On the whole, these studies elicit serious concerns about the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. Although teachers may initially favour FI as the preferred program for ELLs, this selection changes over time, as they acquire further experience. Their attitude towards ELLs seemingly shifts as well, from an asset- to a deficit-oriented perspective (Gay, 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2014, 2021a, 2021b; Prasad, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002, 2007). As teachers prioritize students' English language development, they are inclined to view CF, perceived as less challenging, as the more suitable option—thereby suggesting that

ELLs in FI would not be truly included. Despite the known advantages for their learning of French, when they are enrolled in FI, studies suggest that they wouldn't necessarily be adequately supported. Although teachers use English as a strategy to assist anglophones, they likely neglect the first languages of their other students. In doing so, they also ignore the potential for cross-linguistic transfer and the possibilities of a plurilingual approach. Equally concerning is that TCs lack real understanding of, and accountability for, students' English language development—seemingly unaware that part of their role as French teachers would be supporting that very development. The literature further suggests that for the majority of TCs, the gaps in knowledge reflected in their practices aren't addressed by their teacher education programs. Indeed, Patel (2022) notes that "when matters of race are probed . . . the pedagogical practice exerted goes into teaching white teacher candidates about racism" (p. 34), resulting in a (White) narrative that fails to speak to White privilege. Consequently, elitist beliefs and practices could unknowingly persist. The inquiries in this sub-section thus underscore the need to examine how CLD learners are included/excluded in FI. Supporting FSL teachers in increasing their knowledge of inclusive education, could, in turn, transform their practice—leading to meaningful support for CLD learners. The next sub-section examines the perceptions of administrators.

Administrators

Despite administrators being gatekeepers to programs like FI, they remain the most under-researched stakeholder group in FSL (Masson et al., 2021). Two inquiries looking into their perceptions are discussed below.

First, Mady and Masson (2018), as part of their research with Ontario elementary school principals, investigated their beliefs on language learning and the inclusion of ELLs in FI. Interviews revealed that for approximately half of the administrators, it was important for ELLs

to learn English before French. Some even considered English language acquisition a prerequisite for success in FI—rationalizing exclusion through an echo of deficit thinking (Gorski, 2012). Others, however, thought that ELLs could learn both English and French while still maintaining their first language. Select principals also felt that ELLs didn't have any advantages in learning French, whereas others thought quite the opposite—citing cross-linguistic transfer and prior language learning experience. These principals further believed that success in FI was dependent upon the support students received with each language. Accordingly, first language proficiency appeared "to play a role" (Mady & Masson, 2018, p. 81) in determining if ELLs should remain in FI.

Mirroring Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) "legitimate speaker," more than half of these principals aligned themselves with the notion of an "ideal language learner," believing that "only well-behaved children [and those perceived as intelligent] should be accepted into the FI program" (Mady & Masson, 2018, p. 84). This false notion led to students actively being recruited for, and discouraged from, enrollment. Indeed, select principals had advised teachers to "provide explicit advice to parents," or conversely, to "explicitly refrain" from any recommendations (Mady & Masson, 2018, p. 88). Ultimately, it is through such (in)actions that schools reinforce societal inequities (Collins & Coleman, 2008; Kunnas, 2019; Olson, 1983).

Second, for their investigation on the suitability of FI for allophone students, Davis et al. (2019) examined the viewpoints of vice-principals and principals of elementary school FI programs. Most believed that it was beneficial for students to learn both English and French. Specific to English, administrators felt that in general, students were learning it effectively in FI programs. Nonetheless, some considered English language support, "both in terms of regular classroom instruction and intensive EAL [English as an Additional Language] support" (Davis et

al., 2019, p. 36), to be greatly lacking. In fact, certain administrators felt that its absence deterred students from enrollment.

Within the FI context, the majority of administrators believed that allophones had distinct advantages—one example being less of a dependency on English. Nevertheless, select administrators thought that anglophone parents were in a better position to support their children. As one principal said, "even if they don't feel bilingual or fluent, they still have knowledge of the French language, whereas some of our allophone families may have none" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 38).

Knowledge of French would indeed constitute a rich—but not unique—means of support. In other words, it is important to recognize that "parents from low-income, and immigrant families *do* support their children, however this support may vary from mainstream support" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 59). For instance, in place of helping with homework, these parents and families may instead reinforce cultural values.

Finally, several administrators felt that in recent years, there had been a change in the collective perception of FI. In essence, it was now considered more accessible—and consequently, more suitable—for all students. Hence, as one vice-principal stated, "as long as we're providing the proper supports for these children . . . there's no reason why we can't have students with special needs or allophones coming in" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 43). According to Davis et al. (2019), it was thus unlikely that administrators would discourage allophone parents from enrolling their children in FI. Still, it is important to note that although parents weren't necessarily discouraged, only a small number believed that administrators had encouraged them to select FI—thereby reflecting implicit gatekeeping.

Despite considerable variance in administrator beliefs, these studies show consistency in their emphasis of language support for success in FI. At the same time, by filtering enrollment through perceptions such as that of the ideal language learner, these inquiries are revelatory of Palmer's (2010) wise words: "those in power . . . have allowed overt racism to fade on many fronts, but only in ways that do not truly undermine their maintenance of power" (p. 98). Gatekeeping practices thus persist, signalling a clear need for evidence-based policy. Given that these policies are strongly influenced by administrator discourse (Mady & Masson, 2018), there is a more pressing need to further discuss the understandings and beliefs underlying administrators' practices. Doing so would contribute not only towards equitable access to FI but also towards filling a significant gap in existing research. The final sub-section considers the viewpoints of parents and guardians of CLD learners.

Parents and Guardians of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

Parents and guardians of CLD learners are invaluable partners in their children's language and literacy development. Within the FI context, select researchers have explored their perspectives but haven't explicitly focused on the understandings, beliefs, and practices they associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Starting with Dagenais and Day (1999), through interviews and observations, they studied the home language practices of trilingual children in FI. Given the variety of practices observed—from reading and writing to television and radio, it was evident that parents wanted their children to maintain their home language while developing their skillset in English and French. In terms of the home language, parents were more insistent on speaking versus reading and writing, believing that it was through oral communication that children could "maintain the family language and develop an affiliation with members of that language community both in

Canada and abroad" (Dagenais & Day, 1999, p. 116). Regarding FI, their rationale for enrollment included links with their own cultures and personal experiences with the French language—leading these parents to "attribute symbolic importance to the French and English languages in the context of Canadian society and in relation to the cultural capital of multilingualism beyond the borders of this country" (Dagenais & Day, 1999, p. 118). As reinforced by Kunnas (2019), "Canadian" was thus "directly associated with our official languages" (p. 25).

Subsequently, Dagenais and Berron (2001) researched the language interactions of South Asian families in Vancouver whose children were in Early FI (Grades 1 and 2). Interviews revealed that for these families, inclusion in FI represented "a challenging opportunity to learn French in an academic setting and become multilingual" (Dagenais & Berron, 2001, p. 152). Parents further supported inclusion for the following reasons: the perceived ease of learning a language young, the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) associated with FI, and the belief that bilingualism and multilingualism promote tolerance. At home, these families, all of whom spoke one or more South Asian languages, actively engaged in code-switching by alternating between the various languages in their repertoire. Two sets of parents also enrolled their children in formal language classes, integrating their home languages with religious education. Overall, for each of these families, their positive perception of multilingualism was "based on their own early multilingual practices in their country of origin, their immigration histories and their continuing multilingual interactions in their country of adoption" (Dagenais & Berron, 2001, p. 149).

Dagenais and Jacquet (2000) shared similar findings as part of a longitudinal investigation with Vancouver-based families—all of whom were of diverse origins and whose children were in Early FI. Given their own language learning experiences, parents valued

multilingualism. Moreover, they were confident in their children's ability to learn English and French, considering knowledge of more than one language an asset that would increase their economic power and social mobility (Bourdieu, 1977). As in other studies, parents attached great significance to the maintenance of the family language. After all, it was the language in which they interacted with their children and the language of communication with extended family members and the larger community. Therefore, in addition to language classes and informal home instruction, children visited their parents' countries of origin.

In relation to the same longitudinal inquiry, Dagenais (2003) discussed the results of open-ended interviews with parents, revealing the following beliefs: knowledge of more than one language would increase their children's opportunities for future employment, maintenance of the family language was essential for "children's affiliation and identification with their language communities" (p. 278), and inclusion in FI was an investment in children's education—facilitating official-language bilingualism and multilingualism. Parents were thus well aware of the privilege and power associated with FI.

Dagenais (2008) then studied the school recognition of plurilingualism amongst two Vancouver-based students in FI—one in elementary and the other in secondary—who spoke Spanish, English, and French. Interviews and observations resulted in comparable findings to previous investigations. For parents, inclusion in FI signified a strategic investment in their children's future—specifically, the acquisition of greater linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1982) and an addition to their linguistic repertoire—giving them "a competitive edge in the labour market" (Mady, 2013c, p. 55). Inclusion was also a means of maintaining their children's home language. All three languages were thus prevalent in the homes of both families—through reading, writing, television, music, and daily communication.

As part of a larger project focused on literacy practices, Dagenais and Moore (2008) conducted interviews examining Chinese parents' viewpoints of their plurilingual children's literacy practices. For these Vancouver-based families whose children were in Early FI, inclusion represented an appreciation of their children's learning potential and a significant investment in their education. In addition to classroom learning, children worked with private tutors and attended Chinese school. Amongst other activities, parents remarked that children spent time reading for pleasure, visiting bookstores and libraries, and playing computer games to further their skillset in their three languages. These practices were supplemented by various resources, as well as time spent with family, communication with friends and relatives, the observation of religious rites and practices, and visits to home countries. In general, parents' discussion of literacy practices reflected an acute awareness of their importance: *« ces discours montrent à quel point les parents sont conscients de l'importance de ces pratiques pour la réussite sociale et scolaire et pour l'insertion de leurs enfants dans la société canadienne »* (Dagenais & Moore, 2008, p. 28). These practices also suggest that these parents had the time, knowledge, and wealth to support their children's learning—resources unavailable to all parents (Kunnas, 2019).

Douglas (2009) then examined parent-school relationships as part of the same larger study on literacy practices. Through participant interviews, Douglas (2009) identified various factors influencing the home-school relationship—and by extension, parents' school-based engagement. Examples included language barriers (i.e., the inability of parents to communicate in English as an impediment to school and classroom involvement), competing time commitments (e.g., work and family), deference to the school's authority (i.e., the belief that it is the school's responsibility to teach children about Chinese culture and language), and conflicting perspectives on cultural inclusion (e.g., some parents believing that it is important to incorporate

Chinese worldviews into the curriculum, others in disagreement, and still others thinking that it is only acceptable if additional cultures are discussed). Unlike the participants in the previous inquiry, without strong support from schools—including due consideration to differing views, it would likely be challenging for these parents to fully engage in their children's education. Yet, as found by Luet (2017), "it is often left to the parents—and not the schools—to navigate any cultural differences" (p. 677).

Davis et al. (2019), as part of their inquiry, also investigated the perspectives of parents regarding the suitability of FI for allophone students. As in prior studies, findings from questionnaires and interviews revealed that for the vast majority of parents, it was important that their children learn both English and French. Additionally, they were confident in their children's ability to do so—despite concern expressed by teachers or principals whom they believed "should not have the right to exclude allophone students from French immersion" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 53). Compared with their Canadian-born classmates, this restriction would indeed position allophone students "at an academic disadvantage with respect to learning French" (Mady, 2013c, p. 55). In contrast, these parents firmly believed that their children had language learning advantages—namely, "prior language learning experience and cross-linguistic transfer" (Davis et al., 2019, p. 50). Overall, the vast majority of parents felt that FI was suitable for their children due to the importance of official-language bilingualism in Canada, the enrichment and challenge provided by FI, and the future opportunities associated with French proficiency.

Concluding with Davis et al. (2021), they presented new data highlighting the reasons why newcomer allophone parents enrolled their children in FI programs, as well as their perceptions of such programs. Findings from interviews indicated that certain reasons, such as

employment prospects and travel opportunities, were linked to official-language bilingualism in Canada, but many others were features of multilingualism, such as the "foster[ing] [of] empathy, understanding, and open-mindedness" (Davis et al., 2021, p. 347). Parents were confident that in FI, their children could simultaneously acquire language skills in English and French. In the classroom, they supported the prioritizing of French, but "the lack of EAL support in LFI [Late French Immersion] was cited as an obstacle for learning" (Davis et al., 2021, p. 350).

By and large, these inquiries reflect a strong desire for children to maintain their home language while furthering their skillset in English and French. Children thus engaged in a variety of literacy practices to support the development of their full linguistic repertoire. Inclusion in FI was another means of supporting that development, with one of its many benefits being linguistic capital within and beyond Canada. Hence, it isn't surprising that parents' positive viewpoints of multilingualism were based on their personal experiences with language and language learning—both in Canada and abroad. Although these findings are indeed valuable, none of these investigations explicitly focused on the understandings, beliefs, and practices parents and guardians of CLD learners associate with the inclusion of these students in FI. At the same time, only one study, Douglas (2009), examined parent-school relationships, highlighting barriers to the home-school relationship and to parents' school-based engagement. There is thus a need to gain further insight into the perspectives of parents and guardians of CLD learners. This understanding would not only build upon previous research but could also further the potential for languages and cultures to work in collaboration versus in opposition (Prasad, 2015).

Summary

In summary, this literature review first provided an overview of FI—its sociopolitical context, origins, goals, benefits, and key tenets. In doing so, it positioned this inquiry vis-à-vis

FI's larger context. Subsequently, it defined the key concepts of this investigation—that is, understandings, beliefs, and practices—by drawing on the context of L2 teaching and critical race theory. Finally, it examined the inclusion of CLD learners in FI through the perceptions of the students themselves, as well as those of FSL teachers, administrators, and parents and guardians of CLD learners. Among the main ideas of this examination was that with meaningful support to ensure their success, CLD learners can thrive in FI programs. Furthermore, the parents of these learners have a genuine desire to enroll their children—for reasons linked to "perceived sophistication, hopes of better inclusion, social aspirations and changes for social and economic mobility, and transnational vision of self" (Moore, 2010, p. 337). Nonetheless, as seen through the viewpoints of key stakeholders, elitism, often framed as deficit thinking (Gorski, 2012), remains prevalent and can result in exclusion. Moreover, for those CLD learners in FI, their cultures and languages aren't necessarily recognized, valued, and integrated as assets for personal and collective learning—leading to concerns about true inclusion (Mady et al., 2017). It is thus time to engage with race (Dei, 1999) through pedagogies with a critical orientation.

As FI classrooms gradually become more CLD, understanding how these learners are included/excluded is crucial to meaningful support. Hence, this study aims to address the following gaps identified in the literature review: **a)** a limited understanding, particularly at the higher grades, of CLD learners' perspectives regarding their inclusion in FI; **b)** a lack of knowledge of inclusive understandings and practices amongst teachers; **c)** a substantial dearth in research on the understandings and beliefs underlying administrators' practices; and finally, **d)** a need to gain further insight into the understandings, beliefs, and practices parents and guardians of CLD learners associate with the inclusion of these students in FI. Addressing these gaps aligns with calls in current scholarship—urging educators in FSL "to rethink assumptions about

language learning . . . in order to create FI programs that best serve classrooms populated by learners who have different linguistic repertoires upon which to draw" (Mady & Masson, 2018, p. 89). These gaps have thus informed the development of this inquiry's research questions, conceptual framework, and design. The following chapter lays the theoretical foundation of this investigation.

Chapter Three:

Laying the Theoretical Foundation

In this third chapter, I lay the theoretical foundation of this study through a discussion of critical race theory. Next, I describe four pedagogies, rooted in the same movement, through which I examine inclusion in FI. Finally, I present the emerging theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this inquiry.

Critical Race Theory

The theoretical foundation for the pedagogies through which I examine inclusion in FI is critical race theory. In the sub-sections below, I discuss its origins and key tenets.

Origins

Following the civil rights movement[16] in the United States, critical race theory developed in the 1970s, as lawyers, activists, and legal scholars realized that "new theories and strategies were needed to combat the subtler forms of racism that were gaining ground" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 4). Examining the relationship between race, racism, and power, critical race theory "tries not only to understand our social situation . . . but to transform it for the better" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 8). As such, it draws on European philosophers and civil rights activists from the "American radical tradition" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 5). At the same time, it builds upon the work of critical legal studies[17] and radical feminism[18]. Major figures of

[16] The civil rights movement was "a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for Black Americans to gain equal rights under the law in the United States" (History.com, 2022, Civil rights movement section, para. 1).

[17] Critical legal studies, developed in the 1970s, is an intellectual movement arguing that "law is neither neutral nor value free but is in fact inseparable from politics" (Encyclopedia.com, 2019, Critical legal studies section, para. 1).

[18] Radical feminism is a "highly visible movement within feminism calling for a substantial change to the structure of contemporary society . . . [it] originated in the US in the 1960s with the Women's Liberation Movement" (Oxford University Press, 2022, Radical feminism section).

the critical race theory movement include Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, Richard Delgado, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Angela Harris (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Although critical race theory started as a movement in law, today, it is used in a wide variety of disciplines—including the field of education.

Key Tenets

The first tenet of critical race theory normalizes racism through its characterization as "the common, everyday experience of most people of color" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 8). In other words, critical race theory posits that racism is so endemic, or deeply embedded into every aspect of society, that it has now become the norm (Anya, 2021; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

The second tenet critiques liberalism for myths such as objectivity, race neutrality, and multiculturalism—a philosophy wherein different cultures exist in an environment of respect and tolerance (Anya, 2021; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Taking the example of multiculturalism, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) contend that the tensions of difference between and among cultural groups are rarely examined, leading to the presumption that "all difference is both analogous and equivalent" (p. 62). However, in attempting "to be everything to everyone," they assert that multiculturalism becomes "nothing for anyone" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 62); consequently, the status quo prevails.

The third tenet, whiteness as property, argues that it is whiteness itself which affords "privileges of exclusivity, preference, and authority" (Anya, 2021, p. 1056). This concept is exemplified by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) who link property with education. Essentially, the value of a school, considered physical property, varies according to its clientele (i.e., schools in affluent communities are of higher value than those in poorer communities). The value of

curriculum, seen as intellectual property, similarly varies in quality and quantity, with the preferences of enriched intellectual property exclusively for those in authority (i.e., White communities). Whiteness—with its rights of disposition, use, enjoyment, status, and exclusion (Harris, 1993)—is therefore constructed as "the ultimate property" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 58).

The fourth tenet, interest convergence, advances the idea that "gains in equity and uplift for people of colour are only made when they also benefit Whites" (Anya, 2021, p. 1056). Taking the example of affirmative action hiring policies, although they consciously target historically underrepresented groups (e.g., women and people of colour [POC]), they have disproportionately benefitted White women, who then use their income to support their White households (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In sum, Whites benefit Whites, whereas POC are essentially subtracted from the equation.

The fifth tenet amplifies "voice" through "the notion of a unique voice of color" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 11). As a result of their shared history of oppression, Delgado (1990) asserts that POC speak with experiential knowledge of racism. Critical race theory legitimizes their realities through "personal stories—or counternarratives—that challenge the dominant paradigm of White, upper class, male voices as standard knowledge" (Anya, 2021, p. 1056).

The sixth and final tenet, intersectionality, suggests that POC experience racism in ways that are intimately connected to, and heightened by, alternative forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, classism, etc.) (Anya, 2021). In other words, racism doesn't operate independently (Patel, 2022). Having laid the theoretical foundation for the pedagogies through which I seek to understand inclusion in FI, the following section discusses these pedagogies.

Pedagogies

Applying a critical race theory framing to inclusion in FI leads me to examine how various pedagogies are enacted in this particular context. Rooted in critical race theory, they act as a guide for seeing, understanding, and interpreting the Quintain (Stake, 2006) (i.e., the phenomenon under study) through multiple lenses fitting for this investigation's classroom setting. Although these pedagogies originate in the United States, FI's vital need to "shatter complacency and challenge the [White] status quo" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2414) speaks to their relevance to the Canadian FSL landscape—wherein race has largely been evaded. In the sub-sections below, I describe the origins and key tenets of these pedagogies.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Origins. When first searching for literature on successfully educating African American students, Ladson-Billings (2014) found that most studies portrayed them in deficit terms: "at-risk," "disadvantaged," and "underachieving." As "academic success" was nowhere to be seen, she considered it her personal responsibility to help scholars and practitioners alike view these students in a different light. This desire led to a three-year inquiry with exceptional teachers of African American students in the United States (Ladson-Billings, 1995a). As a result, Ladson-Billings (2014) "reveal[ed] important pedagogical principles for achieving success for *all* students" (p. 76). Developed in the early 1990s, CRP "not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, p. 469).

Key Tenets. The first tenet of CRP attends to students' academic needs, thereby guiding them towards academic excellence: "the intellectual growth that students experience as a result

of classroom instruction and learning experiences" (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 75). For instance, one of the teachers whom Ladson-Billings (1995a) had observed, Ann Lewis, had a class largely made up of African American boys. Recognizing that they held significant social power within the classroom, she challenged them "to demonstrate academic power by drawing on issues and ideas they found meaningful" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 160). In doing so, and as the boys assumed academic leadership, it was perceived positively—resulting in other students following suit. Ann had therefore attended to her students' academic needs by finding ways "to value their skills and abilities and channel them in academically important ways" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 160). At the same time, her students had "'cho[sen]' academic excellence" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 160).

The second tenet enables students to succeed academically while maintaining cultural competence—wherein "students are secure in their knowledge and understanding of their own culture—language, traditions, histories, culture, and so forth, AND are developing fluency and facility in at least one other culture [different from their own]" (Ladson-Billings, 2021a, p. 71). Although schools typically aren't spaces where African American students can "'be themselves,'" culturally relevant teachers "utilize students' culture as a vehicle for learning" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 161). Patricia Hilliard, for example, used her students' love of rap music, an important aspect of African American youth culture, to teach them about poetry. Lyrics from non-offensive rap songs became "a bridge to school learning" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 161), supporting students' understanding of literal and figurative meaning, as well as poetry's more technical aspects. By inserting education into culture, as opposed to culture into education, Patricia had enabled her students' success (Ladson-Billings, 1995a).

The third and last tenet expects students "to engage the world and others critically" (McLaren, 1989, p. 195). This engagement is accomplished by moving beyond individual achievement towards a broader sociopolitical consciousness: "the ability to take learning beyond the confines of the classroom using school knowledge and skills to identify, analyze, and solve real-world problems" (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 75). In Ladson-Billings' (1995a) investigation, for instance, teachers collaborated with students in critiquing the knowledge in their out-dated textbooks, as well as the systemic inequities which had funded newer textbooks for middle-class students. In addition to writing letters to their local newspaper, learners engaged with counter-knowledge, "developing multiple perspectives on a variety of social and historical phenomena" (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, p. 162). These teachers had thus woven aspects of the curriculum into students' concerns while providing them with the intellectual tools to address them (Ladson-Billings, 2021a).

Culturally Responsive Teaching

Origins. Building on the work of Ladson-Billings (1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995a, 1995b), particularly that on cultural competence, Gay (2002) defines culturally responsive teaching (CRT) as using CLD learners' "cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives . . . as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (p. 106). In essence, when teaching is situated within students' lived experiences and frames of reference, Gay (2000) posits that academic knowledge and skills become more meaningful and are thus learnt more easily and thoroughly. Developed in the 1990s, CRT is based on Gay's (2002) research with "underachieving African, Asian, Latino, and Native American students" (p. 106) in the United States.

Key Tenets. The first tenet of CRT is "developing a cultural diversity knowledge base" (Gay, 2002, p. 106). One aspect of this knowledge base is an understanding of the cultural

characteristics and contributions of various ethnic groups—namely, those directly linked to teaching and learning. An example would be protocols for interactions in instructional settings. Another aspect is factual information concerning a group's "cultural particularities" (Gay, 2002, p. 107)—that is, lesser known but significant contributions to fields such as science, mathematics, and technology. According to Gay (2002), this information is "needed to make schooling more interesting . . . and responsive to ethnically diverse students" (p. 107). A final aspect is a rich understanding of the theory, research, and scholarship of multicultural education. This characteristic is especially important, as "culturally responsive teaching deals as much with using multicultural instructional strategies as with adding multicultural content to the curriculum" (Gay, 2002, p. 107).

The second tenet consists of "designing culturally relevant curricula" (Gay, 2002, p. 108). Three types of curricula are generally present in the classroom, each offering unique teaching and learning opportunities. First, the formal curriculum includes instructional plans approved by governing bodies of education systems. These plans are generally complemented by textbooks and other curriculum documents. Although these materials have improved over time, Wade (1993) cautions that they remain a work in progress. Culturally responsive teachers should thus "know how to determine the multicultural strengths and weaknesses of curriculum designs and instructional materials . . . to improve their overall quality" (Gay, 2002, p. 108). Through cultural analyses of said materials, focused on narrative texts, illustrations, role models, and sources, Gay (2000, 2002) suggests that teachers can understand, and subsequently address, the obstacles to CRT. Examples include the avoidance of racism and historical acts of violence, as well as the minimizing of certain forms of knowledge, such as values and experiences. Second, the symbolic curriculum includes images, symbols, mottoes, and other artefacts—as seen in bulletin board

decorations, rules and regulations, and ethical principles (Gay, 1995, 2000, 2002). Cognizant of the curriculum's power in informing what students value and devalue, culturally responsive teachers "use it to help convey important information, values, and actions about ethnic and cultural diversity" (Gay, 2002, p. 108). Third, the societal curriculum includes "the knowledge, ideas, and impressions about ethnic groups that are portrayed in the mass media" (Gay, 2002, p. 109). Given that these are often inaccurate and biased, CRT involves critical and comprehensive analyses of how these groups and their experiences are represented—thereby counteracting misinformation by teaching students "to be discerning consumers of and resisters to ethnic information disseminated through the societal curriculum" (Gay, 2002, p. 109).

The third tenet involves "demonstrating cultural caring and building a learning community" (Gay, 2002, p. 109). For Gay (2002), "culturally responsive caring is *action oriented* in that it demonstrates high expectations and uses imaginative strategies to ensure academic success for ethnically diverse students" (p. 110). Teachers genuinely believe in their students' academic potential and facilitate their achievement from a place of cultural validation and strength. Students are thus taught about their and others' cultures alongside subjects and skills, such as French, math, social activism, and critical thinking. Eventually, they come to understand that knowledge has moral and political elements to it, "obligat[ing] them to take social action to promote freedom, equality, and justice for everyone" (Gay, 2002, p. 110).

The fourth tenet includes effective "cross-cultural communication" (Gay, 2002, p. 110). According to Cazden et al. (1985), the thought process of CLD learners is culturally encoded (i.e., greatly influenced by cultural socialization). Teachers must "decipher these codes" (Gay, 2002, p. 111) to teach students effectively; hence, understanding the communication styles of different ethnic groups is important. Although such an understanding could lead to fears of

stereotyping and overgeneralization, Gay (2002) insists that "thorough, critical knowledge of the interactive relationships between culture, ethnicity, communication, and learning" (p. 111) is essential, as communication styles reflect cultural values and influence learning. For instance, in contrast to a passive-receptive style, wherein students are quiet and speak only when prompted by their teachers, Gay (2002) notes that in the United States, many groups of colour have a more active-participatory style, wherein the "roles of speaker and listener are fluid and interchangeable" (p. 111). Failing to understand these styles could lead to students' intellectual silencing (Gay, 2002).

The fifth and final tenet considers "cultural congruity in classroom instruction" (Gay, 2002, p. 112). One way of establishing this congruity is by matching instruction with students' learning styles:

> preferred content; ways of working through learning tasks; techniques for organizing and conveying ideas and thoughts; physical and social settings for task performance; structural arrangements of work, study, and performance space; perceptual stimulation for receiving, processing, and demonstrating comprehension and competence; motivations, incentives, and rewards for learning; and interpersonal interactional styles. (Gay, 2002, p. 113)

Another means of establishing congruity would be incorporating ethnic and cultural diversity into one's instruction: "*pedagogical bridges*" (Gay, 2002, p. 113) connecting the known with the unknown.

Culturally and Linguistically Responsive Teaching

Origins. Recognizing the need for a pedagogy explicitly considering "the perspectives of both culture and language" (Zhang-Wu, 2017, p. 34), Villegas and Lucas (2002, 2007) proposed

culturally and linguistically responsive teaching (CLRT). Developed in the 2000s, this pedagogy was a response to an increasingly CLD student population in the United States.

Key Tenets. The first tenet of CLRT is sociocultural consciousness—that is, "an understanding that people's ways of thinking, behaving, and being are deeply influenced by such factors as race/ethnicity, social class, and language" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 22). Lucas and Villegas (2013) further define it as knowledge of the interconnectedness of language, culture, and identity. This consciousness entails a dual understanding of one's sociocultural identity and "the intricate connection between schools and society" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 22)—referring to the ways in which schools (re)produce societal inequities by privileging select students based on race, class, language, and other social markers. Without this dual understanding, Villegas and Lucas (2002) argue that teachers "will fail in their attempts to understand and respond to students who are socioculturally different from themselves, particularly when the students are from oppressed groups" (p. 23).

The second tenet reflects "an affirming attitude toward students who differ from the dominant culture," in that teachers acknowledge and validate "a plurality of ways of thinking, talking, behaving, and learning" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 23). To do so, however, they must first examine their beliefs about CLD learners—including those "related to language and linguistic diversity" (Lucas & Villegas, 2013, p. 102).

The third tenet examines "the commitment and skills to act as agents of change" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 24). This commitment includes a moral obligation "to facilitate the growth and development" of all students (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 24), thereby challenging deficit thinking (Gorski, 2012) by advocating for CLD learners' "access to meaningful and challenging learning opportunities" (Lucas & Villegas, 2013, p. 104). Inherent to this

responsibility is an understanding of schooling and society as interconnected, in that "institutional structures and practices do not exist in a vacuum . . . people build and sustain them" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 24). Becoming an agent of change thus requires a sense of critique of the ways in which schools reinforce societal inequities, along with an equal sense of hope that change is possible (Nieto, 1999). Villegas and Lucas (2002) therefore recommend that teachers learn about the process of change and acquire the skillset to address it.

The fourth tenet is grounded in "constructivist views of learning," recognizing that learning itself is "a process by which students generate meaning in response to new ideas and experiences they encounter in school" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 25). To make sense of these ideas and experiences, students refer to their prior knowledge and beliefs, central to their learning process (Piaget, 1977; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Teachers can support knowledge construction by "engaging students in questioning, interpreting, and analyzing information in the context of problems or issues that are interesting and meaningful to them" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 25).

The fifth tenet involves "learning about students" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 26). This process would include knowledge of students' families, interests, and prior learning experiences—all of which can support new learning. To acquire this knowledge, Villegas and Lucas (2002) recommend various strategies, such as visiting students' homes and communities, engaging them in meaningful conversations, and observing as they problem-solve and explain their reasoning. For those students with limited proficiency in the language(s) of instruction, Lucas and Villegas (2013) suggest the use of visuals and home languages so they can both illustrate, and write about, themselves and their experiences.

The sixth and final tenet is "culturally responsive teaching practices" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 27). Examples include involving students in inquiries that are personally meaningful to them, facilitating candid discussions on topics typically excluded from classroom conversations, and critically interrogating the curriculum by having students address "inaccuracies, omissions, and distortions in the text" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 29). Language-linked scaffolding would be used as necessary to ensure accessibility for all learners (Lucas & Villegas, 2013).

Critical Race Pedagogy for World Language Teaching

Origins. Moving to world languages (WLs)[19] in the United States, Anya (2021) recognized the absence of a pedagogy based on critical race theory. Given her desire to promote the "meaningful inclusion, retention, and success of Black students in WL programmes" (Anya, 2021, p. 1056), she proposed a critical race pedagogy for world language teaching (CRPWLT). Developed in 2021, this pedagogy is based on the work of Lynn (1999) and Jennings and Lynn (2005) who saw the "profound relevance [of critical race theory] in education and the need for a framework for its pedagogical application" (Anya, 2021, p. 1057). Below, Anya (2021) summarizes the four tenets of Lynn (1999) and Jennings and Lynn's (2005) critical race pedagogy:

> (i) An understanding of the endemic nature of racism and how deeply interwoven it is in all areas of education; (ii) the recognition of a 'culture of power' in schooling that reproduces societal racial hierarchies, which need to be acknowledged, understood, and negotiated; (iii) the importance of self-reflection or reflexivity for scholars and practitioners who engage in CRP [defined in this context as critical race pedagogy]; and

[19] Anya (2021) defines WLs as what were "traditionally called foreign languages . . . moving past the idea that a language, like Spanish, which has been in what is now the USA for longer than English, is 'foreign'" (p. 1067).

> (iv) the practice of liberatory forms of teaching and learning for equity and social justice. (p. 1057)

Anya's (2021) CRPWLT builds on these four tenets.

Key Tenets. The first tenet of CRPWLT involves inquiry and self-assessment of the policies, practices, materials, and stakeholders of a language program. Using the lens of critical race theory, this assessment ascertains whether, and to what extent, the program "promote[s] Black students' meaningful, equitable participation and success in WL" (Anya, 2021, p. 1065). According to Anya (2021), this form of assessment "requires language educators to adopt racial realism and recognize the endemic nature of racism in their instructional practice" (pp. 1065–1066). It is thus of paramount importance to recognize that Whites also constitute a racial group with a racial identity. Falsely presenting whiteness as normative—in a Spanish language curriculum, for instance—is White supremacist.

The second tenet examines "power and inequity in language teaching" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066). This process requires educators to develop an awareness of "their racial identities and positionality in racial hierarchies" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066), as these impact their choice of materials and pedagogy, as well as their attitudes and behaviours towards their students. In addition to taking responsibility for change, self-reflexivity necessitates "active strategizing to recognize and work against the culture of power and structures of inequity in which language educators and students are positioned" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066).

The third and final tenet translates understandings from the prior tenets into "a liberatory practice for antiracism and social justice" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066). Anya (2021) recommends that language programs consider how to increase their representation of POC, both in terms of students and educators, and normalize explicit mentioning of "race and racism in policies,

materials, and instruction" (p. 1066). Anya (2021) further suggests that educators reflect upon and diversify their networks—personal, professional, and virtual—as we don't "stop being who we are or being influenced by outside circles of interaction just because we enter a classroom" (p. 1066). Having described the four pedagogies through which I examine inclusion in FI, the following two sections present the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework

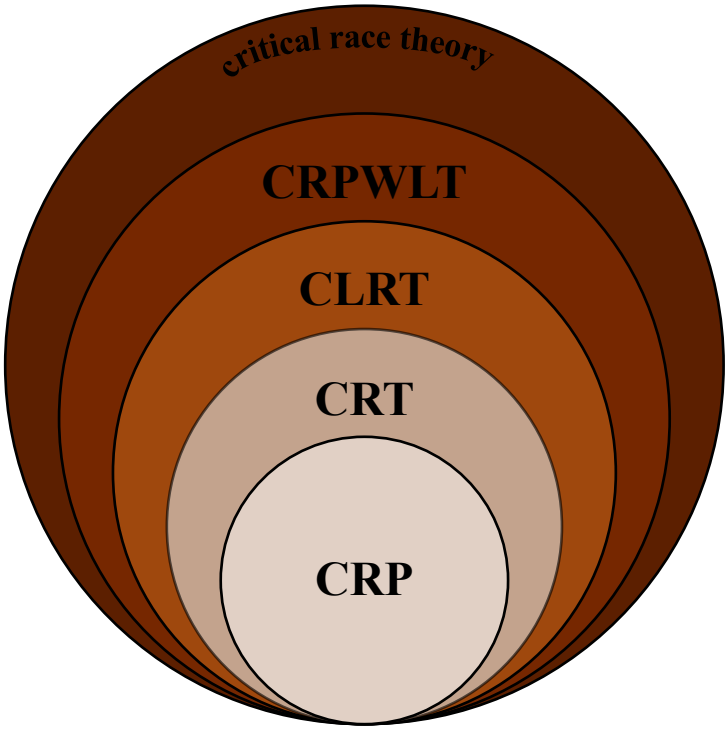
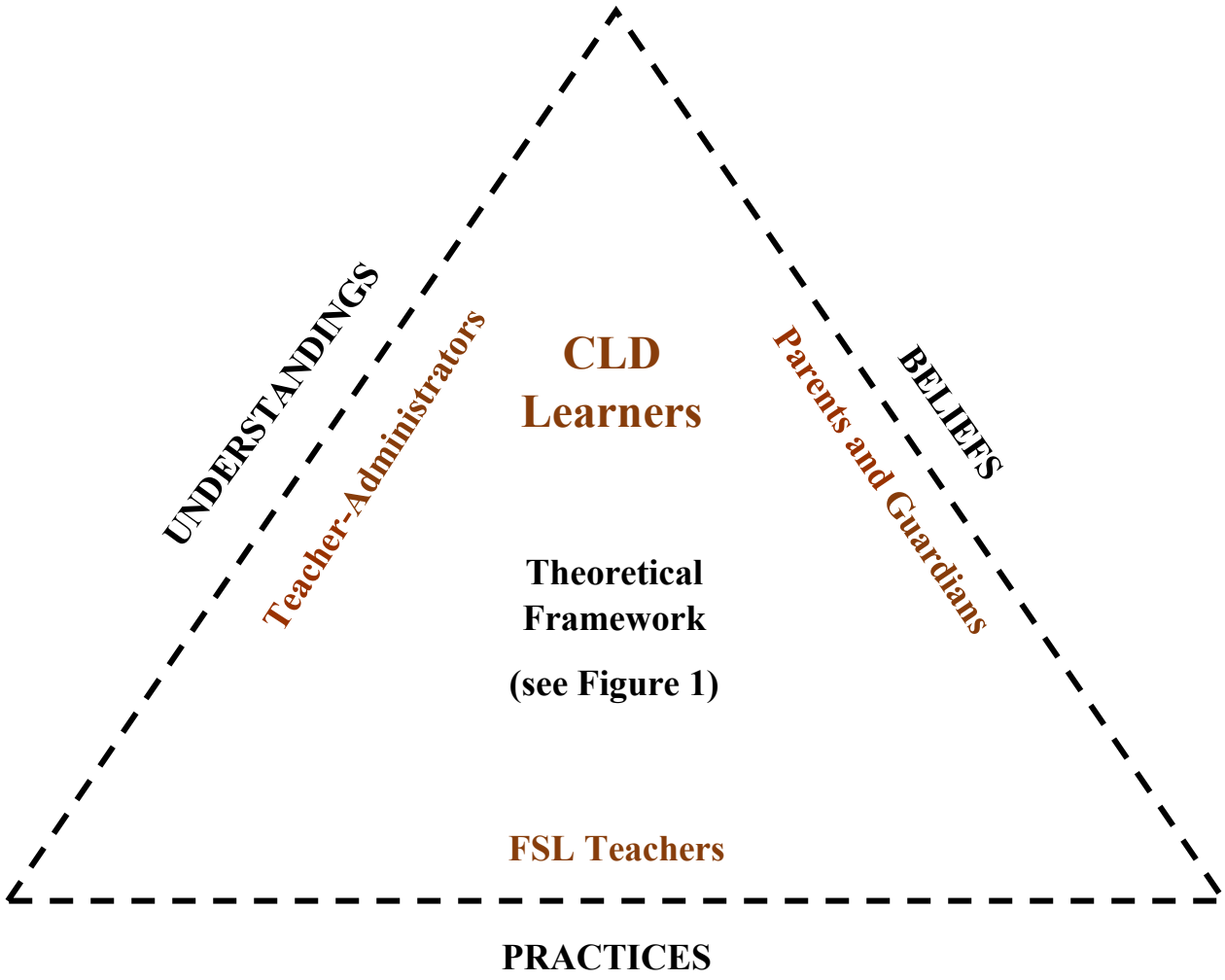


Figure 1 provides a schematic representation of the theoretical framework. Pictured are this inquiry's four pedagogical lenses framed within/by critical race theory. Depicting a sense of progression, each lens builds upon the other in that it expands upon a key concept or responds to a recognized need or gap in language teaching. Given the focus on POC in critical race theory, as emphasized through its key concepts of race, racism, and power, the colours of this framework—black and brown—are purposeful. The various shades of brown reflect diversity across Brownness, as well as racialized populations as a whole. They are also a means of acknowledging the fact that racism is experienced differently based on one's race.

Conceptual Framework

Figure 2

Conceptual Framework



Building on the theoretical framework of this investigation, Figure 2 provides a schematic representation of the conceptual framework, which intentionally centers CLD learners. As the inclusion of these learners is intimately linked to the understandings, beliefs, and practices of FSL teachers, they are positioned at the inner center of the triangle's base. The other key stakeholders appear at opposite sides of the triangle, as they would ideally support both CLD learners and FSL teachers.

Through critical race theory's key concepts of race, racism, and power—embedded within the four pedagogical lenses of this study (see Figure 1 on p. 60)—it is possible to shape the dotted lines representing the understandings, beliefs, and practices of each group of participants. First, critical race theory's key concepts will guide me in seeing how CLD learners and their inclusion in FI is understood. In other words, I will come to know whether these learners are seen in the full complexity of their sociocultural identities and how that complexity is accounted for in their inclusion. Second, they will guide me in reflecting on participants' beliefs as I come to recognize whether those beliefs are asset- or deficit-oriented. Third, and finally, they will guide me in learning whether the practices associated with the inclusion of CLD learners counter the culture of power (Anya, 2021) in which schools (re)produce societal inequities. At the same time, as alluded to by the triangular outline, I will come to see how participants' understandings, beliefs, and practices interact with one another within the context of this inquiry.

Overall, this conceptual framework will enable me to develop a rich understanding of how CLD learners are included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario. The next chapter outlines the plans for this investigation.

Chapter Four:

Outlining the Plans: Methodology

In this fourth chapter, I outline the plans for this study by discussing the setting, design, and participants. Subsequently, I describe the instruments and procedure for data collection, as well as the various stages associated with data analysis. Finally, I address the following aspects in relation to this inquiry: validation, ethics, and positioning of the researcher.

Setting

In addition to being one of Canada's most CLD provinces, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2020) states that "Ontario has by far the largest enrolment in FSL education, including in French Immersion" (Ontario section). In terms of FI, this fact becomes clear when examining the most recent enrollment figures (percentage and total number of students in FI), based on the 2019–2020 academic year and inclusive of Early, Middle, and Late FI: Alberta: 6.7% (44,982), British Columbia: 9% (51,190), Manitoba: 14.8% (27,246), New Brunswick: 36.4% (25,367), Newfoundland and Labrador: 16.7% (10,591), Nova Scotia: 13.5% (15,859), Northwest Territories: 12.7% (1,073), Ontario: 13% (252,700), Prince Edward Island: 26.8% (5,271), Québec: 32% (31,098), Saskatchewan: 9.1% (16,808), and Yukon: 15.5% (849); Nunavut does not offer FI (CPF, 2022a).

From these figures, it is evident that Ontario has the largest number of students in FI, but percentage-wise, it finds itself at the lower end compared to much of the country. Still, in Ontario, enrollment in FI has grown at an average rate of 5.6% for 14 consecutive years (CPF Ontario, 2020). Looking back at figures from the past five years, the province is indeed at an all-time high in enrollment (CPF, 2022a). At the same time, interest in FI is increasing in areas with

rising numbers of CLD families (CPF Ontario, 2020). For these reasons, I selected Ontario for the setting of this investigation.

Initially, I had intended on conducting this study at a publicly funded school. However, the planning of this inquiry coincided with rolling teacher strikes in school boards throughout the province. Therefore, the publicly funded school option would not have been feasible. Alternatively, I chose to conduct this investigation at an independent school[20] in southeastern Ontario: Global Encounters Academy (GEA) (pseudonym).

I consciously selected the pseudonym GEA for three reasons: first, to reflect the school's designation as an International Baccalaureate (IB) World School[21] with students from across the globe; second, to reflect the school's mission of inspiring students to develop into global citizens; and third, to reflect the school's potential for meaningful global encounters. These types of encounters are best described by Aga Khan IV, spiritual leader of the world's Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims: "In the encounters of people and cultures, much depends on the path that each has taken to that point. These are not stochastic processes. The subjects have histories. The encounter has complexity and rich dimensionality." (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2022, His Highness Karim Aga Khan IV - 1994 MIT commencement address section, para. 9).

[20] In Ontario, independent schools, also known as private schools, do not receive any funding from the government; they operate independently of the Ministry of Education both in terms of their finances and governance (Government of Ontario, 2022). Schools offering credits towards the Ontario Secondary School Diploma must follow the OME curriculum (Government of Ontario, 2022).

[21] This designation refers to a school that has completed the authorization process to offer one or more IB education programmes: Primary Years, Middle Years, Diploma, and/or Career-related (IB, 2022b). The Diploma Programme (DP), offered at GEA to students aged 16–19, involves "six subject groups and the DP core, comprising theory of knowledge (TOK), creativity, activity, service (CAS) and the extended essay" (IB, 2022a, The DP curriculum section, para. 1).

In the sub-sections that follow, I discuss two aspects of GEA which make it an ideal site for this study.

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

Established in the late 19th century, GEA is a co-educational school for students in Grades 4–12. In Ontario, these grades correspond to the following divisions: Junior (Grades 4–6), Intermediate (Grades 7–10), and Senior (Grades 11–12). At GEA, for students in Grades 9–12, there is a boarding or residence option. Although the school offers financial assistance, the majority of students come from families with high socio-economic status. Representing more than 60 countries, the student population is approximately 700, with 20% of those learners being international (i.e., normally residing outside of Canada).

Aside from the students themselves, cultural and linguistic diversity at GEA is reflected in various ways: tv screens and assemblies with messages marking national days; flags, foods, and posters representing students' home countries and cultures; exhibits inspiring discussions of anti-colonialisms; and events highlighting students' linguistic and cultural practices—to name but a few examples. This diversity, however, wasn't always present.

At its core, GEA, founded by a clergyman, is a White, Anglo-Christian institute. Initially, a one-room school for boys, it wasn't until the late 20th century that girls could enroll and that boarding students were first welcomed. Today, GEA's Anglican roots remain visible. The school's chapel, for instance, built at the start of the 20th century, remains intact and in use. Its purpose, however, has evolved from prayer to pluralism—a place for contemplation and conversation amongst the school's diverse student body. Furthermore, in the summer of 2020, GEA established a pluralism initiative, a collective project bringing together the community at large. This initiative—whose foci are people, culture, programs, education, and spaces—is meant

to enhance the school's efforts towards a safe, respectful, and inclusive community environment. In summary, just as the school has evolved, and continues to progress in the inclusion of cultural and linguistic diversity, so too has its potential for meaningful global encounters.

French Program

In addition to its cultural and linguistic diversity, GEA offers a rich French program—making it an ideal site for this inquiry. In Grades 4–6, students complete a diagnostic test at the beginning of the school year and are then placed in either CF or EF. In Grade 7, following written and oral language testing, students may qualify for FI, which is part of the French bilingual program. Given that FI is intended for students wishing to pursue French at the highest level of proficiency, exceptionally, anglophones and CLD learners find themselves in the same classes as their francophone[22] peers.

Students admitted into the bilingual program take French as part of the Extended or Immersion stream but receive joint French-language instruction in social studies, drama, physical education, and health. At the end of Grade 8, those who successfully complete the program are awarded a Bilingual Certificate. Students who are not part of the bilingual program take French at either the *Débutant*[23] or the Core stream.

In Grades 9–12, upon further diagnostic testing, students are placed in one of four streams: Introductory[24], Core, Extended, or Immersion. Although French is no longer mandatory after Grade 9, students who take it as part of the Extended or Immersion stream may qualify for

[22] At GEA, in Grades 4–8 and 9–12, 10–12 % of students in each of these groupings identify as francophone.
[23] The *Débutant* or Beginner stream, offered in Grades 7 and 8, is meant for students with little to no knowledge of French. It is not part of the Ontario curriculum.
[24] The Introductory stream, offered in Grades 11 and 12, is equally meant for students with little to no knowledge of French. It corresponds to the Grades 9 and 10 Open courses in CF, offered as part of the Ontario curriculum.

an additional Bilingual Certificate, awarded at the end of Grade 12. To obtain this certificate, students take four credits in either EF or FI and at least four credits in classes with French-language instruction. IB students in Grades 11 and 12, pursuing the IB Bilingual Diploma, take the same classes as their non-IB peers.

Finally, all students pursuing French take part in various cultural outings. These range from local plays and visits to the bookstore to trips to Québec City. Moreover, any student, regardless of whether they're currently studying French, can participate in French club and in annual events organized by GEA (e.g., *la semaine internationale de la francophonie*). Having discussed the setting of this investigation, I now turn to study design.

Study Design

Creswell (2013) refers to study design as the "plan for conducting the study" (p. 49). In the sub-sections below, I describe this study's overall plan through an explanation of the interpretive framework, research design, and approach.

Social Constructivist Framework

Study design is largely influenced by the basic beliefs or philosophical assumptions shaping a researcher's worldview (Creswell, 2012, 2013)—in this case, the belief that learning is an active process and that meaning is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds (Vygotsky, 1978). These assumptions are linked to a particular interpretive framework. In this inquiry, that framework was social constructivist, wherein "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work" (Creswell, 2013, p. 24). Specifically, I sought to understand the inclusion of CLD learners in FI through interaction, or the co-construction of meaning, with key stakeholders (Vygotsky, 1978). This interaction involved open-ended questions and observations of a specific classroom context with an emphasis on understanding

"the complexity of views rather than narrow[ing] the meanings" (Creswell, 2013, p. 24). I then sought to interpret the findings and to "generalize theor[y] (analytic generalization)" (Yin, 2009, p. 15).

Qualitative Research Design

For this investigation, I selected a qualitative research design—a means for understanding the significance of a social or human phenomenon through a specific methodological approach (Creswell, 2012, 2013). Although there are several reasons why researchers select a qualitative design, two are particularly relevant to this study.

First, a qualitative design is used when a problem or issue requires exploration (Creswell, 2013). According to Creswell (2013), this exploration is necessary "because of a need to study a group or population, identify variables that cannot be easily measured, or hear silenced voices" (p. 48). Prior studies suggest that although CLD learners may be present in FI classrooms, their cultures and languages aren't necessarily recognized, valued, and integrated as assets for personal and collective learning (e.g., Davis et al., 2019; Lapkin et al., 2006; Mady & Arnett, 2015; Mady et al., 2017). In other words, despite the OME's (2016) guidance that all FSL programs reflect student diversity, these learners may not be adequately supported. There is thus a clear need to explore the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Second, a qualitative design is also used when a problem or issue requires a complex and detailed understanding (Creswell, 2013). Inclusion is not a variable that can easily be measured. The level of detail necessary to understand it requires qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews and observations. Moreover, the required level of complexity necessitates hearing directly from CLD learners—a group whose voices have been silenced in previous inquiries. A qualitative design is thus necessary and appropriate for this particular investigation.

Case Study Approach

The approach to qualitative design was that of the "case study," a term I define based on the research of Creswell (2012, 2013), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), and Yin (2014) as follows: a qualitative inquiry that uses multiple forms of data to examine a phenomenon within a real-life, bounded context and that results in an in-depth understanding of it, as well as the potential for meaningful change. According to Yin (2014), "how" and "why" questions, such as this study's primary research question (How are CLD learners included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario?), are particularly suited to case study research, as they require "an extensive and 'in-depth' description of some social phenomenon" (p. 4). Similarly, Stake (1995) characterizes the case study as the ideal approach when studying the experiences of real people in real-life situations—as in this inquiry.

I further selected a multiple-case study approach in order to best understand the Quintain (Stake, 2006) or phenomenon under study—both its similarities and differences within and across cases. Compared to the single-case study, the findings from a multiple-case study are generally considered more compelling, and the investigation as a whole, more robust (Herriott & Firestone, 1983; Yin, 2014).

Stake (2006) also contends that the benefits of a multiple-case study are optimal if 4–10 cases are selected. Any fewer may not show enough interactivity[25] between cases, whereas any greater may offer more interactivity than is possible to understand. Given that this study took place within a school setting, one option, inclusive of all stakeholders, was for each grade to represent a case. Yet, I soon realized that this option would create overlap in terms of

[25] The term "interactivity" refers to the "ways in which the activity of the case interacts with its contexts" (Stake, 2006, p. 28).

interactivity, as FSL teachers and teacher-administrators would be linked to multiple grades, and therefore, multiple cases. Ultimately, I decided that each of the four stakeholders would represent a case, as "the complex meanings of the Quintain are understood differently and better because of the particular activity and contexts of each Case" (Stake, 2006, p. 40). The participants of each of these cases are discussed in the following section.

Participants

As previously mentioned, this inquiry included four cases or groups of participants. In the following sub-sections, I describe the recruitment process and discuss the various sets of participants. As part of these discussions, I explain the rationale and criteria for the inclusion of each group while making reference to the associated appendices. Tables 1–4 contain demographic information specific to each set of participants.

Recruitment

The recruitment process for this investigation began with a general e-mail I sent to GEA in October 2019. This e-mail was then shared with one of the school's teacher-administrators who acted as a liaison between me and the school's staff and administration team. Following an in-person meeting in November 2019, where I addressed any questions or concerns related to the school's participation, the teacher-administrator shared the relevant information letter and consent form with school administrators, teacher-administrators, and FSL teachers who met the inclusion criteria for this study. Presented in Appendices A and B, these information letters and consent forms outline the various tasks associated with this inquiry and request participant consent.

Recruitment was thus purposeful in that it was "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample

from which the most can be learned" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 96). In some cases, however, I expanded upon the initial inclusion criteria. For example, upon learning that EF at GEA is essentially the equivalent of FI in publicly funded schools, I modified the original criteria to include students and teachers of EF. It was through this expansion, or modification, that a FSL TC came to be included in this investigation. Upon consultation with the candidate's associate teacher and Faculty of Education, I recruited the TC via e-mail in January 2020.

During initial interviews with participating FSL teachers, and in subsequent meetings held in December 2019 and January 2020, I was recommended various classes for this study. These recommendations largely included French language classes offered as part of the Extended or Immersion streams, but I was also suggested three social studies Immersion classes. In February, I gave brief presentations in 12 classes in order to recruit CLD learners. These presentations, given to students in Grades 4–12, were all delivered in French—along with supporting visuals, questions, and explanations, adapted as necessary according to students' grade levels. Before leaving each class, I gave teachers information letters and consent forms for students' parents/guardians, which can be seen in Appendix C. I also gave teachers a sign-up sheet where interested students could write their name and e-mail address in order to facilitate subsequent communication.

Following class presentations, teachers agreed to send out an e-mail I had composed about the inquiry to parents and guardians. In February 2020, GEA also sent out a recruitment message as part of a weekly online update to members of the school community.

Finally, in March 2020[26], once all of the CLD learners had been recruited and their initial interviews completed, I asked if an information letter and consent form concerning the participation of their parents or guardians could be sent to them (i.e., the students) via e-mail. This letter and consent form can be found in Appendix D. All of the students agreed and proceeded to share the e-mail with their parents or guardians.

Participant Groups

In the sub-sections below, I discuss each of the four participant groups: CLD learners, FSL teachers, teacher-administrators, and parents and guardians of CLD learners. In the first three cases, I assigned pseudonyms based on the sex and culture(s) with which the participant identified. In the fourth case, that of parents and guardians, I aligned pseudonyms with the perceived sex of the participant (as per communication with the participant or their child) and with the culture(s) of the child (i.e., the CLD learner). Selecting the pseudonyms in this manner was a purposeful decision which takes into account the importance of participant context—both to the case study approach and to this investigation's particular focus on cultural and linguistic diversity (see Ethical Considerations on p. 103 for further details).

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners. All children have the ability to "express in various ways what is important to them and frequently have different interests and views of situations than adults who have power over them" (Maguire, 2005, Section 2.1, para. 1). Nonetheless, as is evident from the literature review, CLD learners may be the focus of a study, but their perspectives aren't necessarily included as part of its methodology. Additionally,

[26] On p. 81, as part of the section on data collection, I discuss GEA's transition from in-person to online learning which occurred in March 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing stay-at-home order.

inquiries in which they are included have largely been conducted in Grades 4–6. I thus considered it integral that CLD learners represent the first case in this investigation.

Given that GEA is a Grades 4–12 school, I recruited CLD learners from Junior, Intermediate, and Senior divisions. Although there was enthusiasm for the study amongst CLD learners in lower grades, it was ultimately students in the higher grades (i.e., Grades 9–12) who were interested in participating.

The original inclusion criterion for these students corresponded with the definition of a CLD learner: a student whose first language is neither English nor French and whose cultural and linguistic repertoire represents a strength in their learning communities. In total, 16 students participated, but it wasn't feasible for me to incorporate all 16 perspectives as part of data analysis. Consequently, I applied further criteria in order to select the most representative sample.

First, as students from Grades 9–12 participated in this inquiry, I decided to select one CLD learner per grade (i.e., four students in total) for the final sample. I made this decision to allow for equal representation per grade. Second, in order to reflect the diversity of cultures and perceptions in the original sample, each of the four selected students had distinct first languages corresponding to the cultures with which they associated. These students also identified with different races: White-passing[27], Asian, and Black. Third, as the amount of experience in/with

[27] The descriptor "White-passing" was assigned to students who identified with that term—not necessarily because they would characterize themselves as such but rather because they recognized that due to their skin colour, they often 'pass' as White in the eyes of others. Indeed, "you can encounter someone, and recognize them in an instant, as black, as brown, as white, as to be feared, not to be feared, because of what you have already swallowed" (Ahmed, 2015, p. 95). I therefore define a White-passing person as someone whose light(er) skin colour knowingly or unknowingly affords them White privilege even though they themselves aren't White (Saad, 2020).

GEA's French program could impact a student's viewpoint on inclusion, I considered variance in terms of grade of entry into GEA. Fourth, due to the importance of contextualization and triangulation, only students whom I had observed, and who had completed both interviews and the associated photography tasks (see Data Collection on p. 80), were selected for the final sample. Fifth, given the focus of this investigation, I gave preference to CLD learners in FI over those in EF. One exception was made at the grade nine level, as it wasn't possible for me to observe the Grade 9 FI participant. Finally, in order to align with the previously established definition of a CLD learner, students who considered themselves as having two or more first languages that were inclusive of English and/or French weren't included in the final sample. The final sample of CLD learners is identified in Table 1, which provides an overview of CLD learner participant information.

Table 1

Overview of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learner Participant Information

Name	Sex (M/F)	Grade	Grade of entry into GEA	Stream (EF/FI)	First language(s)	Other known language(s)	Study completion and observation (Y/N)
Elmas	F	Gr. 9	Gr. 9	EF	Armenian	English, French, Spanish	Y
Lily	F	Gr. 10	Gr. 4	FI	Mandarin	French, English	Y
Isabela	F	Gr. 11	Gr. 11	FI	Portuguese	French, English	Y
Kofi	M	Gr. 12	Gr. 9	FI	Amharic	English, French, Spanish	Y

French as a Second Language Teachers. Teachers play a pivotal role in inclusion. Nevertheless, studies such as Lapkin et al.'s (2006) national survey of Canadian FSL teachers—identifying student diversity as their greatest challenge, or more recently, Mady et al.'s (2017)

inquiry with FSL TCs—prompting concerns about the possibility for true inclusion, call into question how CLD learners are included in FI. Given that their inclusion is inextricably linked to the understandings, beliefs, and practices of their teachers, I deemed it essential that this group represent the second case in this investigation. The perspectives of these participants would respond to a clear need in the FSL context for research into culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces and contribute to a triangulation of perceptions across stakeholders.

The initial inclusion criteria for these participants were that they be FI teachers of CLD learners from the following categories of teaching experience: **a)** under five years, **b)** between five and ten years, and **c)** over ten years. However, as discussed in the sub-section on recruitment, upon learning that EF at GEA was more or less the equivalent of FI in publicly funded schools, I modified these criteria to include teachers of EF. Furthermore, after discovering that there was also a TC (Catherine) paired with one of the FSL teachers, I revised the criteria yet again in order to include Catherine as part of the FSL teachers' case. I deemed this inclusion important in light of studies such as Mady and Arnett (2015), which found that FSL TCs hadn't been sufficiently prepared in their teacher education programs to support CLD learners.

In total, five FSL teachers (inclusive of the TC) participated in this inquiry. Although their years of teaching experience at GEA itself varied, all, with the exception of Catherine, had more than ten years of experience in total (GEA + non-GEA). As with the CLD learners, I applied additional criteria in order to select the final teacher sample.

As the final sample of CLD learners included students in Grades 9–12, I deemed it appropriate that their teachers also be included—thereby eliminating the Junior/Intermediate teacher. As previously discussed, I also took into consideration the importance of the TC,

Catherine—leading to her selection in place of her associate teacher. The final sample of FSL teachers is indicated in Table 2, which provides an overview of FSL teacher participant information.

Table 2

Overview of French as a Second Language Teacher Participant Information

Name	Sex (M/F)	First language(s)	Other known language(s)	Grades and subjects taught (with language/ stream)	Years of teaching experience at GEA	Years of teaching experience in total (GEA + non-GEA)
Catherine	F	English French	Algonquin Mohawk	Gr. 9 French (EF) Gr. 11 French (EF) Gr. 12 French (EF)	0.5	0.5
Charlotte	F	French	English	Gr. 10 Business (ENG) Gr. 10 History (FI) Gr. 12 Social Studies (FI)	2	2 + 18 = 20
Nicolas	M	French	German English Ancient Greek Polish Japanese	Gr. 10 French (FI) Gr. 11 French (FI) Gr. 12 French (FI)	7	7 + 16 = 23

Teacher-Administrators. Administrators are gatekeepers to FSL programs like FI; yet, as Mady and Masson (2018) state, "there is little research looking into principals' perceptions of inclusion in FI programs" (p. 74). Although Mady and Masson's (2018) investigation was one means of responding to this lack of research, this study expands upon their work through its triangulation of perspectives. In this inquiry, school administrators, representing the equivalent of vice-principals and principals in publicly funded schools, were invited to participate but chose

not to do so. Therefore, teacher-administrators—individuals who worked as teachers while holding various administrative roles within GEA—form the third case.

At the outset, the inclusion criteria for these participants, whether school or teacher-administrators, involved a wide range of combined teaching and administrative experience: **a)** under ten years, **b)** between ten and fifteen years, and **c)** over fifteen years. Nonetheless, given that only two administrators agreed to participate, I disregarded the inclusion criteria. Still, it is important to note that each teacher-administrator had over 20 years of combined teaching and administrative experience at GEA alone. Additional information, including years of experience in total (GEA + non-GEA), is available in Table 3, which provides an overview of teacher-administrator participant information.

Table 3

Overview of Teacher-Administrator Participant Information

Name	Sex (M/F)	First language(s)	Other known language(s)	Grades and subjects taught (with language/ stream)	Area of administration	Years of experience at GEA (teaching + administrative)	Years of experience in total (GEA + non-GEA)
Sylvie	F	English French	German Korean	Various grade levels: English as a Second Language Gr. 11/12 French (Intro)	Languages	21	21 + 5 = 26
Anna	F	English	French Polish Romanian Japanese	Various grade levels: Social studies (ENG) Gr. 10 Social studies (FI) Gr. 12 Social studies (FI)	Social sciences International affairs	25	25 + 2 = 27

Parents and Guardians of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners. Parents and guardians of CLD learners are integral to inclusion. Nevertheless, prior investigations have yet to explicitly focus on the understandings, beliefs, and practices they associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. For that reason, and to further triangulate stakeholder

perceptions, parents and guardians of CLD learners represent the fourth and final case in this study.

Given that I conducted recruitment via participating CLD learners, the inclusion criterion for parents and guardians was that their child be participating in the inquiry. In total, 12 individuals whose children were in Grades 9–12 participated. Further details concerning these individuals and their children can be found in Table 4, which provides an overview of parent and guardian participant information. Data collection is described in the next section.

Table 4

Overview of Parent and Guardian Participant Information

Name	Sex (M/F)	Child's grade	Child's stream (EF/FI)
Chen	M	Gr. 10	FI
Mei	F	Gr. 12	FI
Lina	F	Gr. 9	FI
Ayomi	F	Gr. 12	FI
Eva	F	Gr. 9	EF
Dominique	F	Gr. 11	FI
Bo	M	Gr. 12	FI
Janava	F	Gr. 11	EF
Camille	F	Gr. 12	FI
Santiago	M	Gr. 12	FI
Ines	F	Gr. 11	FI
Alima	F	Gr. 11	FI

Data Collection

In order to respond to this investigation's primary and secondary research questions, I used different instruments and methods to collect data from the various participant groups. Prior

to describing these instruments and the associated procedure, I contextualize this discussion through a brief explanation of why data collection was largely virtual and what the subsequent shift to online learning looked like for students and teachers at GEA.

Due to the pandemic and the ensuing stay-at-home order, GEA transitioned from in-person to online learning in March 2020. During this time, most students studied from home, but those who couldn't stayed with friends or family. GEA also made accommodations for some students to remain in boarding until the end of the academic year (i.e., June 2020). As quarantine rules varied in different countries, teachers adapted their lessons for students with none to limited access to the Internet during their quarantine period. In planning classes, teachers also gave due consideration to factors such as time differences and access to certain sites (Google, for instance, was banned in select countries). Finally, prior to the start of online classes, teachers were given one day of training on Microsoft Teams, the platform the school had adopted for virtual learning. As for students, GEA's Information Technology department created their accounts and e-mailed them instructions for logging onto Teams. At any point, staff and students alike could reach out to the department with their questions or concerns. Having shared these remarks, in the following sub-sections, I discuss the instruments and procedure for data collection.

Instruments

In the sub-sections below, I describe the five instruments designed for this study: interview guides, photograph prompts, a classroom observation protocol, questionnaire prompts, and journal prompts. As part of these discussions, I make reference to the corresponding appendices.

Interview Guides. For this inquiry, I designed two interview guides: one for initial interviews and another for final interviews. I used these guides, found in Appendices E-J, with

CLD learners, FSL teachers, and teacher-administrators. Each one contained points pertaining to the general procedure for interviews (e.g., audio recording, confidentiality, interview themes, etc.), as well as a section dedicated to additional comments and questions from participants. In the paragraphs below, I discuss the types of questions within each guide.

For initial interviews, themes consisted of demographic information, photograph discussion (addressed in the sub-sections on photograph prompts and photo elicitation), CLD learner identity, class/school description, FI, and the inclusion of CLD learners in FI[28]. I asked participants about their understanding of the term CLD learner, as well as questions particular to their beliefs regarding the inclusion of these learners in FI. I also asked students about examples of inclusion, or a lack thereof, and asked FSL teachers about practices to support CLD learners. Unlike student and teacher participants, the questions I asked of teacher-administrators were equally reflective of their administrative roles in relation to inclusion.

For final interviews, the questions I asked were largely determined by classroom observations and journal entries, as well as the shift from in-person to online teaching and learning. As such, I asked participants about inclusive practices in the online environment, as well as the impact of the transition to virtual learning on CLD learners' sense of inclusion. As part of these questions, I made reference to observations from in-person and virtual classes, as well as journal entries containing reflections on participants' words and actions. Given that movements such as #BlackLivesMatter[29] were brought to the forefront towards the end of data collection, and are indeed connected to this investigation, participants and I also discussed anti-

[28] Interview questions and photograph prompts were adapted as necessary for EF participants.
[29] Founded in 2013, #BlackLivesMatter is a "political and social movement originating among African Americans, emphasizing basic human rights and racial equality for Black people" (Dictionary.com, 2022, Black Lives Matter section, para. 1).

racist education—either through explicit questions or when mentioned by the participants themselves. Key themes included photograph discussion, teaching and learning during the pandemic, school initiatives (e.g., clubs and events), and finally, recommendations and memories/advice.

Photograph Prompts. Presented in Appendices K and L, photograph prompts were meant to support participants in thinking through, and eventually verbalizing, their understanding of inclusion—both generally and particular to CLD learners in FI. The wording of the prompts (e.g., How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?) was intentionally simple, or "couched in familiar language[30]" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 117) (i.e., "belonging" versus "inclusion"), so that participants would understand the questions and could build on their thinking from one prompt to another. Otherwise, as cautioned by Patton (2015), "the answer may make no sense at all—or there may be no answer" (p. 454). Although the prompts allowed for a variety of responses, they also guided or focused participants' thinking, as they had to visualize and capture how it looks and feels to belong—either separately or through a combined lens.

Classroom Observation Protocol. I used the classroom observation protocol, seen in Appendix M, to direct or focus in-person and virtual observations. I adapted Prasad's (2009) observation guide, developed for her study on elementary school teachers' practices with CLD learners. In her guide, Prasad (2009) focused on school and classroom observation, as well as student work samples. In this inquiry, the protocol focused on key aspects related to those themes within the classroom context: space, interactions, and activities. I added questions under

[30] The second prompt contained the term culturally and linguistically diverse learner. Initially, it was a new term for participants, but they were already familiar with it by the time of the final interview.

each theme to guide my observations and maintain the investigation's overarching focus on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. As part of the protocol, I allocated space for documenting my observations through point-form descriptions, further questions, reflective comments, and sketches. I also designated an area for general comments.

Questionnaire Prompts. Presented in Appendix N, questionnaire prompts were based on this study's key concepts of understandings, beliefs, and practices. I asked parents and guardians five open-ended questions specific to the inclusion of CLD learners in EF/FI: their understanding, its importance, their role, the benefits, and support.

The fifth question was added because I came to realize that the fourth prompt had been interpreted differently than I had intended. It read as follows:

> What, if anything, could be beneficial to you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?

After looking over some of the responses, it became evident that the term "beneficial" had been understood as "benefits" for parents and guardians versus "help." Given this difference in interpretation, I inserted a supplementary question specific to my original intent:

> What, if anything, could help you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?

All of the questions were mandatory, but in order to be as inclusive as possible of parents and guardians' linguistic diversity, I gave them the option of responding to the prompts in either English, French, or another language of their choice/comfort.

Journal Prompts. Some prompts in this inquiry were pre-determined, whereas others came about naturally while I engaged in the research process. After identifying the different purposes of the journal, I was able to envision potential prompts, much like this one: What biases

do I bring as a CLD learner, a former FI student and teacher, and now, as a researcher? In addition to imagining prompts, I was more mindful (versus "mind full") of the dilemmas, diversions, and decisions associated with data collection and analysis—writing about topics such as alternative study settings and criteria for final samples of participants. A sample of the prompts I used throughout this investigation, along with a summary of the journal's purposes, can be found in Table 5.

Table 5

Reflective Journal: Purposes and Sample Prompts

Purposes	Sample Prompts
Acknowledgement of/reflections on biases, beliefs, and lived experiences	• What biases do I bring as a CLD learner, a former FI student and teacher, and now, as a researcher? • What beliefs do I bring as a CLD learner, a former FI student and teacher, and now, as a researcher? • What lived experiences do I bring as a CLD learner, a former FI student and teacher, and now, as a researcher? • How might/does the experience of being in the FI environment and discussing the inclusion of CLD learners in FI affect me as a student, teacher, and researcher?
Reflections (following observations and interviews)	• How did I find observing/interviewing? • What did I learn about the participant's understandings, beliefs, and/or practices related to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI? • What do I want to learn, clarify, and/or expand upon during the next observation/interview?
Audit trail	• Strikes close one door but open another: Considering alternative settings • Criteria for final samples • Cross-case analysis: The steps, findings, and complexities

Data Collection Procedure

In the following sub-sections, I discuss the data collection procedure—namely, the methods through which I used the instruments and the details of how I conducted data collection. Table 6 outlines the data collection schedule, including activities of the pre- and post-collection phases.

Table 6

Data Collection Schedule

Phase	Dates	Activities
Approval: Ethics and site	July–November 2019	• Preparation of ethics application and data collection instruments • Receipt of certificate of ethics approval from the university's Research Ethics Board • Approval to conduct the study at GEA from school administrators • Reflective journal entries
Recruitment	November 2019–March 2020	• Recruitment of teacher-administrators, FSL teachers, CLD learners, and parents and guardians of CLD learners • Reflective journal entries
Data collection (in-person)	December 2019–March 2020	• Initial interviews with teacher-administrators, FSL teachers, and CLD learners • Transcribing of initial interviews • Classroom observations of FSL teachers and CLD learners • Reflective journal entries • Data management
Data collection (virtual)	March–July 2020	• Online questionnaire with parents and guardians • Final interviews with teacher-administrators, FSL teachers, and CLD learners • Transcribing of final interviews • Classroom observations of FSL teachers and CLD learners • Reflective journal entries • Data management
Data analysis and reporting	July 2020 onward	• Completion of remaining transcriptions/data management • Reflective journal entries • Within-case analysis and cross-case analysis • Data reporting (Thesis writing)

Semi-Structured Interviews. One of the primary data collection methods I used in this study was semi-structured interviews. According to Yin (2014), the interview is one of the most significant sources of case study evidence, as "most case studies are about human affairs or actions" (p. 113), which can be discussed in detail through an interview. In this inquiry, participants from the first three cases—CLD learners, FSL teachers, and teacher-administrators—took part in two interviews between December 2019 and July 2020. Initial interviews, conducted at the start of this investigation, served as a basis for gathering information, as well as a launching point for further discussions throughout the study. Final interviews, conducted at the end of the inquiry (i.e., following the completion of classroom observations), were largely an opportunity for participants to confirm, nuance, or challenge data gathered through classroom observations and journal entries.

Prior to the onset of the pandemic, I conducted in-person interviews at GEA. Exceptionally, the initial interview with the TC took place at the university where she was studying. Interviews conducted during or following the week of March 16th, 2020, when Ontario declared a state of emergency due to the pandemic, occurred via phone, Skype, or Microsoft Teams. Interviews lasted between 30–110 minutes and were scheduled according to the convenience of the participants. Given the unique circumstances of the pandemic, one interview occurred in September 2020. Although most interviews took place in English, some were conducted in French. All were audio-recorded to facilitate transcription and analysis.

On the whole, the semi-structured nature of initial and final interviews enabled participants to expand upon themes of interest through experiences or issues they considered most salient to their viewpoints. Interviews were also a means of triangulating perspectives across stakeholder groups.

Photo Elicitation. During initial and final interviews, I used photo elicitation (Tinkler, 2013) as a means of stimulating discussion regarding the phenomenon of interest—that is, the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. At least one week prior to their interviews, I e-mailed participants the same written prompt and asked that they take 2–5 original photographs (i.e., not from the Internet) in response—a purposeful decision meant to inspire reflection and creativity. As previously mentioned, the prompts were focused on how it looks and feels to belong—both generally and particular to CLD learners in FI. Given that the second prompt was shared at a time when much of the world was in lockdown (May and June 2020), I encouraged participants to take photographs at home or ones that were more abstract or symbolic in nature. Participants then e-mailed me their photographs at least one day before our scheduled interview, which I used to facilitate our discussion.

As part of these conversations, I shared participants' photographs via my computer screen. I started our discussions by asking participants to describe their photographs, their rationale for selecting them, as well as their feelings when looking back at them. As I listened to the participants, I also shared my own thoughts and sentiments and asked questions to either clarify their outlook or further their reflections. Then, based on this thinking, I asked participants to verbalize their response to the prompt, which became a means of scaffolding for their understandings of inclusion. In final interviews, given that participants were more familiar with the types of questions I would be asking, I extended their thinking by asking them where the response or understanding they had articulated comes from (e.g., their lived experiences, their values, etc.) and which photos they would have shared had I added the words "during the COVID-19 pandemic" to the final prompt.

Essentially, through listening, paraphrasing, and questioning, I supported participants in expressing their understandings of inclusion—both in a general sense and specific to CLD learners in FI. Collectively, we could then reference, develop, and nuance these understandings throughout our interviews.

In-Person and Virtual Classroom Observations. Another method of data collection I used in this investigation was in-person and virtual classroom observations of FSL teachers and CLD learners. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), observations are an excellent addition to interviews, as they allow researchers to view first-hand interactions and activities which may not be discussed in an interview. Indeed, the objective of classroom observations was to view inclusive practices in action.

Observing these practices, however, looked different than I had originally intended. Given that observations began towards the end of February 2020, I conducted very few in person. In fact, any observations after the first week of March occurred virtually. Variance in terms of the number of virtual observations per class was largely due to scheduling and the nature of lesson plans (e.g., virtual observations didn't take place when students worked independently on essays or projects nor throughout periods devoted entirely to tests or examinations). Guided by the classroom observation protocol, I wrote or drew my notes, questions, and reflections. With the transition to online learning, one section I used less frequently was that on classroom space. The others, however, were useful in describing the shift in terms of the types of interactions and activities I was observing. Where permission was granted, I supplemented observations with photographs of student work samples, as well as photocopies or e-mails of lesson plans and assignments. Table 7 outlines the details of classroom observations of teachers and students from final participant samples.

Table 7

Details of Classroom Observations of Teachers and Students From Final Participant Samples

FSL teacher	Class(es) observed (with stream)	CLD learner Observed	Number of observations and type (in-person or virtual)
Catherine [a]	Gr. 9 French (EF)	Elmas	• One in-person observation • Twelve virtual observations
Charlotte	Gr. 12 Social studies (FI)	Kofi	• Three in-person observations • Nine virtual observations
Nicolas	Gr. 10 French (FI)	Lily	• Two in-person observations • Five virtual observations
	Gr. 11 French (FI)	Isabela	• Three in-person observations • Nine virtual observations
	Gr. 12 French (FI)	Kofi	• One in-person observation • Five virtual observations

[a] Since Catherine, the TC, wasn't permitted to teach online (due to restrictions in place by her university), she wasn't observed during virtual classes, as those were taught by her associate teacher.

Researchers can assume various stances while conducting observations. In this study, as per Gold's (1958) typology, my assumed stance was that of "observer as participant"—also known as "limited-participant." Essentially, observation is the first priority, and participation is secondary. Researchers "observe and interact closely enough . . . to establish an insider's identity without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership" (Adler & Adler, 1998, p. 85). In retrospect, this stance worked in my favour, as it enabled me to establish a rapport with participants prior to online learning. Observing and interacting in the virtual classroom thus felt more comfortable than it may have otherwise. By and large, observations

provided me with the context to better understand participants' perceptions, and to a certain extent, to corroborate interview findings through inclusive practices in action.

Online Questionnaire. To further triangulate viewpoints on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, parents and guardians completed a short, online questionnaire between March and June 2020 via Google Forms. Given the complexity of arranging interviews with parents and guardians, the additional stress created by the pandemic, and the fact that these participants all had access to e-mail and the Internet, I deemed the online questionnaire most appropriate, as it was both convenient and accessible. Another benefit of questionnaires is a standard format for all participants (York College, n.d.).

Of the 12 participants, 10 completed the questionnaire in English, one in French, and one in a mix of French and Mandarin. I used DeepL Translator, an online translation tool, to translate responses from Mandarin into English.

Reflective Journal. A reflective journal was the final method of data collection I used throughout this investigation—from conceptualization to thesis writing. Although journals are most commonly used in ethnographic research, they can also be used with other research designs since "journal writing is both a product and a process that helps us 'capture an experience, record an event, explore our feelings', or make sense of what we know" (Boud, 2001, p. 9).

In this study, the purpose of the journal was threefold. First, it served as a means of acknowledging and reflecting upon the biases, beliefs, and lived experiences I bring as a CLD learner, a former FI student and teacher, and a researcher. Essentially, I made note of how I affect and am affected by the research process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Probst & Berenson, 2014). Second, it facilitated data collection and analysis, as it included reflections that were written or typed immediately following each interview and classroom observation (both in-

person and virtual). Third, it acted as an audit trail, as it contained detailed notes and decisions related to data collection and analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Ortlipp (2008) notes that despite reflective journaling being common practice in qualitative research, "there is relatively little literature on the use of reflective journals in the research process, and limited guidance for novice researchers as to . . . how to use their reflections as an integral part of the research process" (pp. 695–696). In this inquiry, Ortlipp's (2008) article—which brings transparency to reflective journaling—was especially useful to me in understanding the potential impacts of this particular method. Overall, as Ortlipp (2008) herself experienced, I found that the influence of the reflective journal "went beyond achieving methodological rigor and paradigmatic consistency" (p. 704). In essence, it brought transparency to my work while also challenging the notion of research as "a seamless, neat and linear process" (Boden et al., 2005, p. 70). Data analysis is described in the following section.

Data Analysis

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), data analysis is "the process of making sense out of the data" (p. 202). In this investigation, the beginning stages of this procedure occurred during data collection, as I read and reread interview transcripts, observation notes, questionnaire responses, and reflective journal entries. While reviewing the data, I captured my initial reflections, as well as aspects to clarify, ask, and look for upon resuming collection. I also compared the first set of data from each method with the second, and so on. This ongoing, iterative process enabled me to familiarize myself with the data, to develop probes for upcoming interviews, and to create a tentative list of categories or themes.

Yin (2003) notes that "the best preparation for conducting case study analysis is to have a general analytic strategy" (p. 115). In this study, that strategy was the constant comparative

method, an inductive coding process involving breaking data into units and then coding those units into categories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These categories change as subsequent units are compared and categorized (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In this inquiry, I used the constant comparative method in tandem with Creswell's (2012) recommended coding process—I explain this procedure, as well as how I generated codes, in the sub-section on transcribing and coding. Given this investigation's multiple-case study approach (Stake, 2006), Creswell and Poth (2018) and Stake (2006) also recommend the analytic techniques of within-case and cross-case analysis. These, along with the other stages of data analysis, are explained in the sub-sections below.

Data Management

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) advise researchers to develop a data management system early on, as it ensures accessibility to the data during analysis and write-up. For that reason, throughout data collection and prior to commencing within-case and cross-case analysis, I organized all of the data into a password protected database in Microsoft Office. Within this database, I identified each case as a sub-folder: CLD Learners, FSL Teachers, Teacher-Administrators, and Parents and Guardians of CLD Learners. In each of these sub-folders, I then created another level of folders labelled according to the pseudonyms assigned to each participant. Each individual's folder included various files—ranging from interview recordings and transcripts to excerpts from the reflective journal. In regards to data that was applicable to an entire case versus a single participant (e.g., a journal excerpt regarding the questionnaire responses of parents and guardians), I organized it as a separate file within the relevant case sub-folder (e.g., Parents and Guardians of CLD Learners). For tables containing demographic information about the participants of each case, such as grade, first language, or years of

experience at GEA, I also organized these as separate files within the appropriate case sub-folder. During data analysis, discussed in detail in the next three sub-sections, information was "edited, redundancies sorted out, [and] parts fitted together" (Patton, 2002, p. 449).

Transcribing and Coding

During and following data collection, I transcribed interview data verbatim in both English and French using Microsoft Word. While transcribing, I took note of key ideas, as well as incomplete thoughts and laughter—factors that could potentially influence my interpretation of the data.

In designing this study, I had intentionally linked the questions in the interview guides and questionnaire to the key concepts of understandings, beliefs, and practices. Consequently, as per the first two steps in Creswell's (2012) suggested coding process, following my initial read-through of the data, I divided the text of each interview transcript into corresponding segments of information—a phase I had started by typing key ideas in the margins while transcribing. I applied the same process of separating data into segments of information with questionnaire responses (see Figure 3 on p. 96) and reflective journal entries—specifically, those that followed interviews and observations and were thus linked to what I had learnt about a participant's perceptions. Regarding observations, as they were a means of viewing inclusion in action, my focus while dividing the data was specific to practices.

Figure 3

Separating Data Into Segments of Information

What does the inclusion of your child in Extended French/French Immersion mean to you?
A great opportunity to learn and master a very important Language.
(Understandings)
Is their inclusion important? Why or why not? Please explain.
It's important. I'd like my child to learn as many languages as possible. It opens lots of doors to great opportunities in the future. Learning languages is important for the brain function as well.
(Beliefs)
What, if any, do you believe is your role as a parent or guardian in fostering an inclusive classroom environment in Extended French/French Immersion?
I always encourage my children to learn French beside the other two languages they already know.
(Practices)
What, if anything, could be beneficial to you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?
I think the benefit is mainly to my child. I want to make sure that my child won't lose future opportunities that require knowledge of the French language.
(Beliefs)

As per the third step of Creswell's (2012) process, I then categorized the segments of information into codes—that is, "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 3). While first reviewing the data, my initial reflections, captured next to those bits that struck me as "interesting, potentially relevant or important," were a form of "open coding"—wherein the researcher is open to "identifying any segment of data that *might* be useful" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 204) (see Figure 4 on p. 97).

Figure 4

Open Coding

What does the inclusion of your child in Extended French/French Immersion mean to you?
A great opportunity to learn and master a very important Language.
(opportunity)
Is their inclusion important? Why or why not? Please explain.
It's important. I'd like my child to learn as many languages as possible. It opens lots of doors to great opportunities in the future. Learning languages is important for the brain function as well.
(opportunities, brain function)
What, if any, do you believe is your role as a parent or guardian in fostering an inclusive classroom environment in Extended French/French Immersion?
I always encourage my children to learn French beside the other two languages they already know.
(encourage)
What, if anything, could be beneficial to you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?
I think the benefit is mainly to my child. I want to make sure that my child won't lose future opportunities that require knowledge of the French language.
(benefit, future opportunities)

Following this process, I attempted to group open codes together through "analytical coding"—defined as "coding that comes from interpretation and reflection on meaning" (Richards, 2015, p. 135). As part of this procedure, and as per Creswell's (2012) fourth step, I further reflected on the codes, removing those that appeared repetitive or redundant. Taking the example of beliefs from Figures 3 and 4, I removed the term "future opportunities" and grouped "opportunities" and "benefit" under "Benefits." Aligned with Creswell's (2012) final step of collapsing codes into themes, the groupings became said themes.

As I moved from the first piece of data to the second, I followed the same steps and also compared the lists of groupings using Microsoft Excel. As per the constant comparative method, I eventually merged the various lists I had developed into a tentative set of themes, which I

further revised and refined throughout the inquiry. According to Yin (2003), I was thus well positioned to "treat evidence fairly, produce compelling analytic conclusions and rule out alternative interpretations" (p. 111). In terms of within-case analysis, described in the following sub-section, the investigation's key concepts of understandings, beliefs, and practices became the themes, whereas those themes developed through Creswell's (2012) coding process and the constant comparative method became the sub-themes—which, in the case of parents and guardians of CLD learners, included the following: Inclusion in French Immersion: Opportunities; Inclusion in French Immersion: Language; Benefits; Language and Language Learning; Encouragement; and Support.

Within-Case Analysis

Within-case analysis refers to an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under examination—through description and the thematic development of each case as a separate study (Creswell, 2012; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Stake, 2006). I began this process with the case of parents and guardians of CLD learners and ended with that of the students themselves—so as to move from simple to complex in terms of the number of methods associated with each case.

Initially, in more complex cases, I coded the data by method (i.e., initial interviews with each teacher-administrator, followed by final interviews). Yet, as I soon realized, to understand one's perspective or story, and provide the reader with rich descriptions of individual participants and cases, it was preferrable to code the data by participant (i.e., initial and final interviews with one teacher-administrator, followed by interviews with the other). This decision would enable me to more easily make connections across methods that were particular to each participant (e.g., recognizing how a statement in a FSL teacher's initial interview was reflected in their observed practice). I also believed that this choice would be useful to cross-case analysis, explained in the

next sub-section, as it could lead to a richer understanding of the similarities and differences in perceptions across cases.

Within each case, I constantly compared (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) newly and previously coded data to refine the descriptions of each participant and case. In general, conducting within-case analysis was an iterative and reflexive process.

Cross-Case Analysis

In order to conduct cross-case analysis, a technique used to achieve a general representation of themes spanning across all cases (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2003), I thoroughly examined the entire data set to understand and present the similarities and differences in viewpoints. In line with Creswell's (2012) coding process and Lincoln and Guba's (1985) constant comparison method, cross-case analysis was an inductive, iterative, and complex process. It involved merging, collapsing, expanding, and creating new categories or themes, as I deepened my understanding of relationships between stakeholder perspectives across cases. Table 8 contains a summary of data collection and analysis. Validation strategies are addressed in the following section.

Table 8

Summary of Data Collection and Analysis

Research questions	Participants and instruments	Analytic techniques
How are CLD learners included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario?		
• How do participants understand the inclusion of CLD learners in FI?	**CLD learners and FSL teachers:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, classroom observation protocol, and journal prompts **Teacher-administrators:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, and journal prompts **Parents and guardians of CLD learners:** Questionnaire prompts and journal prompts	Within-case analysis Cross-case analysis
• What beliefs guide participants' understandings of the inclusion of CLD learners and the practices participants associate with this form of inclusion?	**CLD learners and FSL teachers:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, classroom observation protocol, and journal prompts **Teacher-administrators:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, and journal prompts **Parents and guardians of CLD learners:** Questionnaire prompts and journal prompts	Within-case analysis Cross-case analysis
• What practices do participants associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI?	**CLD learners and FSL teachers:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, classroom observation protocol, and journal prompts **Teacher-administrators:** Interview guides, photograph prompts, and journal prompts **Parents and guardians of CLD learners:** Questionnaire prompts and journal prompts	Within-case analysis Cross-case analysis

Validation Strategies

Regardless of a researcher's approach to qualitative design, Creswell (2013) recommends the use of multiple validation strategies "to document the 'accuracy' of their studies" (p. 250). I describe five of these strategies in the sub-sections below.

Clarification of Researcher Bias

According to Merriam (1988), clarification of researcher bias is critical, as it enables readers to understand a researcher's position towards the inquiry. In addition to a reflective account of my motivation to conduct this investigation (see Researcher Motivation on p. 11), I maintained a journal in which I explain how I both affect and am affected by the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Probst & Berenson, 2014). I also explicitly position myself at the end of this chapter (see Positioning of the Researcher on p. 104) and provide further details in Chapter Five's counternarrative (Anya, 2021) (see p. 107).

Audit Trail

As previously noted, the reflective journal which I maintained throughout this inquiry also served as an audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985): "a detailed account of the methods, procedures and decision points in carrying out the study" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 259). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) state that this audit is an essential strategy for ensuring dependability because researchers share a trail of how they proceeded to collect and analyze their data. Examples of the audit trail from different points in this investigation are as follows: a list of points with options for the study's setting, a description of the criteria for final participant samples, and a discussion on the steps and complexities of cross-case analysis.

Member Checks

Member checks are a valuable means of ensuring credibility (Creswell, 2013; Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). According to Maxwell (2013), this strategy is "the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do" (p. 126). In this inquiry, I asked participants to review their interview transcripts for accuracy and comfort in relation to the experiences they had shared. Two students and three FSL teachers provided minor corrections to their transcripts—largely, in terms of spelling or non-English words that I had misheard while transcribing. One of the teacher-administrators provided additional context to the comments made during interviews.

Thick Descriptions

> Guba and Lincoln (1981) state that as qualitative researchers, our goal is to do as follows: what anthropologists, social scientists, connoisseurs, critics, oral historians, novelists, essayists and poets throughout the years have done . . . *emphasize, describe . . . compare, portray, evoke images and create, for the reader . . . the sense of having been there*. (p. 149)

With that goal in mind, I attempted to provide thick or rich descriptions (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) of the setting, participants, and findings. Readers would thus have sufficient knowledge to come to their own conclusions about the transferability or applicability of the findings to other contexts (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Triangulation

As part of this investigation, I used multiple and varied data collection methods as a means of "corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective" (Creswell, 2013, p. 251). This triangulation enabled me to present a comprehensive representation of participating stakeholder perspectives. As noted by Patton (2002), triangulation can reveal patterns and trends which may not have been as easily identified had only one source or method of data collection been used—thereby validating the findings. As seen in Table 8, five different sources of data inform each secondary question, and ultimately, the primary research question. Ethical considerations are explained in the following section.

Ethical Considerations

Prior to data collection, I obtained approval for the procedures I followed from the university's Research Ethics Board and GEA's school administrators. In the subsequent recruitment process, I ensured that all potential participants received information letters and consent forms. During class presentations, I also clarified that participation in the study wouldn't have any impact on students' grades. Furthermore, all potential participants were encouraged to contact me if they, or their parents and guardians, had any questions before giving consent. Interested individuals then provided informed consent through handwritten signature, whereas students provided both oral assent and written consent from their parents and guardians.

Given that the recruitment of FSL teachers and teacher-administrators was conducted by a teacher-administrator, making her aware of the identities of those participants, I couldn't guarantee complete participant confidentiality. Therefore, I took all possible measures to protect the identities of these and all participants. For example, to allow for greater privacy, in-person interviews with FSL teachers and teacher-administrators took place in school offices or

classrooms whenever possible. In other instances, including in-person interviews with students, I arranged these at times when fewer people would be walking down the school hallways (e.g., during a student or teacher's spare period or before or after school). During online observations and interviews, I used a quiet space where I wouldn't be interrupted. I also assigned a pseudonym to both the school and each participant. Nonetheless, given the importance of participant context, both to the case study approach and to this inquiry's focus on cultural and linguistic diversity, it was necessary for me to include certain identifiers as part of this thesis. Hence, I used member checking as an assurance of accuracy and comfort regarding the experiences participants had shared.

During the shift to online teaching and learning, I obtained permission to continue data collection virtually, and teachers informed students of my presence in online classes. Moreover, during interviews—whether by phone or online—I sought permission and informed participants prior to recording.

Overall, I have pursued this research openly and honestly—keeping transparency top of mind. My positioning as the researcher of this investigation is discussed in the final section.

Positioning of the Researcher

According to Creswell (2013), for researchers whose worldview aligns with a social constructivist framework, it is important that "they 'position themselves' in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical experiences" (p. 25). My lived experiences as a former FI student and teacher, as well as a CLD learner and researcher—presented in Chapters One and Five (see Researcher Motivation on p. 11 and French Immersion as a Space of (In)visibility: A Counternarrative on p. 107), shaped my assumptions in the context of this research. As a racialized scholar, I recognize that I see and

understand the world through a particular lens. I further acknowledge that in any qualitative study, the researcher is "*the primary instrument for data collection and analysis*" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 16). In this case, I am confident that the perspective I bring made participants feel comfortable sharing their perceptions on inclusion/exclusion, as they could identify with my own teaching and learning experiences. At the same time, I was purposeful in the way in which I posed questions, so as to leave as much room as possible for what I didn't know or may not have anticipated. In retrospect, I believe that the lens I bring to this study has supported and enriched the research process. The following chapter focuses on understanding the individual perspectives within each case.

Chapter Five:

Understanding Perspectives: Within-Case Analysis and Discussion

In this fifth chapter, through a counternarrative reflecting on FI as a space of (in)visibility, I set the scene for understanding how CLD learners are included in FI and for sharing my voice throughout the chapter as I discuss the findings in relation to pertinent literature. I then present the perspectives of the participants within each case: CLD learners, FSL teachers, teacher-administrators, and parents and guardians of CLD learners. In doing so, I draw primarily from data gathered through semi-structured interviews, participant photographs[31], and the online questionnaire. Where relevant, I also take from classroom observations and reflective journal entries. The first three cases are organized by participant and include their profiles and thematic narratives. The profile serves as an introduction to the participant's cultural and linguistic repertoire while also contextualizing the findings presented in each thematic narrative. The themes for each narrative correspond to the study's research questions and key concepts: understandings, beliefs, and practices. I have thus organized each narrative accordingly, along with the relevant sub-themes. Given that parents and guardians were secondary participants in this inquiry (that is, individuals whose involvement was limited to a single method of data collection—in this case, the online questionnaire), I have presented their findings collectively. The fourth case thus includes a participant summary, followed by a collective thematic narrative. At the end of each case, I synthesize the findings—identifying the commonalities and differences between participants' understandings, beliefs, and practices as related to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

[31] For reasons linked to anonymity and copyright, photographs with obvious identifiers, visible faces, or which may have been taken from the Internet as opposed to being original, do not appear within this chapter.

French Immersion as a Space of (In)visibility: A Counternarrative

All researchers "have a story to tell about themselves as well as their work" (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, p. 470). Generated from their unique positionalities, these stories can humanize research, as they help readers understand how that story came to be. In this section, I present my own story—a counternarrative that speaks to my experiential knowledge of racism (Delgado, 1990).

As the daughter of immigrants, I learnt the value of education early on. My parents, Sadrudin and Yasmeen, South Asian Ismaili Muslims born in Uganda and Pakistan, immigrated to Canada in the 1970s with hopes of a better life. Prior to (re-)settling in Canada, they had each faced many hardships—most notably, the 1972 expulsion of Uganda's Asian minority and the 1971 Bangladesh genocide. Upon their arrival in Canada, the urgency to find housing and employment meant foregoing the opportunity to pursue their education. Still, given its importance in the Ismaili faith, they were well aware of the capital it held for a better future.

Ya Ali Madad[32], my name is Shelina (pronounced "Sheh-lee-nah") and I identify as a Brown, Canadian, Ismaili Muslim female. Born in Ottawa, Canada's capital city, French was destined to play an important role in my life. My first language, however, was Gujarati. Growing up in a multi-generational home, Gujarati was the language in which I initially communicated with my older sister, parents, and grandparents. English and French were in my surroundings, but it was only at the age of four that I formally began language learning.

CF, the only stream offered at my English-language elementary school, was the first FSL program in which I was enrolled. Despite its low ranking in the FSL hierarchy (Yoon & Gulson, 2010), it was in this environment—incorporating elements of nature and play—that I developed

[32] *Ya Ali Madad* is a traditional Ismaili greeting which means "May Imam Ali help you."

my passion for French. To this very day, I have fond memories of sitting on our classroom carpet, recounting my many (mis)adventure-filled weekends with Pirouly, the coveted Kindergarten class *poupée*.

As is often the case with immigrant families, we weren't privy to knowledge of the Immersion stream until many years later, when the school's CF teacher first recommended Late FI as an option for my sister. In Grade 5, she proceeded to do the same for me, and with the encouragement of my parents, I followed my sister's lead, enrolling in Late FI. Being at the lower end of society's middle class, my sister and I didn't fit the mold of FI's typical student. As such, it wasn't offered at the schools in our area—leaving us no alternative but to take three public buses, to and from school, in Grades 6–8.

From its teachers, students, curricula, and policy—*Ici, on parle français*—FI was visibly constructed as a White space. At no time, however, was white supremacy more "on display" than December, when 'tis the season for *des récits de Noël*. Although I had never celebrated Christmas, I was expected to conform to the cultural norms of a White classroom, in which I—a Brown, Muslim student—was clearly positioned as inferior.

Rarely were there opportunities to share my cultural and linguistic diversity, but when these did arise, there was a familiar tone of performativity: *« Bonjour et bienvenue au Cuisinez avec Shelina ! Aujourd'hui, je vous présente ma recette de samosas. D'abord, rassemblez vos ingrédients. »* Rest assured that I wasn't Canada's next MasterChef, nor was I an avid viewer of cooking shows. Yet, when asked to present an everyday recipe for a unit on *l'impératif*, I had instinctively performed for my teacher and classmates—trivializing South Asian culture to fit their misperceptions (Banks, 1998).

As seen in these examples, my identity as a CLD learner was often erased or reduced "to superficial banality like 'celebrating diversity' through ethnic foods and festivals" (Anya, 2021, p. 1057). In retrospect, I was very much torn because growing up, my parents had always emphasized that if I worked hard enough, I would succeed. To me, however, being a successful student wasn't limited to a mark in the traditional numerical sense; rather, it was also a mark of leadership—a leader being an individual with the confidence to speak their authentic truths. What I hadn't been told is that "power and privilege are accorded only to select groups" (Wane, 2003, p. 1) and on the basis of various social markers—hence, the myth of meritocracy. Despite my inability to challenge the status quo, I excelled and remained in FI throughout secondary school.

I genuinely believed that cultural and linguistic diversity was an asset—fuelling my desire to transform FI through a career in education—but thinking back to my teacher training, the concept of inclusion wasn't critically oriented. Rather, the dominant discourse was largely indicative of Banks' (1998) "Heroes and Holidays Approach," wherein "ethnic content is limited primarily to special days, weeks and months related to ethnic events and celebrations" (p. 37). Hence, as Banks (1998) suggests, "issues such as racism, poverty, and oppression tend[ed] to be evaded" (p. 37). As a result, I found myself questioning how cultural and linguistic diversity could meaningfully be incorporated in FI.

Upon becoming a FI teacher myself, I had far more questions than I did answers, so I decided to start small. When preparing prompts for quizzes and tests, I recall incorporating my students' names, some of whom were CLD learners, in humorous yet relevant ways. Although this practice wasn't one I would characterize as true inclusion, it was nonetheless striking, as it was a shift from the margins (of the page) to the center. In fact, for many CLD learners, it was

their first time seeing their names in what is typically a White space. The sheer joy on my students' faces made my heart smile. I knew that I had taken one small but meaningful step forward.

It wasn't until I became a doctoral candidate, and engaged with critical pedagogies, that I came to understand true inclusion. I also realized the extent to which my own experiences in FI had been marked by (c)overt racism. That being said, as a researcher, the biases, beliefs, and lived experiences I bring reflect my desire to disrupt the hegemonic narrative of FI.

I was reminded of the lasting impact of this narrative on one of my very first days at GEA. As I sat across reception, waiting for one of my participants, a group of mainly White students—whom I gathered were on their way to a sports tournament—assembled in the same area. I instinctively stood up, concerned that I was taking away from their (White) space, and as our gazes met, I was asked: "When's our bus set to arrive?" Initially confused, I soon realized that despite wearing a tag that was clearly marked "Visitor," I had falsely been re-labelled as "The Brown receptionist." From that point on, there was no mistaking that "race [still] matters" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 8).

Conducting data collection was thus a deeply personal exercise. As I listened to my participants' stories and engaged with their perceptions, I found myself reflecting on FI as a space of (in)visibility for CLD learners. Within this space, our identities can be erased, trivialized, exoticized, evaded, and positioned in ways that are "fluid and shifting" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 9), but rarely are they seen in their full humanity.

As the daughter of immigrants, I learnt the value of education early on, but through my parents' example, I also realized that "the right to hope is the most powerful human motivation I know" (Aga Khan Development Network, 1996, Commencement ceremony at the Brown

University section, para. 30). It is thus with hope of true visibility for all that I have engaged in this study. Having shared my counternarrative, the following section presents the viewpoints of CLD learners.

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

The first case included four secondary students who identified as CLD learners: Elmas, Lily, Isabela, and Kofi. Their findings are presented within this section, along with Table 9, which provides a summary of themes across CLD learners.

Table 9

Summary of Themes Across Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

CLD learners	Elmas: The power of connection	Lily: The path of perseverance	Isabela: The tensions of community	Kofi: "changing the [FI] narrative"
Understandings	Inclusion as connecting Inclusion in FI: A rainbow	Inclusion as fitting in Inclusion in FI: A path	Inclusion as comfort Inclusion in FI: Community	Inclusion as unconditional acceptance Inclusion in FI: Being oneself
Beliefs	Language as understanding Cultural history as awareness	Motivation as integral to language learning Cultural understanding as connections	Cultural and linguistic diversity as an asset Cultural knowledge as open-mindedness	Language of/as heart Opportunities for cultural sharing as motivation
Practices	Connections	Support	Discussions	Opportunities

Elmas: The Power of Connection

Participant Profile. Elmas was a White-passing female of Armenian descent born in southeastern Ontario. Her first language was Armenian, which she initially heard at home and subsequently studied at Armenian school. Elmas was equally fluent in English, which she had first started learning in preschool[33], and also understood some basic Arabic, Turkish, and Spanish.

French was yet another language in Elmas' linguistic repertoire. She began learning it in Grade 1, and by Grade 4, she had been placed in an Enriched French class. To further enhance her skillset, Elmas participated in various optional activities, such as her school's annual French public speaking contest.

During the 2019-2020 academic year, Elmas' first year at GEA, she was a Grade 9 student enrolled in EF. Prior to GEA, she had attended two English-language schools. When I inquired as to why Elmas had selected EF over FI, she explained that when she had first read the description for the Immersion stream, she had gotten the impression that it was for students who speak French every day. Despite her concern that FI "would be too fast-paced," both Elmas and her EF teacher realized that she "would need more [of a] challenge." Hence, she was planning to switch to FI as of Grade 10. In addition to languages, Elmas was interested in history, music, dance, travel, and human rights activism.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

[33] In Ontario, preschool is not mandatory but those who attend are generally two or three years old.

Inclusion as Connecting. For Elmas, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like connecting. When speaking of her friends at GEA, with whom she shared various interests, connecting was a feeling of comfort: "a feeling of this school actually might be my home." Given that Elmas was a new student, this statement was especially meaningful, as privileged schools are typically perceived as White spaces. When reflecting on the Armenian community (see Figure 5), with whom Elmas shared a history and culture, connecting was a sense of pride and happiness: "I feel very proud and I feel very happy that I've grown up in this community, surrounded by people I know."

Figure 5

Inclusion as Connecting

Note. A flag raising ceremony depicting the Armenian flag (to the left) and the Canadian flag (to the right) in front of the future Armenian Community Centre in southeastern Ontario.

Inclusion in French Immersion: A Rainbow. Shifting to the classroom community, being a CLD learner meant having "a mix of different colours in your rainbow"—an array of aspects,

or social markers, forming one's identity. As seen in Figure 6, inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like a rainbow.

Figure 6

Inclusion in French Immersion: A Rainbow

Just as a rainbow reflects various colours, when one is included in FI, Elmas believed that they felt comfortable showing their colours—that is, expressing their identity and authentic voice as a CLD learner, as opposed to reinforcing a White narrative. She further believed that just as the colours of a rainbow appear both distinct and interconnected, so too are the various aspects of a CLD learner's identity, "blend[ing] together" when one is truly included. In other words, Elmas understood that "no person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p 10).

Beliefs. Elmas' beliefs regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were largely shaped by her childhood:

> I was always in this environment with a lot of languages around me . . . and also a lot of music. We're a very musically-driven family—we have a lot of different styles and languages, so I really paid attention to that.

It was this environment that led to Elmas' firm conviction in the power of languages and cultures—heard in the beliefs discussed below.

Language as Understanding. In Elmas' opinion, language led to different types of understanding. First, Elmas believed that "knowing more languages helps you understand other languages better." For instance, the interconnected nature of French and Spanish meant that she could apply her learning from each class to strengthen her knowledge and skillset in both languages. Second, Elmas thought that language could contribute to a deeper understanding of one's self, as "knowing more different cultures, exposing yourself to more, can change you as a person." Third, Elmas believed that language enabled a greater understanding of humanity due to the possibility to "connect with more people," both intellectually and emotionally. Elmas thus held a positive outlook of languages and linguistic diversity. She also recognized that the impact of language could extend far beyond one's individual achievements and understandings.

Cultural History as Awareness. For Elmas, learning and sharing the history of one's culture or people was a means of increasing awareness. Through research and presentations, she could better inform herself, and her class as a whole, of the Armenian genocide and her family's related history: "I know problems around the world aren't necessarily [equally] recognized . . . so I think the more people who know about it, the more recognition." Here, Elmas was alluding both to the political nature of knowledge, as well as her moral obligation as a CLD learner—to share a history that may otherwise be silenced beyond the classroom. Through such presentations, Elmas believed that she could similarly inspire her peers "to learn of their history

from the perspective of their own people" (Smith, 2016, p. 55), thereby increasing her class's collective cultural awareness.

Practices.

Connections. In terms of practices, Elmas associated the idea of connections with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. When we first spoke, her class was beginning their novel study of *Les pionniers du nouveau monde*, a text in which Jean-François Charles recounts the adventures of Benjamin Graindal during the 18th century's Anglo-French Wars—specifically, as part of the phase known as the "French and Indian War," which "determined control of the vast colonial territory of North America" (Britannica.com, n.d., French and Indian War section, para. 1).

As part of these lessons, Elmas recalled how Catherine, the FSL TC introduced in the second case, was "basically wanting to correct the mistakes of history," a comment Elmas made based on the connections Catherine would facilitate. A similar thought had crossed my mind as I observed one of Catherine's lessons: "Whether presenting new vocabulary, like the term *sauvage*, or discussing assimilation, through *l'influence de l'Église sur les Autochtones*, Catherine taught with the necessary criticality." (Observation reflection, 2020, March 4).

As opposed to my own classes in FI, wherein the history of settler colonialism was portrayed in a positive light, Catherine was challenging the colonizer's narrative through counter-perspectives—modelling a critical stance for the class as a whole towards Canada's ongoing role in the genocide of Indigenous peoples. Smith (2016) emphasizes the necessity of these alter(n)ative (Prasad, 2009) viewpoints: "schools should be a place that offers restitution in that they seek to repair damage which has been done through residential schools and colonization" (p. 53).

Elmas further recalled how earlier in the term, Catherine had led a discussion circle, a traditional Indigenous practice to initiate dialogue and connection: "she gave us a little [turkey] feather, and she said if we pass it around, we can each say something related to the subject she gave us [March break activities], so I really see that culture coming out." Elmas then added: "I think that's really important [the discussion circle] if you wanna get everybody engaged, especially French class, 'cause it might not be everybody's favourite class to learn a language."

Through examples such as these, where Elmas saw Catherine bringing education into culture (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), she felt inspired to do the same—even in small ways. For instance, as part of a sub-unit entitled *« Chansons et poésie, »* Catherine had "set up a project of *les chansons*" and asked students to select a song from her list. Much to Elmas' surprise, the singer of the song she had selected was Armenian: "when I was researching, whenever I found out, I got a bit more excited that I would be presenting this." As part of her presentation, Elmas revealed this coincidence to her class, who then collectively expressed their enthusiasm and further inquired into Armenian culture—a reflection, in and of itself, of the power of connection.

Overall, Elmas noted that despite the shift to online learning, she felt comfortable showing her colours, or expressing her identity, as a CLD learner.

Lily: The Path of Perseverance

Participant Profile. Lily was an Asian female of Chinese descent born in southwestern Québec. Her first language was Mandarin, but she was also "comfortable in English [and] French." Although Lily wanted to learn other languages, she first wanted to "perfect the ones that I know." That being said, Lily no longer attended Chinese school but still did her best to speak in Mandarin with her family.

Prior to Grade 4, when Lily enrolled at GEA, she had attended a French-language school. Nonetheless, as Lily moved, grew older, and began speaking in English more frequently, she realized that she had lost much of her French vocabulary: "it's like a blank . . . I think I know what I'm trying to say but then . . . I don't remember what it is." Although French wasn't Lily's favourite class, in Grade 8, she transferred from EF to FI and was currently working on "picking [her] French back up."

During the 2019-2020 academic year, Lily was in Grade 10, enrolled in history and French within the Immersion stream. Previously, she had taken geography, mathematics, and civics and careers as part of the same stream. Lily's true passion was music, but she was also interested in mathematics, sciences, visual arts, sports, travel, and the environment.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Fitting In. For Lily, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like fitting in. At times, this process came naturally, like when Lily and her bandmates came together to play: "it sounds really nice . . . and being able to do that within a group where I fit in . . . it's a positive atmosphere for me." At other times, however, fitting in required more effort. When recounting a school ski trip, Lily shared that "at first, we didn't all click together," as they were from different grades, and therefore, had distinct friend groups and interests. Nevertheless, as Lily and the other students got to know one another, they "came together to help each other," resulting in a positive experience. Lily thus believed that inclusion didn't always come naturally, but she was convinced that "if you make connections, [and] you form relationships between others," you would eventually fit in.

Inclusion in French Immersion: A Path. According to Lily, being a CLD learner referred to putting in the effort to expand one's cultural and linguistic repertoire. Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like being on a path. Initially, the path was "a bumpy road," represented by the gravel in Figure 7.

Figure 7

Inclusion in French Immersion: A Path

Alluding to the complexities of being a child of immigrant parents, Lily shared: "my parents are from China . . . they only learned English, so French . . . is something that I had to learn myself, so it wasn't easy at first." However, with support from her teachers and peers, hard work, and the passage of time, French became easier, "reflected by the beauty of nature and the changing of seasons in Lily's painting" (see Figure 7) (Reflective journal entry, 2020, May 25). Lily felt nostalgic when discussing her painting and reflecting on how far along the path she had come: "it's kind of like remembering the past . . . just happy, sad, all those kinds of emotions . . . I'm . . . somewhere around the middle." Lily believed that the path had "no definite ending" and that it looked and felt different for each individual, but as long as you were on the path, you were included.

Beliefs. Lily's beliefs concerning the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were influenced by a variety of factors, such as being immersed in a French-language environment, a strong desire to refine her French skills, and school trips—providing Lily with opportunities to interact with new languages, cultures, and people. These factors are expanded upon through the beliefs discussed in this sub-section.

Motivation as Integral to Language Learning. Lily considered motivation integral to language learning. As such, the pandemic had reinforced the importance of face-to-face classes—particularly, for subjects like French:

> for French class, I think we have to have a teacher specifically telling us to [study/practise] . . . because I know that sometimes, if we don't have anyone enforcing [it] . . . we might not have motivation to learn ourselves.

Cultural Understanding as Connections. Lily believed that cultural understanding led to connections, a central component of inclusion. As she explained, "people feel more included because the way that people make friends and relationships is through connections . . . culture can be one of them that would help foster more relationships." In addition to cultivating personal relationships, cultural understanding could foster academic or professional connections, resulting in an inclusive school or work environment:

> in learning to be able to work together, in different contexts, in different environments, it never hurts to have extra [cultural] knowledge . . . and being able to apply [it] . . . that would help everyone be more calm and peaceful and being [*sic*] included in an environment.

Culture was thus an asset that could lead to connections between individuals while strengthening the collective classroom environment.

Practices.

Support. As a CLD learner, Lily felt included in her FI classes: "honestly, just speaking the language [French] in the class and having people understand what I'm talking about, that honestly makes me already feel like I'm okay." In other words, even though her French "isn't the best," the fact that Lily was able to express her ideas and be understood by the classroom collective meant that she didn't feel positioned as an illegitimate speaker (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). With the shift to online learning, the practice Lily most appreciated was the support offered by her FI teachers, ensuring that students like Lily continued to feel comfortable expressing themselves—and therefore, felt included.

One example of this support was pre-class conversations: "when there's like three or four people . . . with the teacher, we just have a mini conversation before class." For CLD learners like Lily, these discussions were "really helpful" in establishing an environment to speak freely—that is, without fear of intimidation. They could thus be seen as "open[ing] intentional spaces for the framing of minority language speakers as academic learners and knowers" (Palmer et al., 2014, pp. 227–228).

Another type of support came in the form of extra help: "during this time with COVID-19, one thing that stood out as well . . . [was] each teacher's availability for extra help." Although it was regularly offered in pre-pandemic times, Lily felt that it was currently more accessible, as "it's not just constrained to 'extra help time.'" She also appreciated the fact that teachers like Nicolas, introduced in the second case, didn't single out specific students (i.e., CLD learners): "specifically targeting people who don't know as much . . . I can say that it's not helpful; it actually does the opposite." Indeed, I too believe that singling out CLD learners is a

practice that could negatively impact their and their peers' perspectives of their French language proficiency.

Given Nicolas' approach, Lily took advantage of his support and greatly benefitted from it. Although face-to-face contact was ideal, she preferred video calls to e-mail because "you're able to talk, ask more questions, more details." With e-mail, Lily felt that she had to conform to a White space—preparing a formally-worded, French message, in order to ask even a single question.

Video calls were also particularly meaningful because "Lily was able to see her teachers in a different light, both literally and metaphorically" (Reflective journal entry, 2020, May 25), a point she emphasized during our final interview:

> we can see their personal life; you can see, like, if there's something that we can relate to . . . a painting or something in the background . . . sometimes in summer classes, some of the children have come in as well.

Lily explained that seeing this personal aspect of a teacher's life could lead all students to the following realization: "teachers aren't just there stoically teaching you; they're people as well." For Lily, this insight resulted in greater trust and comfort when expressing herself in French.

In summary, although Lily's preference was for face-to-face classes, these various forms of support kept her afoot on the path of perseverance: "just keep on taking one step at a time; you'll get there."

Isabela: The Tensions of Community

Participant Profile. Isabela was a White-passing female of Portuguese descent born in Brazil. At the age of five, she and her family had moved to Canada, initially settling in Québec. Recently, however, they had relocated to southeastern Ontario. Isabela's first language was

Portuguese, but she was also fluent in French and English. Later in life, she was interested in learning Italian, German, and Mandarin.

Isabela first learnt French through French-language schools in Québec. Upon moving to Ontario, at the start of the 2019-2020 academic year, she enrolled at GEA. As a Grade 11 IB student, Isabela selected FI in order to have a truly immersive experience:

> *j'ai pris immersion parce que c'est comme le nom le dit, une immersion totale . . . ce que je voulais vraiment c'était pas seulement apprendre la langue française, mais tout ce qui vient avec . . . quand j'ai étudié en français, tout était fait en français . . . mais plusieurs fois, c'étaient des choses traduites de l'anglais, tandis qu'en immersion, c'est réellement le français.*

For Isabela, the pandemic had gifted her with time to pursue some of her hobbies: reading, painting, and watching movies with friends. Still, as a CLD learner starting at a new school, it had also highlighted one of Isabela's biggest regrets—the missed opportunity to get to know her peers.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

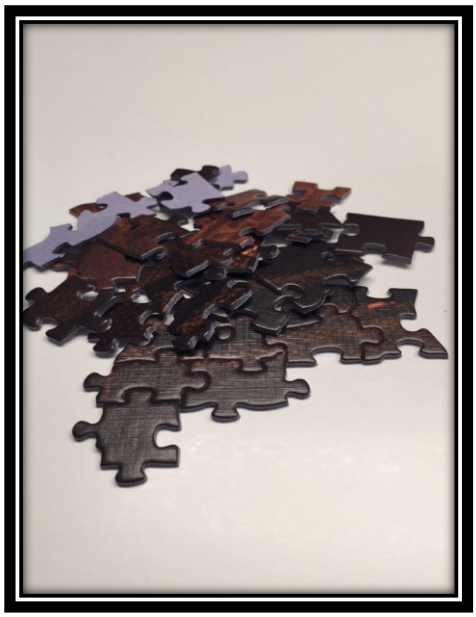
Inclusion as Comfort. For Isabela, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like comfort. Referring to her former school, she noted: *« t'as des gens qui viennent vraiment de partout . . . je me sens à l'aise puis j'ai comme une certaine fierté d'avoir été là-bas et de continuer à voir mes amis et mes connaissances de cette école. »* For Isabela, the sense of comfort she felt was mainly due to her circle of support: *« des gens avec qui tes pensées s'accordent ou peut-être se désaccordent, mais ça se complètent. »* Isabela's younger sister and one of her close friends were an important part of that circle and although they made any place feel comfortable, through their

care, they made her former school an inclusive space. In essence, Isabela believed that comfort could look different but was largely related to feelings of protection and completeness—sentiments that don't come easily given the everyday "experience[s] of oppression faced by people of colour" (Combs, 2018, p. 39).

Inclusion in French Immersion: Community. Isabela defined CLD learners as students who came from outside of Canada and who felt comfortable speaking a variety of languages (i.e., languages beyond English and French). Alluding to the lived realities of these students, she further noted: *« le français ou l'anglais, ce n'est pas nécessairement la langue qu'ils parlent à la maison . . . c'est une étape qu'ils ont dû franchir pour atteindre cette langue. »* Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like community—which, for Isabela, meant sharing one's perceptions and knowledge, as well as learning through the support of others, depicted by the individual and collective of puzzle pieces in Figure 8: *« si on s'appuie sur les autres et si on tente d'apporter nos idées à la classe, on peut vraiment créer ce sentiment de communauté. »*

Figure 8

Inclusion in French Immersion: Community



That being said, as Isabela reflected on her own experiences in FI, she acknowledged that inclusion didn't come easily. Signified by the grey puzzle pieces in Figure 8, tensions between and among cultural groups (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) meant that understanding how distinct ways of thinking and being could come together wasn't entirely evident. Over time, however, Isabela had come to see her own voice as *« un atout »* to the classroom collective.

Beliefs. Isabela's beliefs about the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were influenced by her experiences at GEA, as well as those at her former secondary school. As a CLD learner, she recognized her ability to contribute new ideas, which could then lead to new understandings within her classroom community. This ability meant that her beliefs, discussed in this sub-section, were largely based on a positive outlook of inclusion.

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity as an Asset. For Isabela, cultural and linguistic diversity was an asset, both generally and in the FI classroom:

> *le fait d'être différent ça nous donne des idées différentes et si on les utilise, on peut vraiment arriver à une idée originale . . . dans la classe d'immersion . . . on a parlé de l'identité, on a eu une unité sur la négritude . . . et on peut voir comment chaque groupe, chaque individu, apportait ses propres idées et donnait sa propre interprétation.*

Cultural Knowledge as Open-Mindedness. Isabela also believed that cultural knowledge was essential to developing open-mindedness. She acknowledged that it would be impossible to explore each student's culture(s) during a French course. Yet, she contended that even learning about a few cultures could open minds:

> *on a exploré un peu la culture congolaise, on parle de la négritude et tout ça, je trouve que c'est vraiment important parce que pas tout le monde va s'associer à ça, mais . . . ça ouvre*

notre esprit à plusieurs cultures . . . c'est peut-être pas ma culture, mais je peux relier certaines choses.

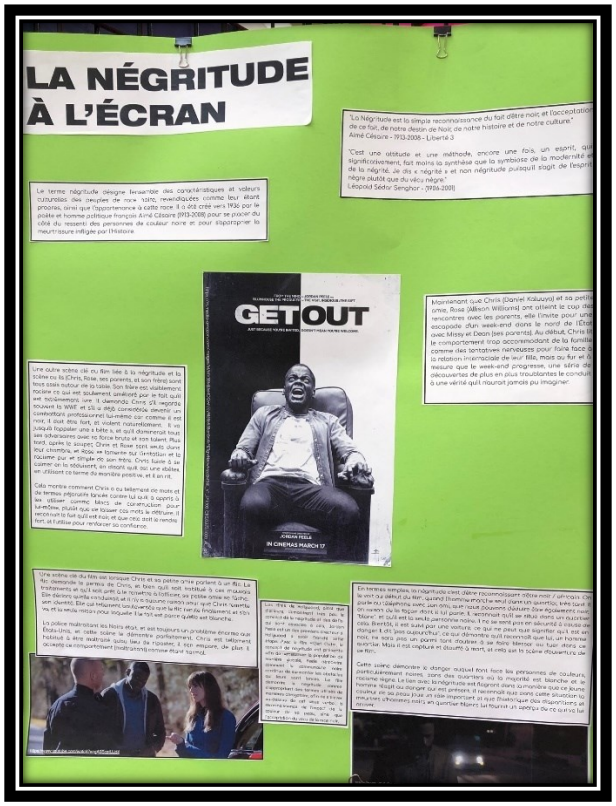
Practices.

Discussions. For Isabela, the cultural links inspired by her French class with Nicolas were extremely important. When recalling the theme of *la négritude* and the film she and her classmate had watched as part of a related assignment (see Figure 9), Isabela said:

je ne peux pas vraiment m'associer à l'aspect de négritude, mais je trouve que certaines choses qu'on a trouvées et identifiées dans notre film et même qu'on peut retrouver dans la pièce de théâtre [étudiée en classe], s'appliquent aussi à moi et à d'autres personnes à travers le monde.

Figure 9

La négritude à l'écran



One such example was that of discrimination. In the film, a police officer had racially discriminated against a young Black man, whereas in Brazil, Isabela's home country, gender discrimination was a normalized practice—*« c'est presque culturel. »* Although the form would vary, Isabela believed that discrimination was a reality for many individuals; hence, it was important that it be discussed in class: *« ça donne la chance à tout le monde de s'identifier et de se reconnaître dans ce concept. »* Indeed, such a discussion could increase awareness of one's sociocultural identity, as well as the role of one's (in)actions in (re)producing discriminatory behaviours.

These discussions were often inspired by Nicolas' questioning. As Isabela noted, *« [il] fait un très bon travail de questionner les gens et les pousser à aller plus loin. »* For instance, "Nicolas would often facilitate reflections where students would have to put themselves in the place of another person by asking them provocative questions" (Observation reflection, 2020, February 24). Isabela made a similar comment regarding such questions:

> *nous mettre dans des situations inconfortables et nous poser des questions . . . on n'est pas sûr de comment on est supposé répondre . . . si je dis ça, est-ce que je vais créer une offense envers quelqu'un ? . . . juste pour qu'on ait ses pensées, qu'on réfléchisse vraiment à d'autres choses.*

Nonetheless, Isabela found that certain students simply weren't ready to accept ways of thinking that differed from the White standard of knowledge:

> *c'est dommage parce que malgré le fait que le professeur essaie autant de contribuer, de nous pousser à aller plus loin, il y a certains élèves qui font juste rabattre cet effort et ça l'a un impact sur toute la classe et non seulement sur eux.*

As explained by Gorski (2019), "racial equity cannot be achieved . . . [when mindsets are] fraught with racial bias and privilege" (p. 58).

Despite these tensions of community, Isabela was hopeful that mindsets were slowly shifting. For example, due to the ongoing pandemic, students who had returned to their home countries would often share reflections of their experiences. Others, in turn, would share viewpoints from Canada or accounts from family and friends in their countries of origin. The results, according to Isabela, were increased discussion and global awareness. Nevertheless, as Gorski (2019) reminds us, "greater cultural awareness alone" cannot resolve racism (p. 58).

Kofi: "changing the [FI] narrative"

Participant Profile. Kofi was a Black male of Ethiopian descent born in Northern Ontario. After spending some time elsewhere in the province, as well as in Alberta and Québec, he and his family settled in southeastern Ontario. Prior to their move, Kofi had two opportunities to visit his family's home country of Ethiopia. As he explained, his family "wanted to preserve our language [Amharic] as much as we could." To perfect his reading and writing skills in his first language, Amharic, Kofi attended Sunday school for several years. He was also fluent in English and had started learning Spanish independently.

After moving from Alberta to Québec, Kofi began learning French. As part of this move, he transitioned from an English- to a French-language school. Initially, being immersed in French was "a bit of a culture shock." However, after a year of instruction in a *classe d'accueil*—meant to support newly arrived immigrants in language learning, Kofi was transferred into what he described as "regular French classes."

A passion for basketball led Kofi to enroll at GEA in Grade 9. His family wanted him to be challenged and to "keep up a relatively high level of French," so they selected FI. During the

2019-2020 academic year, Kofi was a Grade 12 student taking IB French and social studies as part of the Immersion stream. Amongst other activities, he was a member of GEA's basketball team and its Black History Month Committee.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Unconditional Acceptance. Although the concept of inclusion didn't necessarily look conditional, for Kofi, a Black male, it often felt that way. When discussing a photo of Kofi making the winning shot in a basketball game, he admitted that "despite how well I played . . . I've never felt like I belonged amongst those group of guys." In effect, Kofi explained that there was a "disconnect between the fact and the feeling," meaning that in theory, he was included, but he didn't feel included. In contrast, alongside his brother and sister, Kofi was included unconditionally: "the feeling is that I'm accepted; the fact is I also am." Kofi's unconditional acceptance, or inclusion, was due not only to the fact that his brother and sister were blood relatives but also the quantity and quality of time they had spent together. As Kofi shared, when he was with his siblings, he had "that sense of security of no matter what I do, I'll always be a part of that group." Essentially, Kofi believed that inclusion often felt conditional; yet, when one was truly accepted, inclusion both looked and felt unconditional.

Inclusion in French Immersion: Being Oneself. For Kofi, being a CLD learner "begins and ends with [an asset-oriented] attitude": a willingness to learn about different things and to listen to various opinions. Kofi added that the starting point, or mindset, of a CLD learner would be unlike "a typical Eurocentric one," centering whiteness. Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like being himself—that is, being comfortable expressing diverse aspects of his identity.

One such aspect was activism, exemplified by Kofi's presence at a Black Lives Matter march—specifically, the silence of thoughtful reflection. Within that stillness, Kofi felt like he was included, as he was amongst a collective of individuals who valued his life, and his struggles, as a Black male.

Accordingly, another vital aspect of Kofi's identity was his Blackness. At GEA, due to a lack of representation of POC, Kofi had initially felt as though he had to hide his authentic self—a "survival tactic" in a White space. Blackness, after all, is often "seen and conceptualized in negative, stereotypical ways" (Combs, 2018, p. 38). Slowly, however, his carefully curated "White" identity had "blended together" with his Blackness, forming a new "I-dentity" (Patel, 2022). For that reason, Figure 10—depicting African American artist, Givēon—was particularly meaningful to Kofi.

Figure 10

Inclusion in French Immersion: Being Oneself

Note. A photo of the cover of Givēon's single, Heartbreak Anniversary, released in February 2020.

Aside from the fact that music was instrumental to Kofi's life, Givēon represented two identities blending together. Although he was Black, his music—which Kofi described as "smooth" and "melodic"—challenged societal perceptions of the "typical African American artist." In essence, Givēon looked and "sounded" like Kofi.

In summary, Kofi believed that inclusion as a CLD learner in FI looked and felt like being comfortable to be himself—as seen through his reflection and recognition of the complexities of his sociocultural identity. The people surrounding Kofi were essential to creating that sense of inclusion: "it comes down to a certain level of comfort that I have with the people and not necessarily the environment itself."

Beliefs. Kofi's beliefs regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were greatly influenced by his family. Indeed, it was to his family that he attributed his desire to learn as many languages as he could:

> I always wanted to learn many languages . . . it's actually a bit genetic . . . my mom spoke six, my grandparents spoke nine each . . . they've embraced that and a part of me has embraced that too.

As per Kofi's beliefs, discussed in this sub-section, inclusion in FI was an important pathway to fulfilling his desire while following in his family's footsteps.

Language of/as Heart. Kofi believed that language had the power to connect individuals at a profound level—the ability "to understand what the other person is saying and not just talk to talk but talk to hear, talk to listen." In his opinion, this form of connection moved individuals "one step towards . . . speaking the same language." That language was one of the heart, which Kofi associated with Nelson Mandela's wise words: "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart." (BBC, n.d., Learning English - Moving words section, para. 1).

Opportunities for Cultural Sharing as Motivation. According to Kofi, when students in FI are given the opportunity to share information about their culture, "it will motivate them to actually work on that skill of learning that language [French] while also teaching everyone else about the culture—a culture that the student identifies with." In other words, the resources of a CLD learner can not only impact their individual learning but also, that of the classroom collective. Without these opportunities, Kofi believed that learners would grow unmotivated and that tensions would arise between teachers and students.

Practices.

Opportunities. As a CLD learner, Kofi believed that it was his "moral obligation to capitalize on opportunities of learning and teaching." For instance, as part of a rituals assignment in his social sciences class with Charlotte, introduced in the second case, Kofi had brought in Ethiopian food as "a way to educate everyone about my culture . . . a culture that most people might not know." As he explained to the class, "the act of purchasing the necessary ingredients, preparing the food, and finally, eating it as a family, was in itself a ritual—one that brought great comfort to Kofi, as his mother had maintained that ritual in Canada, long after leaving Ethiopia" (Observation reflection, 2020, February 28). For that reason, Kofi sought to share part of it with Charlotte and his classmates, for whom eating food in community became a means of embodying, and engaging in conversation about, Ethiopian culture. At the same time, Kofi recognized that it was the responsibility of "the curriculum and the teacher to provide that opportunity."

Such was the case in Nicolas' French class, where a particular novel, *Cette grenade dans la main du jeune nègre est-elle une arme ou un fruit ?*, had especially resonated with Kofi. In it, author Dany Laferrière shares his impressions of America through discussions of racism, power, money, and success. Unlike "the White kids . . . [who] had a pretty negative experience with the book," Kofi and the other CLD learners enjoyed it, as it "reminded them of things and thoughts that either they or somebody they know [had] experienced" (i.e., lived realities reflective of their sociocultural contexts). In fact, Kofi had even selected the novel as the focus for his IB oral exam:

> in terms of my learning, or me being . . . CDL [*sic*], it helped me because I came from a very different background; I was able to resonate with the book more as opposed to somebody who wouldn't have come from a background like that.

During class discussions, Nicolas gave Kofi and the other CLD learners the opportunity to share their perceptions while also engaging the class as a whole: "[he] wanted everybody to participate, so he'd ask questions on every side of the room." These conversations continued after class amongst the students themselves. For example, Kofi shared that one of his White peers, close to him and the other CLD learners, had a conversation with them about the novel. Being a White, anglophone, middle-class male whose lived experiences were very different from Kofi and the other CLD learners, this friend didn't relate to the book as much as they did, but as a result of their conversation, "[he] understood it more and learned more out of it."

For Kofi, the impact of such opportunities, whether whole-class discussions or intimate conversations, was unconditional acceptance. In other words, he could be himself in his classes, without feeling like he "wasn't smart enough . . . or like everyone else was just so much better than me [i.e., superior]." As a CLD learner in FI, Kofi thus believed that he was "changing the narrative," as he was "normalizing the fact that a person of colour can speak many languages, converse, and still be very intellectual [and] sociable."

Case Synthesis

In discussing the concept of inclusion, the common thread amongst these participants was that of connection. For Elmas and Lily, this thread was woven through shared interests, whereas for Isabela, it took the form of a circle of support. For Kofi, the thread was a tightly woven connection between fact and feeling, and similar to Isabela, there was also a sense of intimacy—depicted through the close relationship he shared with his brother and sister.

In this case, although all of the participants were CLD learners, they held different understandings of the term itself. Elmas defined it in relation to the social markers reflecting one's identity, whereas Kofi characterized it as a willingness to engage with difference. Lily and Isabela's understandings mirrored the lived realities of CLD learners—namely, the efforts and circumstances involved in expanding their cultural and linguistic repertoires.

Regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, Elmas and Kofi associated it with the comfort to express the diversity and complexity of one's sociocultural identity. Moving from the individual to the collective, Lily and Isabela discussed notions of a path and community. Although moving along the path, or experiencing a sense of community, wasn't easily achieved—as depicted by the gravel and grey puzzle pieces in their respective photos (see Figures 5 and 6 on pp. 113–114)—Lily and Isabela felt that it was possible through a collective effort. Still, as stated by Gorski (2019), "no strategy can help us cultivate equitable schools if we're unwilling to understand how racism operates" (pp. 60–61).

In terms of beliefs, for Elmas and Kofi, these were largely influenced by family, and for Lily and Isabela, by their school environments and experiences. Language and culture were common to each learner's beliefs. Taking the example of Elmas and Kofi, they believed that language was a means of understanding. For Elmas, that insight extended to other languages, one's self, and humanity as a whole. For Kofi, it meant that language had the ability to connect individuals at a profound level—exemplified through his emphasis on language of/as heart. Each participant believed that cultural knowledge and understanding were beneficial in various ways, such as increasing cultural awareness, fostering personal and professional connections, developing open-mindedness, and motivating one's language learning.

Finally, the practices participants associated with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI ranged from discussion circles and presentations to more intimate conversations. When examining the case as a whole, it becomes clear that whether participants were speaking out against injustices, conversing in alter(n)ative (Prasad, 2009) formats, or sharing new knowledge and viewpoints, they were using their voices to make FI a more equitable space for CLD learners. Although their understandings, beliefs, and practices aligned with this goal, and these participants felt included, it is important to recognize that true inclusion would necessitate the transformation of a collective, wherein tensions remain in the acceptance and understanding of thinking and being different from the White standard—thereby risking the upholding of a White narrative. Having presented the perspectives of CLD learners, the following section focuses on those of FSL teachers.

French as a Second Language Teachers

The second case included three FSL teachers: Catherine—who was the TC, Charlotte, and Nicolas. Their findings are presented within this section, along with Table 10, which provides a summary of themes across FSL teachers.

Table 10

Summary of Themes Across French as a Second Language Teachers

FSL teachers	Catherine: Becoming better human beings	Charlotte: Fostering human connections	Nicolas: Unmasking one's true self
Understandings	Inclusion as voicing one's opinion: Value, ease, and confidence Inclusion in FI: Community	Inclusion as comfort Inclusion in FI: Difference as a strength	Inclusion as sharing something in common Inclusion in FI: Removing one's mask
Beliefs	Teacher as model Cultural inclusion as connection Success as understanding	Open-mindedness as essential Inclusion as the norm Success beyond numbers	Languages as a strength Language learning as affective and language teaching as physical Humanity as tolerance Success as perseverance
Practices	Centering student voices Challenging misperceptions Thinking relationally	(Re-)Building a community of understanding	Positioning all students as competent Linking to our common humanity Cultivating comfort

Catherine: Becoming Better Human Beings

Participant Profile. Catherine was a White female of French-Canadian descent born in southeastern Ontario. Although her parents were francophones, she grew up speaking both French and English. That being said, Catherine had always attended French-language schools, but in university, the unavailability of certain classes forced her to study largely in English. As a result, she saw her French skills "deteriorate a little bit."

When I initially met with Catherine, she was in the first year of her Bachelor of Education program at a university in southeastern Ontario. Given that history was her first teachable, she was surprised to have a practicum in languages: "I didn't pick French; French picked me." Under the guidance and supervision of her associate teacher, Catherine taught five EF classes at the Intermediate and Senior divisions. Additionally, she volunteered at French extra help sessions and participated in GEA's French club.

English and French, however, weren't the only languages in Catherine's linguistic repertoire: "I dabble in Algonquin and Mohawk." As she explained during our first interview, a Mohawk woman had adopted Catherine into her tribal community, presenting Catherine as her daughter. The Indigenous teachings she and the community had passed on to Catherine had greatly influenced her ways of being and educating. As such, the most important lesson she could ever teach her students was how to become better human beings.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Voicing One's Opinion: Value, Ease, and Confidence. When discussing the concept of inclusion, Catherine showed me a photo of one of her turkey feathers (see Figure 11 on p. 139), sharing that it was "something that's used universally throughout Indigenous pedagogies."

Figure 11

Inclusion as Voicing One's Opinion: Value, Ease, and Confidence

One of its primary teachings was "how we should include everybody and listen to their voices." Accordingly, it was used as a talking stick within Indigenous sharing or discussion circles. When speaking about it, Catherine was equally reminded of an image of a land protector—an Indigenous person defending their rights to (stolen) land and its natural resources. Etched vividly in her mind, the land protector was holding up a turkey feather while surrounded by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In Catherine's view, the message was clear: "I'm here, and I'm not gonna go away."

During our discussion, Catherine also shared a photo of a newspaper article describing a French astronaut going to the Russian space station. The content of the article was connected to "different cultures . . . coming together," a notion exemplified in the classroom as Catherine's students read the same article but drew different conclusions from it.

In summary, inclusion looked like the ability "to voice your [authentic] opinion . . . and know that your opinions are being listened to." Simultaneously, it felt like "being at ease" to both confidently assert one's presence and meaningfully participate in classes.

Inclusion in French Immersion: Community. In Catherine's opinion, a CLD learner was someone "who understands when they can make links to their own culture [and] to their own languages." Taking the example of the Mohawk language, Catherine would "understand that the word for blue represents the sky but also represents your links with the sun." Where appropriate, she would then share that understanding with the class, modelling different "ways of knowing, being, and doing." Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like community.

Figure 12

Inclusion in French Immersion: Community (A)

Much like the mountains on Catherine's turkey feather (see Figure 12), each different yet connected, CLD learners came into FI "with their own cultural baggage" (i.e., their own sociocultural identities and lived experiences), but they belonged to the same community. Within that community, learners progressed at different rates, represented by the differing heights of the mountains. Nonetheless, without each of those learners, the collective classroom community would be incomplete.

At times, it could be difficult to envision one's potential within that community. Catherine likened the experience to walking through a park without seeing the beauty of the aerial view (see Figure 13): "when I'm walking through it, I don't see it."

Figure 13

Inclusion in French Immersion: Community (B)

Nevertheless, when looking through her window, just as Catherine could see her park's scenery in full splendour, she was convinced that as CLD learners looked back at their progression within the FI community, they could see the beauty of their accomplishments. Overall, Catherine believed that inclusion would look different for each individual, but the feeling of pride would undoubtedly be the same.

Beliefs. Catherine's beliefs concerning the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were strongly influenced by the teachings of her adopted mother and Indigenous community. As is evident from the beliefs in this sub-section, Catherine learnt about the importance of being true to oneself, centering student voices, and "relational ways of understanding, knowing, and transferring [knowledge]."

Teacher as Model. Catherine believed that teachers should be models for their students: "everything that happens, any questions that have to be answered, I always go first." For example, as part of an activity with her Grade 11 students, Catherine had asked them to speak about an item that was important to them and that made them feel comfortable. The first presenter was Catherine herself, speaking about turkey feathers and sacred medicines—elements of great significance to Indigenous peoples. As a White educator embracing her vulnerability, Catherine was also addressing the language classroom's culture of power (Anya, 2021)—the result being that her students similarly opened up to her. Modelling was thus integral to inclusion, as it enabled Catherine to develop a sense of trust with her students.

Cultural Inclusion as Connection. In Catherine's view, cultural inclusion was a means of connection. Whenever possible, she would have her students "talk about their culture and . . . their ways of seeing the world." Otherwise, as she experienced in her Grade 9 class, students would potentially disconnect. For instance, when discussing Mardi Gras (Fat Tuesday), the day prior to the fasting period of Lent observed by Christians, Catherine noticed that one of her Muslim students "immediately shut down." She found that "his body got very rigid," and she "felt he got a little bit defensive." Catherine thought that he reacted this way because he needed "time to make those [cultural] connections for himself" (i.e., the connections between Ramadan, the Muslim period of fasting, and Lent). Hence, she instantly put an end to the conversation. With time and more opportunities to bridge the known with the unknown (Gay, 2002), Catherine believed that cultural inclusion could foster individual and collective connections within the classroom community.

Success as Understanding. Catherine defined success for CLD learners in FI as understanding. This notion could be reflected in various ways, linked to either Western (White)

pedagogy or Indigenous pedagogy (i.e., Indigegogy[34]). In Catherine's opinion, the former would include understanding the major concepts of a book, grammatical points (e.g., genders), or even "the French accent" in videos. The latter, focused on knowledge of relationships, would include understanding how to become "a better human being." Catherine thus articulated success in two ways: first, the ability to understand content, and second, the ability to understand how to use that content to become "a successful being for society." Although the first related to individual achievement, the second related to collective achievement.

Practices.

Centering Student Voices. Whenever possible, Catherine centered student voices. Towards the end of December, she held a discussion circle in which students shared their plans for the winter break. Disrupting tales of a White Christmas, for CLD learners, this opportunity became a form of counternarrative (Anya, 2021); hence, they were "more willing to communicate and communicate for longer [in French]." Through stories depicting their lived experiences, Catherine believed that the other students could see these learners in a different light—something I had longed for as a student in FI.

Challenging Misperceptions. According to Catherine, CLD learners often feared speaking or reading aloud, expressing concern that "nobody would understand them because of their accent." As explained by Madibbo (2021), "negative perceptions about language . . . becom[e] visible when it comes to racialized minorities regardless of how well they speak the language and with which accent" (p. 25). Given that whiteness is positioned as superior, CLD learners viewed their White teachers as all-knowing, and thereby incapable of making mistakes.

[34] Coined by Cree Elder and Educator, Stan Wilson, Indigegogy is "a decolonizing practice that builds on the resurgence of Indigenous ways of knowing, teaching and learning" (Wilfrid Laurier University, 2022, What is Indigegogy? section).

Catherine challenged these misperceptions by normalizing mistakes and struggle, revealing that from time to time, she would "purposely put errors on the board . . . so they [and the other students] know that I'm not perfect either."

Along with challenging students' misperceptions about themselves and their teachers, Catherine challenged the societal misperceptions of her classes as a whole in order to draw their attention to the systemic nature of racism. During a unit on the environment with her Grade 12 classes, Catherine said that she had done an activity in which she had shown her students a photo of Autumn Peltier, an Anishinaabe Indigenous clean water advocate who had addressed the United Nations at the age of 13. She then showed them a photo of Greta Thunberg, a White Swedish environmental activist who had also addressed the United Nations but at the age of 16. In a society which presents whiteness as normative, Catherine wasn't surprised that none of her students recognized Autumn, but everyone recognized Greta. Amongst other issues, such as the erasure of both Indigenous peoples and their ongoing struggles from societal consciousness, this occurrence led to a critical discussion about the media's role in fuelling racism—namely, its perpetuation of misperceptions about Indigenous peoples.

Thinking Relationally. Viewing learning as a mutually beneficial experience, Catherine taught her students a way of thinking based on understanding relationships, "essential for creating decolonized systems of education" (Smith, 2016, p. 53). To teach relational thinking, Catherine often assigned self-reflection questions. For example, as part of a Songs & Poetry sub-unit with her Grade 9 class, students analyzed songs using what Catherine termed "Indigenous questions [How do you relate to this song? How did it change your worldview?]." One student, whose song focused on the idea that we all have a story, related it to his grandfather's passing, sharing the importance of cherishing our stories with our loved ones. Another student, whose

song centered the environment, related it to her life in China, explaining how mask-wearing to protect oneself from air pollution was an accepted daily practice that she would be embracing in Canada—thereby modelling one means of challenging the status quo in North American society. Through reflections such as these, and by engaging with one another through further questions, the class as a whole was "learning different ways of knowing and being" (Reflective journal entry, 2020, June 10), essential to becoming better human beings.

Charlotte: Fostering Human Connections

Participant Profile. Charlotte was a White female of French-Canadian descent born in central Québec. French was her first language; however, she was also well versed in English. As a francophone, Charlotte felt very strongly about promoting the French language and would thus participate in any French-related activities taking place at GEA.

Human connection was also extremely important to Charlotte. In fact, it was the reason why she had become a teacher: *« j'ai pris mon baccalauréat en enseignement parce que j'aime [l'aspect] humain . . . c'est ça enseigner . . . c'est avec les jeunes, voir leurs visages. »* She was thus very close to her students, referring to them as *« ma famille d'école. »*

Prior to joining GEA, Charlotte had taught at other schools in Ontario, as well as schools in Québec and New Brunswick. When we first met, she had two years of experience at GEA and was teaching history and IB social studies in French, as well as one business class in English—all of which were at the Intermediate/Senior divisions. Charlotte also assisted with co-curricular activities[35], such as the French club, skiing, and basketball. Throughout it all, one of the most

[35] Unlike extra-curricular activities, which generally aren't linked to the school curriculum, co-curricular activities complement the curriculum. At GEA, they were also a means of instilling values related to areas such as the arts, sports, teamwork, and health.

significant lessons she aimed to teach her students was to look beyond numbers: "in life, it's not a mark . . . it's wins from different parts."

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Comfort. For Charlotte, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like comfort—specifically, the comfort to show one's true colours or the different expressions of one's identity. In such instances, inclusion as comfort would not only be seen but also felt: *« en donnant l'importance à [l'ensemble de] chacun, ça permet que la personne se sent confortable. »*

Inclusion in French Immersion: Difference as a Strength. Charlotte believed that CLD learners were students whose contributions enriched her classes:

> their own stories about their grandparents, and even their parents, so what they lived through to be here, it explains a lot, and . . . it's a lot easier for the [other] students to understand it than just reading it on a paper.

Clearly, she attributed great importance to the narratives shared by CLD learners while also recognizing the impact of these stories on the other students. Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like difference as a strength: *« les différentes couleurs des mains autour de la table . . . ça représente vraiment notre unité. »*

Beliefs. Charlotte's beliefs about the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were largely influenced by her upbringing. Through teaching in various school contexts across Canada, she had also come to realize that "everybody can bring me something." This asset-oriented view is developed through the beliefs in this sub-section.

Open-Mindedness as Essential. As CLD learners, Charlotte's students brought distinct perceptions into the classroom. Hence, she considered open-mindedness essential, as it could

facilitate an understanding of one another's viewpoints: "it's very important to have an open mind in the classroom . . . to see the different cultures and to be able to understand that [the different perspectives]; you might not approve [*sic*] it, but you have to understand it."

Inclusion as the Norm. For Charlotte, there was no need to say that everyone was being included; rather, she thought that inclusion should simply "be there—like putting your shoes on." She was thus hopeful that FI could be an equitable space for all learners (Dei, 2015).

Success Beyond Numbers. Charlotte acknowledged that at GEA, marks were an important indicator of success. Yet, she believed that success went far beyond numbers. For CLD learners, it was "what you learnt and what you gain" from FI classes. Thinking back to a recent Ontario election, she shared that party representatives had come to GEA to speak with the Intermediate and Senior students. At the time, "three-quarters of the [student] questions were asked in French; that's a success." To foster that type of understanding in all of her students, Charlotte revealed that she occasionally hid their marks, so "they learn more what the concept is than how much they got."

Practices.

(Re-)Building a Community of Understanding. For Charlotte, building a community of understanding was central to her pedagogy of inclusion: "it gets them [her students] to understand that they could trust me . . . [and] I can trust them." Through various classroom activities, such as the family tree and discussions on artefacts from the World Wars, Charlotte and her students had the opportunity to learn about one another's families and cultures.

During one of the first classes I observed, the topic of discussion was fertility rates around the world. As part of that conversation, Charlotte and each student spoke about their family size and the cultural beliefs they associated with the notion of family. Through the level

of interest and attentiveness I observed, it was apparent that "the class was developing a greater understanding of the values shaping each other's context and thinking" (Observation reflection, 2020, February 20).

Parents and guardians played an integral role in building that communal understanding. As Charlotte explained, "their culture and their way of thinking is important for their child to understand . . . so they could understand more where they're coming from." In order to develop their sociocultural consciousness (Villegas & Lucas, 2002), Charlotte encouraged her students to engage in meaningful conversations with their families. As students shared aspects of these discussions in class, Charlotte could enhance her own understanding of her students' identities and ambitions, as well as the support they needed to be successful: *« [savoir] qui ils sont et d'où ils viennent permet de mieux comprendre où est-ce qu'ils vont aller [et comment les appuyer]. »* Accordingly, the greatest loss of GEA's online transition was that of human connection: *« t'avais personne qui répondait . . . depuis le mois de mars à juin, j'ai entendu que des cliquets ; c'était comme j'étais toute seule. »*

Despite her sense of isolation, "Charlotte attempted to re-build a community of understanding by sharing her humanity with her students" (Reflective journal entry, 2020, June 22):

> *la seule manière qui semblait humaine . . . c'était d'apporter mes inquiétudes et mon anxiété réel devant eux pour leur montrer que c'était normal . . . je voulais [aussi] leur transmettre que je ne les oubliais pas . . . pour pouvoir garder l'aspect humain.*

At the same time, she had started re-designing her course for the following year in order to better respond to her students' evolving needs: *« enseigne[r] de façon à penser humaine, connaissances importantes à connaître au niveau de notre société. »*

Finally, Charlotte had registered for webinars, and other PD activities, in order to educate herself on how to address the subject of race and racism with her students. As she asserted, "racism will always be in our society . . . but how do we deal with it? That's the question." This matter was particularly significant, as Charlotte had alluded to colour-blindness as part of the same conversation: *« le proverbe* 'Black Lives Matter' . . . *ça serait pour moi*, 'Life Matters.' *»* Despite understandings, beliefs, and practices fostering human connections, this allusion suggested that unknowingly, Charlotte may have been evading "the collective experiences of race and racism that shape the lives of Black, Indigenous and other racialized students" (James & Shah, 2022, para. 11).

Clearly, the topic of race and racism was one that required further discussion; when probed, Charlotte responded: *« comme c'est un sujet très chaud . . . je ne me sens pas prête à l'aborder . . . de la bonne manière. »* The PD activities she would be undertaking thus had the potential to be especially meaningful, as they could guide her in understanding the endemic nature of racism—and consequently, the importance of truly seeing and acknowledging difference. At the same time, they could facilitate reflection on Charlotte's positionality as a White educator—specifically, her privileged status. As Matsuda (2013) aptly states, "racism doesn't go away by refusing to see race" (p. 11).

Nicolas: Unmasking One's True Self

Participant Profile. Nicolas was a White male of French descent born in France. A proud francophone, French was his first language. The other languages in his repertoire included German, English, Ancient Greek, Polish, and Japanese. Although Nicolas was fluent in French and proficient in English, he had lost much of his vocabulary in his other languages but was slowly beginning to refresh his skillset.

In university, Nicolas had studied comparative and modern literature, as well as FSL and *Français Langue Étrangère*. After teaching language and literature in France, he emigrated to Canada where he taught in those same fields at publicly funded and private institutions. Similarly, at GEA, where Nicolas had taught for the past seven years, his focus remained on language and literature for Intermediate/Senior FI IB classes: *« ma spécialité, c'est la littérature . . . ce que je peux apporter de mieux aux élèves, c'est là-dedans. »* In addition to his teaching responsibilities, Nicolas was the lead of *la semaine de la francophonie*, co-lead of the French club, and a coach for rugby, soccer, and tennis.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Sharing Something in Common. For Nicolas, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like sharing something in common—whether that be *« un discours »* with his books or students or *« une activité »* with his team players. Regardless of what was being shared, the feeling of inclusion was the same: *« une satisfaction psychologique, probablement, ou émotionnelle . . . de sentir [que] tu fais partie d'un collectif. »*

Inclusion in French Immersion: Removing One's Mask. Nicolas felt that there were two extremes—and everything in between—when it came to defining a CLD learner. On the one hand, it could refer to a unilingual student, interested in a range of cultures: *« je pense à ces jeunes qui s'intéressent aux mangas, par exemple, ou aux séries coréennes. »* On the other hand, it could also refer to a student who spoke several languages, and who had both travelled to, and lived in, numerous countries prior to studying in Canada. Given this broad range of possibilities, it was difficult for Nicolas to define what it meant to be a CLD learner.

Inclusion as a CLD learner in FI thus looked and felt like removing one's mask, thereby revealing the breadth of one's identity—*« ça nécessite un peu de se mettre à nu. »* According to Nicolas, when CLD learners first entered the FI environment, they often experienced a sense of inferiority to the White student: *« un sentiment d'avoir comme un handicap, je dirai, par rapport à l'autre. »* Nonetheless, once they realized and accepted that their knowledge and understanding was a strength, it was then that they looked and felt included: *« ça peut conduire à une attitude . . . non seulement plus positive mais plus efficace. »*

Beliefs. Nicolas' beliefs regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were largely influenced by his education. From the age of 12, he had been given several opportunities to travel outside of France, learning new languages and experiencing different cultures. As part of his Masters degree studies in *Français Langue Étrangère*, he had also taken an introductory course in Arabic, giving him a glimpse into the experiences of CLD learners. Consequently, as he expressed, *« je suis juste le produit de mon éducation, qui m'a donné l'opportunité d'aller ailleurs, d'être confronté à d'autres cultures. »* This understanding is reflected through the beliefs in this sub-section.

Languages as a Strength. Reflecting an asset-oriented attitude towards CLD learners, Nicolas believed that knowledge of several languages was a strength: *« je pense que quelqu'un qui parle plusieurs langues est mieux armé . . . ce multilinguisme ou cette richesse culturelle . . . c'est plutôt comme une force pour lui. »* He further believed that the effects of this inherent strength were multifold: *« on est capable de faire des liens entre plusieurs langues qui vont permettre d'apprendre mieux. »*

Language Learning as Affective and Language Teaching as Physical. In Nicolas' opinion, language learning had a highly affective dimension. Reflecting on his own experiences,

it was during his Masters degree studies that he began to understand the emotional toll of learning a language: *« les gens sont vite confrontés à leurs limites et à leurs peurs. »* Ballinger (2020) alluded to the same idea in a blog post discussing her son's relationship with French: "I often remind him to take a deep breath and listen because his anxiety is blocking his ears" (para. 8). Once a CLD learner embraced their sense of vulnerability, Nicolas believed that a shift in their emotional state was indeed possible.

Regarding language teaching, Nicolas felt strongly that there was a physical dimension to it, necessary for effective learning. In terms of phonetics, for instance, the simple act of proximity, or whispering, could impact student learning and inclusion: *« parce que j'enseigne le français, une langue . . . ça prend des interactions physiques. »*

Humanity as Tolerance. According to Nicolas, at GEA, there was a lot of emphasis on difference. As in Banks' (1998) Heroes and Holidays Approach, a prime example were events throughout the year celebrating the diverse cultures of the school community. Whereas the intention of these celebrations was positive, Nicolas firmly believed that the impact could be negative: *« à force de parler de nos différences, on se sent tellement différent des autres que je pense que c'est juste le meilleur terrain pour l'intolérance. »* Indeed, these events "overemphasiz[e] the differences among ethnic groups, " treating them "as monolithic entities possessing uniform, discernable traits" (McCarthy, 1995, p. 28). In turn, this emphasis can lead to racist beliefs, as cultures are depicted as "static and unchanging" (Bedard, 1999, p. 20).

Nicolas thus focused on our common humanity as a step towards tolerance, and ultimately, inclusion. Although this focus has been associated with opponents of critical race theory who "call for 'universal' approaches to education" (James & Shah, 2022, para. 18),

Nicolas showed a commitment to "equitable outcomes for all students' learning . . . [that] takes into account their lived realities" (James & Shah, 2022, para. 19).

As a racialized person, however, I am mindful of the fact that tolerance is often implicitly associated with a True North (White) Canadian, suggesting that all others are intolerant: "a 'true' Canadian is still unconsciously considered white; a white person who will except [*sic*], tolerate, and teach racial others to be more civilized . . ." (Bedard, 1999, p. 88).

Success as Perseverance. Once FSL classes were no longer mandatory, students questioned whether they should remain in FI—the most challenging of all streams. Nicolas thus defined success in FI as perseverance: *« s'ils arrivent à terminer, ils réussissent, c'est ça le succès. »*

Practices.

Positioning all Students as Competent. Whether French was their second or additional language, Nicolas positioned all of his students as competent, legitimate speakers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977): *« vous êtes en français d'immersion ; vous êtes donc parmi des plus compétents des élèves, quelles que soient vos origines. »* As part of that positioning, "he supported all of his students in feeling competent in their French language abilities" (Observation reflection, 2020, March 5). For example, "with all of his classes, Nicolas would discuss new vocabulary words and pronunciation, French expressions and sayings, and key grammatical and writing concepts" (Observation reflection, 2020, March 3)—making reference to their distinct experiences where appropriate. Nicolas thus accounted for the rights and needs of the class as a collective, thereby contributing to their success.

Linking to our Common Humanity. Nicolas didn't always plan inclusive practices, but he naturally made links to our common humanity. For instance, as an introduction to a Grade 12

novel study on *Vendredi ou la Vie sauvage*, inspired by Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoé*, "Nicolas and his students reflected on key philosophical questions, such as the following: *L'humain peut-il survivre hors de toute société ? Qu'est-ce que le bonheur pour un humain ? Comment vivre harmonieusement avec l'autrui ?*" (Observation note, 2020, March 3). Through these questions, the class as a whole shared and engaged with their distinct ways of knowing and being—leading to further reflections on survival (physical and psychological needs), solitude (its benefits and drawbacks), and society (its characteristics, necessity, and tensions). Focused on aspects at the core of humankind—while considering attributes such as the social, intellectual, and religious realms shaping a society—this discussion reflected the types of links Nicolas sought to make and inspire for the class as a whole. The notion of a common humanity was certainly evident but as was students' right to express individual views collectively forming humanity.

Cultivating Comfort. Nicolas took great care in cultivating a comfortable environment for all of his students. In doing so, he paid particular attention to the inclusion of CLD learners. First, he ensured that his students studied a variety of texts and authors—*« un corpus international . . . par des auteurs d'ailleurs. »* As opposed to thinking *« t'es en français, donc tu vas étudier que des auteurs français de France, »* he understood the importance of CLD learners seeing themselves in the curriculum—both for their learning and their sense of inclusion. At the same time, he was well aware of the shift in perspective this representation could offer the other students.

Second, Nicolas' training in *Français Langue Étrangère* and *Français Langue Seconde* had increased his sensitivity towards intercultural aspects. Taking the example of *L'Amant*, a novel describing the love affair between a young, French woman and an older, Chinese-

Vietnamese man, he recognized that due to their cultural values, some CLD learners may disapprove of the affair:

> *je sais qu'il y a beaucoup d'étudiants dont le milieu est très conservateur, donc si je parle des gays et si je parle de l'amour extraconjugal, c'est des gens qui ont une opinion certainement très tranchée là-dessus . . . mais . . . ce n'est jamais vraiment exprimée.*

Although Nicolas realized that cultural viewpoints evolve, and aren't necessarily reflective of those of the individual, he believed that in certain cases, CLD learners masked their genuine perceptions. Nicolas felt that he could encode (Gay, 2002) the essence of their sentiments but also gave learners the opportunity to express their personal thoughts in writing—a form of unmasking one's true self: *« ils peuvent y mettre des choses plus intimes, plus personnelles, que je ne dirai pas devant et qui ne sont pas fichées devant tout le monde. »*

Case Synthesis

For FSL teachers, the concept of inclusion was associated with different notions—namely, voicing one's opinion, comfort, and sharing something in common. Central to each notion was *« un collectif »*: creating community through the power inherent to the turkey feather, the ability to read and draw conclusions from the same article, the comfort to show one's true colours, and the satisfaction of sharing *« un discours »* or *« une activité. »*

In defining the term CLD learner, participants shared distinct interpretations. Catherine and Nicolas discussed specific attributes—examples being an understanding of when to make links to one's languages and an interest in various cultures. Alternatively, Charlotte spoke of the different perspectives CLD learners bring as enriching the classroom community.

Moving to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, teachers' understandings were similar or interconnected. Charlotte and Nicolas, for instance, commented on difference as a strength.

Additionally, through the metaphors they shared, Nicolas and Catherine reflected a CLD learner's potential and pride upon removing their mask and seeing the beauty of the aerial view.

In terms of beliefs, for Catherine and Charlotte, these were strongly motivated by family. Charlotte also mentioned the diverse contexts in which she had taught, as it was these environments which had led her to realize that everyone had something to teach her. For Nicolas, his greatest influence was his education—resulting in opportunities for travel and a glimpse into the experiences of CLD learners. Linked to teachers' understandings and pedagogy, their beliefs were thus reflective of both an inclusive mindset—built on trust, open-mindedness, strength, and our common humanity—and inclusive practices. Regarding success in FI, although each teacher understood it differently, common to their understandings was the fact that success did indeed go beyond numbers.

As a collective, these teachers were focused on addressing the "structures of inequity" (Anya, 2021, p. 1066) inherent to FI. Their efforts are particularly apparent through their practices. Expressing their vulnerability and humanity, as well as their commitment to equitable outcomes for all students (James & Shah, 2022), these teachers were seeking to create inclusive spaces in which CLD learners could voice their perspectives. Challenging misperceptions, re-building a community of understanding, and cultivating comfort, teachers' understandings, beliefs, and practices generally aligned with disrupting FI's hegemonic narrative. That being said, Charlotte's allusion to colour-blindness and Nicolas' mention of (in)tolerance speak to the risk of underlying racial inequities. Charlotte's registration for PD activities on race and racism could thus be seen as a step towards self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021)—a process through which she could reflect on her positionality as a White educator and its impact on her outlook and

pedagogy. Having explored the viewpoints of FSL teachers, the next section examines those of teacher-administrators.

Teacher-Administrators

The third case included two teacher-administrators: Sylvie and Anna—the latter participant also teaching in the FI stream. Their findings are presented within this section, along with Table 11, which provides a summary of themes across teacher-administrators.

Table 11

Summary of Themes Across Teacher-Administrators

Teacher-administrators	Sylvie: Dismantling the barriers of whiteness	Anna: Understanding and appreciating cultural and linguistic diversities and realities
Understandings	Inclusion as individuality Inclusion in FI: Growth	Inclusion as unity Inclusion in FI: Authentic experiences
Beliefs	Environment as safe Language as enrichment Success as inclusion	Language as enrichment Success as intrinsic
Practices	Administrative	In-classroom Administrative

Sylvie: Dismantling the Barriers of Whiteness

Participant Profile. Sylvie was a White female of Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian descent born in southern Québec. She considered herself a "simultaneous bilingual," as her

mother was an English-Quebecer, and her father, a French-Quebecer. As a young child, although she was supposed to speak French when both parents were home, Sylvie recalls mixing up the two languages. Eventually, English became the family's dominant language, but Sylvie maintained her French through a French-language secondary school. Later, upon moving to Germany and Korea, she studied the official language of each country. Sylvie was thus fluent in English and French but also spoke and understood basic German and Korean.

At GEA, where Sylvie had taught for the past 21 years, she continued to immerse herself in languages. In addition to teaching Intermediate and Senior English as a Second Language and Introductory IB French classes, Sylvie was the head of languages and the director of both English-language support and one of GEA's IB language programs. Recently, she had also completed her Masters in Education, giving her the opportunity to reflect on her racial identity and her positionality as a White educator (Anya, 2021). Being a somewhat "mixed-up francophone," Sylvie was innately aware of the need to feel included within a collective while still being true to one's unique self.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Individuality. For Sylvie, inclusion "doesn't equal sameness." It looked and felt like individuality. Much like the seashells in Figure 14 (see p. 159), all different or "beautiful in their own way," inclusion meant being yourself while still finding a sense of unity through our shared humanity: "they all belong too, they're all shells." Likening these seashells to her own students, Sylvie believed that they were all deserving of equitable outcomes (James & Shah, 2022).

Figure 14

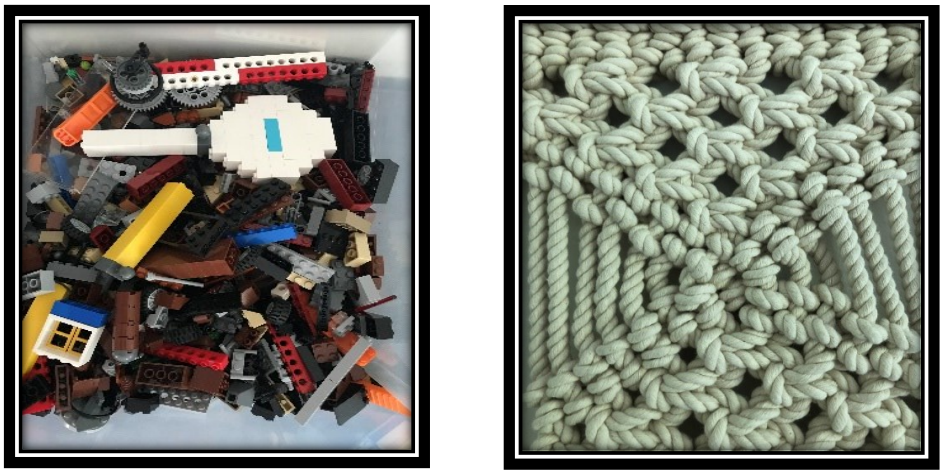
Inclusion as Individuality

Sylvie associated the feelings of inclusion with fuel. Just as exercise and fresh air could be forms of fuel, when Sylvie was included, she was "fuelled to take risks, to be myself . . . to be vulnerable." In other words, she felt empowered to share her authentic voice, even when that voice was one of difference or a calling out of injustice.

Inclusion in French Immersion: Growth. When speaking of the term CLD learner, Sylvie immediately thought of the word "multilingual" (i.e., students who speak three or four languages). Building on that language learning progression, inclusion as a CLD learner in FI looked and felt like growth.

Figure 15

Inclusion in French Immersion: Growth



Much like the Lego in Figure 15, with its different shapes and colours, CLD learners entered FI with distinct sociocultural identities and experiences. Given this diversity, Sylvie believed that they could be "a resource to each other or to the program." As learners contributed to a collective sense of inclusion, or an inclusive classroom environment, they also experienced individual growth—represented by the fact that some Lego pieces were connected, whereas others weren't. These connections, or a lack thereof, were equally reflective of the learning process—in which some learners made connections, or experienced a sense of inclusion, early on, while others took longer. At times, perceived gaps were also purposeful—a comment Sylvie made while discussing the holes in her macramé, seen in Figure 15 to the right of the Lego. Much like Lego and macramé, as teachers attended to students' academic needs (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), growth could simultaneously look messy and beautiful. The feeling of growth, particular to each learner, was underscored by respect for "individual strengths and experiences."

Beliefs. Sylvie's beliefs concerning the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were strongly influenced by her personal and professional experiences. Growing up, whenever she would call out perceived injustices, her advocacy would be met with the following response: "well, you're

just too sensitive." At times, when advocating for students with the school's (White-male) administration, a similar reaction persisted: "they see it as me, you know, as opposed to me saying, 'no, look, this is called a microaggression.'"

When elaborating upon the influences of her beliefs, Sylvie commented: "I think sometimes [it comes] from myself feeling excluded here as a [female] adult." Indeed, Gorski (2019) suggests that it is often the "most emphatic [of] racial equity advocates [who] feel silenced" within their institutions (p. 56). In Sylvie's case, she wondered, "if I feel this [exclusion] and I'm an adult, how does a fourteen-year-old student feel?"

Accordingly, her beliefs were greatly impacted "by the nature of who I teach in my classroom [CLD learners who were also international students]." These learners experienced racism in ways inextricably linked with other forms of oppression (Anya, 2021). During our first interview, Sylvie remarked that although GEA had "evolved a lot . . . there's still that binary here of the 'us' and the 'them.'" This dichotomy wasn't overtly apparent but could be seen and heard "in the nuances and in the subtleties" of White superiority. The impact on Sylvie's beliefs, shared in this sub-section, was substantial.

Environment as Safe. According to Sylvie, a safe classroom environment, built on trust and respect, is integral to inclusion, as CLD learners "should have the space to share or not share . . . [and] feel comfortable in whatever they choose." Every learner, after all, deserves an environment in which they can "take risks with their learning and have their experiences affirmed" (James & Shah, 2022, para. 20).

Language as Enrichment. Sylvie believed that CLD learners should take and "keep studying languages regardless of their level of proficiency." Specific to first or home languages, she emphasized that in place of seeing them as inferior, they needed to be valued, as

they too were a form of enrichment for the students themselves and the class as a whole. Ahooja and Ballinger (2022), based on their study with migrant-background[36] students in Québec, equally highlight the need to value students' home languages, stating that "majority-culture school practices still do not reflect recommended practices found in research that emphasize the importance of linguistically inclusive schools for these students' academic success" (p. 487).

Success as Inclusion. For Sylvie, success in FI was about whether or not students felt included. For example, if a CLD learner were sitting next to a francophone, they should recognize that "they are just as strong" or "that maybe I'm a weaker writer, but I'm very strong in my oral French." In essence, CLD learners shouldn't view themselves through a deficit lens (Gorski, 2012), as that mindset could impact their individual success and their positioning in the eyes of other students.

Practices.

Administrative. As a teacher-administrator committed to change (Villegas & Lucas, 2002), Sylvie regularly advocated on behalf of students with the school's administration. Among the many issues she addressed were the mispronunciation of student names and the absence of an IB language policy[37]—evidence of her commitment to dismantling the barriers of whiteness.

Inspired by her own unlearning, Sylvie also advocated for more equitable practices amongst staff. Early on in her teaching career, she explained that she would purchase books about cultural taboos. Inevitably, these led to statements such as the following: "well, all

[36] The term "migrant-background" refers to "students born outside of Canada (first-generation) or born in Canada who speak a language other than, or in addition to, French or English at home" (Ahooja & Ballinger, 2022, p. 478).
[37] This practice "defines the ways in which the IB provides support to schools and teachers for the implementation of its programmes in different languages" (IB, 2022c, Language policy section, para. 3).

Russians are like this." Now, realizing that this way of thinking reinforces societal inequities—in that individual learners are viewed through the lens of cultural stereotypes, Sylvie re-directs staff conversations from the culture to the student.

Sylvie recognized that "in its foundation, [GEA] is a White, Anglo-Christian school," but in place of presenting whiteness as normative, she ensured that her department's classroom resources reflected the diversity of *la francophonie*. Since our last conversation, she had also joined GEA's pluralism initiative.

As a member of the Community Culture Design Team, Sylvie focused on language, identity, policies, and student voice—aspects whose interconnectedness and importance weren't necessarily understood. Alluding to critical race theory's interest convergence—wherein POC only gain if Whites also benefit (Anya, 2021), Sylvie questioned why the prayer room for Muslim students wasn't a fait accompli like the school's (Christian) chapel. "Hidden up on the fourth floor," it was never formally announced as part of the school space and gaining access to it meant finding an adult to unlock the office door. Sylvie could see the racism behind these barriers but felt that her day-to-day administrators, "White, unilingual anglophones," struggled to do the same. Still, "she was hopeful that the work of her design team, and the initiative as a whole, would have a positive impact on the inclusion of CLD learners—in FI and beyond" (Reflective journal entry, 2020, June 18).

Anna: Understanding and Appreciating Cultural and Linguistic Diversities and Realities

Participant Profile. Anna was a White female of Irish-Swiss-German and Polish descent born in southwestern Ontario. Although English was her first language, she developed a passion for French early on. In Grade 5, Anna enrolled in CF—a stream in which she would remain throughout secondary school. In university, she completed both her undergraduate studies and

Bachelor of Education entirely in French. Later, Anna went on to teach social sciences in Belgium, and English in Poland and Romania. In her early days at GEA, Anna bridged her interest in language and culture by accompanying students to Japan as part of an exchange program. Hence, along with her fluency in English and French, Anna spoke basic Polish, Romanian, and Japanese.

At the time of this study, Anna had been at GEA for 25 years, teaching IB and non-IB classes in English and French. In speaking of her role, she explained that she "wear[s] three hats": full-time Intermediate/Senior teacher in the social sciences, head of social sciences, and international director—managing many of GEA's co-curricular global programs. In the 2020-2021 academic year, as part of GEA's pluralism initiative, Anna would also assume the role of teacher lead of the Education Design Team. As an individual who was both passionate and inquisitive about our world, Anna hoped to instill a similar sense of curiosity within her students.

Thematic Narrative.

Understandings.

Inclusion as Unity. For Anna, the concept of inclusion looked and felt like unity, as represented in Figure 16.

Figure 16

Inclusion as Unity

Note. **Left-side photo:** A photo of a rainy day in Hong Kong, taken by an amateur photographer. **Middle photo:** A mosaic entitled "The Golden Rule" ('Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'), created by artist Norman Rockwell and later gifted to the United Nations. **Right-side photo:** A dry-mounted poster depicting one of the themes for GEA's International Day: "Under the Same Blue Sky."

Although it could "manifest itself in many different ways," the feeling of inclusion was always the same. In the left-side photo of Figure 16, the individuals were united through their umbrellas, which, according to Anna, "showed a level of belonging in a society." In the middle photo, they were instead united through an ideal: a message of peace and security. Finally, in the right-side photo, object (the blue sky or GEA) and ideal (Under the Same Blue Sky, the theme of GEA's International Day) were united through a poster. In other words, Under the Same Blue Sky, GEA's diverse student body was depicted "coming together." As a collective, "Anna believed that the photos themselves were also united in their feeling of inclusion" (Reflective journal entry, 2020, January 13), characterized by serenity and peace.

Anna's understanding of inclusion, a framing of hope and optimism, is equally reminiscent of Banks' (1998) Heroes and Holidays Approach. This method is particularly reflective of the last image—a poster for GEA's International Day, whose colours, smiles, and theme suggest that diversity would be viewed through the lens of festivity versus that of reality. Racism would thus be at risk of evasion, "negating the fact that cultures are not only celebratory but also in struggle against domination" (Bedard, 1999, p. 20).

Inclusion in French Immersion: Authentic Experiences. In Anna's opinion, the term CLD learner referred to a student who had both been educated, and lived, in settings "with exposure to different cultures and different languages." Inclusion in FI thus looked and felt like authentic experiences—that is, CLD learners "us[ing] their French in a meaningful way." Anna captured these moments through a lens that amplified student voices in a mock press conference, a Black Lives Matter march, and other such activities. In sharing the feelings associated with these experiences, Anna spoke of an "appreciation and understanding of the cultural and linguistic reality" of being a citizen in the world. Taking a more critical stance towards inclusion, she was also referring to the tensions of difference between racial groups (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Engaging with these struggles would indeed center the "racialized realities" (James & Shah, 2022, para. 26) associated with being CLD.

Beliefs. Anna insisted that educators had a "civic duty" to instill in their students an understanding and appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversities and realities. As seen through the beliefs in this sub-section, inclusion in FI was an important means of fulfilling that duty.

Language as Enrichment. Anna considered language a form of enrichment for her classes as a whole: "the more that kids are exposed to a diverse range of languages [and] culture . . . they

see it as a way of life." FI, with its many forms of capital, could also "open up many, many doors . . . professionally and personally." Therefore, Anna sought to create an environment that was intellectually challenging, but "not overwhelming," so as to support the success of all of her students.

Success as Intrinsic. Anna defined success in FI as intrinsic motivation—a willingness to put forth additional effort by "showing the drive and the passion to work in another language" and "appreciating the longer-term benefits [of FI]." Although CLD learners would likely reflect both this willingness and appreciation, it is important to recall that the characteristics of the affective domain, inclusive of motivation, have long been deemed insufficient in predicting success (Naiman et al., 1978). Anna's definition could thus be seen as alluding to an air of elitism—suggesting that her beliefs weren't always congruent with her practices.

Practices.

In-Classroom. For Anna, knowing her students and their stories was extremely important; hence, she used storytelling as a means of relationship-building. Although she would never insist that a CLD learner share their story, it helped Anna and the other students to know what they were "bringing to the table." In other words, they could learn about the lived experiences that would subsequently inform a CLD learner's perceptions of classroom content.

Building on the practice of storytelling, Anna emphasized the importance of listening "to each other and listening critically" as students shared and challenged one another's curricular viewpoints. As part of this process, Anna engaged the classroom collective through counter-perspectives—specifically, newspaper articles or guest speakers so students could "hear different voices" and confront individual biases based on their racial identities (Anya, 2021).

Conversely, at the start of online learning, Anna would be "speaking to the vast [and] no one would answer." She thus insisted that all students keep their cameras turned on. Nevertheless, after speaking with other teachers, and examining her own biases as a White educator, she realized that if students "had numerous people in the household, that that wouldn't support video." From then on, Anna no longer insisted on cameras. Instead, she would incite a collective discussion by having students reflect on a prompt based on a short text.

Administrative. As a teacher-administrator, Anna encouraged the pursuit of FI when speaking with parents and guardians of CLD learners. Accordingly, as the teachers in her department selected literature, music, and historic texts, she ensured that they reflected diverse ways of knowing, being, and doing (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Recognizing that this diversity was "not at all reflected" amongst GEA's staff, Anna, along with the school's administration, was actively seeking to understand why GEA wasn't "attracting a more diverse pool of applicants." As teacher lead of the Education Design Team, she would thus be facilitating a formal assessment of teacher training, PD, and curriculum—one that could reveal underlying racial inequities.

Case Synthesis

For teacher-administrators, the concept of inclusion was associated with individuality and unity—along with feelings of empowerment, serenity, and peace. In this case, individuality and unity were complementary in that inclusion meant being oneself while still finding a sense of unity through our shared humanity.

The notion of complementarity continued into Sylvie and Anna's understandings of the term CLD learner. Whereas multilingualism refers to "knowledge of a number of languages,"

plurilingualism enhances it by "build[ing] up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4).

Moving to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, it was related to growth and authentic experiences. Sylvie focused on the beauty and complexity of inclusion, leading to respect for personal strengths and differences. Anna exemplified these notions in amplifying student voices while also alluding to the tensions of difference between racial groups (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). These realities were evaded in Anna's interpretation of inclusion as unity but are indeed essential for understanding the world in which we live.

Aligned with such realities, the factors influencing Sylvie's beliefs reflected a sense of exclusion, as well as the endemic nature of racism through comments directed at GEA's international students. It was these personal and professional experiences which had shaped Sylvie's beliefs about the significance of inclusion, whereas for Anna, it was her sense of duty. Both considered language a form of enrichment, but their beliefs about success in FI differed. For Sylvie, success came from a sense of inclusion, but for Anna, there was a reference to the affective domain, coupled with a sense of elitism.

Finally, Sylvie and Anna shared distinct practices, but some similarities can be drawn. For example, they both emphasized listening to different voices and using diverse classroom resources—thereby contributing to individual and collective success. They also showed awareness of their privileged identities as White educators, and accordingly, evidence of self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021) as they confronted their biases. Anna's reflection, which led to a shift from cameras to discussion prompts, is particularly striking, as it suggests a re-thinking of what it means to show one's commitment to FI, and ultimately, be successful. Indeed, just as "beliefs

[can] influence practices . . . practices can also lead to changes in beliefs" (Phipps & Borg, 2009, p. 381).

Beyond Sylvie and Anna's individual actions, when examining the case as a whole, what stands out is their commitment to collective transformation. Through their respective roles within GEA's pluralism initiative, they were each working towards more equitable spaces—both in FI and beyond—as they called out and assessed underlying racial inequities. Having examined the perceptions of teacher-administrators, the final section highlights those of parents and guardians.

Parents and Guardians of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

The fourth and final case included 12 parents and guardians of CLD learners. Their findings are presented within this section, along with Table 12, which provides a summary of themes across parents and guardians of CLD learners.

Table 12

Summary of Themes Across Parents and Guardians of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

	Parents and guardians of culturally and linguistically diverse learners
Understandings	Inclusion in FI: Opportunities
	Inclusion in FI: Language
Beliefs	Benefits
	Language and language learning
Practices	Encouragement
	Support

Participant Summary

Parents and guardians of CLD learners were secondary participants in this study. Their children, a primary participant group, were CLD learners in Grades 9-12 who were predominantly in FI.

Thematic Narrative

Understandings.

Inclusion in French Immersion: Opportunities. For these parents and guardians, inclusion in FI meant opportunities—namely, knowledge and mastery of the French language, greater communication skills and job prospects, and a better understanding of the world. "Shar[ing] a same language to express their views," inclusion in FI facilitated connections in Canada and abroad.

Inclusion in French Immersion: Language. Another understanding was language itself. Some participants referred to language maintenance—inclusion being a means of maintaining French or one's first/home language. Others discussed language levels—inclusion as improving their child's current French level, their ability to understand Canada's official languages equally well, or *« l'acceptation ou la prise en compte du niveau de la langue de la personne. »* As in Davis et al. (2021), parents and guardians' understandings were linked to official-language bilingualism, as well as the ability of multilingualism to foster understanding and empathy.

Beliefs.

Benefits. These parents and guardians all believed that the inclusion of CLD learners in FI was important. Many felt that it offered numerous benefits to their children: future professional success, an enhanced education and classroom environment, greater French skills, increased awareness of French history and culture, relatability to francophone parents' linguistic

and cultural identity, and finally, the ability to "become more open minded [*sic*] and more of a global citizen." The benefits of inclusion also extended to participants themselves—specifically, the ability to learn or practise French with their children and the possibility of those children becoming family interpreters during trips to Québec or France. Parents and guardians thus revealed an acute awareness of the power and privilege associated with FI.

Language and Language Learning. Some participants linked their beliefs to language and language learning. Language itself was considered an excellent tool—both for communication and in-depth cultural understanding. Others stated that language learning was important for brain function and that when it came to learning a language, the earlier the better. Participants' beliefs therefore related to FI's cultural (Lazaruk, 2007; OME, 2013) and cognitive (Cepin, 2012; Lazaruk, 2007; OME, 2013) benefits.

Practices.

Encouragement. Most of these parents and guardians saw their role as encouraging their children to learn or improve their French, practise it both in and out of the classroom, and explore the array of possibilities—personal and professional—available to French speakers. In order to access FI's various forms of capital, participants aspired to their children being seen as legitimate speakers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Support. Working in tandem with the classroom context, others viewed their role as providing a supportive home learning environment. As such, they discussed a range of practices: purchasing books in different languages, telling stories, providing safe spaces for the acquisition and maintenance of language skills, speaking in French with their children, teaching social values, and finally, guiding their children towards understanding that "despite the obvious differences—appearance, accents, religion, we are fundamentally the same." As a CLD learner,

this final point strikes a chord. Echoing the notion of a common humanity, its discourse is one of Canada as "diverse and accepting" while negating "the institutional and systemic racism that permeates our country" (Bedard, 1999, p. 88).

Overall, it is evident that these parents and guardians were in a privileged position to support their children's success. Alluding to a formal home-school partnership, one participant even suggested that by offering courses to parents of EF/FI students, they could further support their children's efforts "to acquire another language." The positionality of these participants thus appears to be in contrast with that of lower-class families in which parents may be "occupied with the struggles of day-to-day existence" (Luet, 2017, p. 677).

Case Synthesis

For parents and guardians of CLD learners, language was the common thread to their understandings. Various strands were evident, such as opportunities for connection via a shared language and specific references to language maintenance and levels. Beliefs guiding participants' understandings and practices were linked to professional success, personal development, and their own language learning. Finally, practices were particular to participants' role as parents and guardians. Although the encouragement and support they cited were largely related to language development, there was also a link to a common humanity—resonating an erasure of the lived realities of POC. Generally, however, participants' understandings, beliefs, and practices appeared to be interconnected via language and an inclusive mindset.

When examining the case as a collective, it is undeniable that these participants were from middle- to upper-class, English- and/or French-speaking families, with the wealth, time, and knowledge to fully support their children's access to, and success in, FI—thereby risking the

maintenance of its middle-class bias. Having understood the perspectives within each case, the next chapter connects across cases.

Chapter Six:

Connecting Perspectives: Cross-Case Analysis and Discussion

In this sixth chapter, I connect stakeholder perspectives across cases in order to obtain a deeper understanding of their relationships. To examine the commonalities and differences amongst these viewpoints, I draw on the findings from the previous chapter, as well as semi-structured interviews and reflective journal entries. As part of this analysis, I also discuss the study's findings with respect to pertinent literature. The first three sections of the chapter are thus organized based on the dominant themes identified through cross-case analysis: inclusion, language and culture, and pedagogy. Under each of these themes, I also examine relevant sub-themes—all of which are ultimately connected to this inquiry's key concepts of understandings, beliefs, and practices. In the fourth section of this chapter, I consider the findings through the pedagogical lenses of this investigation. Finally, in the last section, I connect the findings back to theory, making analytical generalizations and reflecting on the theoretical implications of these insights.

Inclusion

Inclusion was a dominant theme across the four cases. Inherent to participants' understandings of inclusion in FI were those of the term CLD learner, described in the first sub-section. In expressing their understandings of inclusion, both in a general sense and in FI, participants discussed the following ideas, addressed in additional sub-sections: acceptance, individuality and comfort, connections, community, and growth.

Understandings of the Term "Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learner"

In the first three cases, all of which focused on understandings of the term CLD learner, participants spoke of the characteristics they associated with these students. Although some were general in nature, "when looking at the characteristics as a whole, it was clear that they were connected to participants' personal and/or professional experiences" (Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 23).

In the first case, Lily and Isabela based their understandings on the effort and circumstances through which they had expanded their cultural and linguistic repertoires—much like Sarah, in Dagenais et al. (2006), whose family language was Cantonese and who relied on the support of her peers to enhance her repertoire and be successful in FI. The hard work of learning French and the lived realities of these students—such as parents who don't speak the dominant language(s) and emigrating from one country to another—thus informed Lily and Isabela's understandings of the term CLD learner. For Elmas and Kofi, when considering their interpretations in isolation—namely, an assortment of social markers forming one's identity and a willingness to engage with difference, they appear disconnected from their individual lives. However, when taking into account the importance each attached to expressing their identities and authentic voices, intimate connections—such as those to the Armenian genocide and Ethiopian food—become evident. By and large, as this study positioned these students as CLD learners, it is reasonable that their interpretations of the term would be linked to their personal experiences.

In the second case, Catherine's understanding was equally grounded in personal experience—that is, the Indigenous teachings she had learnt in and through community. Her interpretation thus entailed an awareness of when to make links to one's culture(s) and

language(s)—thereby modelling ways of being and knowing different from the (White) status quo. This diversity was echoed in Dagenais et al. (2006) through Sarah's explanations of Chinese customs, and in Prasad (2015), through students' linguistic expertise. As a TC, although Catherine had limited classroom experience, the Indigenous teachings passed on to her had greatly influenced her as an educator. Hence, it is fitting that this knowledge would similarly inspire her understanding of the students in her classes.

As skilled educators, Charlotte and Nicolas' interpretations were largely based on their teaching. In effect, it was through these professional experiences that Charlotte had witnessed how the stories of CLD learners enriched their community. Nicolas, through his practice, had encountered students with a range of cultural and linguistic repertoires, informing his understanding of the breadth of possibilities associated with being a CLD learner.

In the third case, Sylvie and Anna's interpretations appeared to be influenced by their learning and teaching—thereby bridging the personal with the professional. Sylvie's understanding was that CLD learners spoke three or four languages, whereas Anna viewed them as students who had "lived and functioned and been educated in different environments, [and in] different settings," thus engaging with various cultures and languages. Considering the breadth of Sylvie and Anna's cultural and linguistic repertoires, their roles at GEA in languages and international programs, as well as the students they teach, it isn't surprising that their understandings would be grounded in both their personal and professional experiences.

Overall, participants reflected an asset-oriented perspective of CLD learners—students whose lived experiences and diverse ways of being and knowing could enrich their collective classroom communities. Although race is implied in participants' interpretations, it wasn't explicitly stated as part of their understandings. On some level, its absence could stem from

discomfort (Dei, 1999; Kunnas, 2019), a common occurrence "even among scholars who theorize about issues of race and racism" (Bedard, 1999, p. 81). At the same time, its omission is likely linked to the term CLD learner, which naturally emphasizes cultures and languages. Indeed, I selected it in order to highlight the assets these students bring for individual and collective learning, but I do recognize that an alternate term, such as "racialized learner," may have led to different findings. The sub-sections that follow consider participants' understandings of inclusion.

Acceptance

Acceptance was a sub-theme that was present in three of the four cases. It was linked to inclusion—both generally and in FI.

In the first case, Kofi associated the concept of inclusion with unconditional acceptance—mirrored in Dagenais (2008) through the experience of Chaska, a learner whose resources were valued by both her teacher and peers. In contrast, conditional acceptance implied a "disconnect" between fact and feeling—akin to Vanessa's experience in the same inquiry, who felt that her knowledge and understanding weren't truly seen as a resource for individual and collective learning. For Kofi, it was in comparing his time alongside his siblings to his experiences on the basketball team that he came to the following realization: when one is accepted unconditionally, and not (c)overtly positioned as inferior, it is then that they are truly included.

In the second case, acceptance came from within oneself and beyond. As Nicolas reflected on his teaching in FI, he recognized that once a CLD learner realized and accepted that their knowledge and understanding was a strength, thereby removing their mask of perceived inferiority, they both looked and felt included—similar to those learners in Prasad (2015), who in

working with their peers to prepare plurilingual books, experienced an individual and collective repositioning as students with resources to share in place of challenges to overcome. For Catherine, acceptance was reflected in the Indigenous teachings of the turkey feather and implied in the confidence and resolve of the land protector, but it was also inferred within the classroom community (see Figure 12 on p. 140). In speaking of two CLD learners from one of her classes, Catherine shared these observations during our final interview: "they sat at the same place, they helped each other out, but they had two different understandings of what was going on in class." Still, the class as a whole accepted them as part of their community.

In the fourth case, parents and guardians viewed inclusion in FI as the acceptance or consideration of a student's language level. This interpretation was likely inspired by their children's experience in FI; however, as suggested in prior literature (e.g., Dagenais & Berron, 2001), it may also have been shaped by their own language learning experiences and multilingual interactions.

Individuality and Comfort

As with acceptance, individuality and comfort was a sub-theme that appeared in three of the four cases. It was also linked to inclusion—both in a general sense and in FI.

In the first case, Elmas associated inclusion in FI with a rainbow (see Figure 6 on p. 114)—feeling comfortable showing one's colours, or expressing one's identity and voice, as a CLD learner. Kofi shared a similar sentiment, connecting inclusion in FI with the comfort to be himself. Like Isabela, for whom the concept of inclusion was associated with a circle of support, Kofi believed that it was the people who were vital to creating a sense of security. As with Sarah in Dagenais et al. (2006), who appeared most comfortable expressing herself in French when collaborating "with trusted peers in small groups" (p. 211), Kofi felt included in FI when he was

amongst individuals who valued his life and struggles as a Black male. Indeed, Black students have been known "to resist education because it is perceived as 'White' . . . [or] they become frustrated with the discrimination they face in a White supremacist education system" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 26). Kofi himself had undergone a period during which he would hide his authentic self—speaking to the necessity of problematizing race in education.

In the second case, much like Elmas, Charlotte linked the concept of inclusion with the comfort to show one's true colours, as echoed in Ballinger (2020) when discussing her son's experience of learning French: "Kai's year of kindergarten ends this week, and he learned everything in the curriculum. Our hope is that he will learn to be himself in Grade 1." (para. 12). Likewise, in the third case, Sylvie associated inclusion with the confidence to be oneself (see Figure 14 on p. 159) and speak one's truths—alluding to an awareness of CLD learners' sociocultural identities and unique voices.

Connections

Connections was a sub-theme that was equally present in three of the four cases. Yet, in all but one case, it was solely linked to the concept of inclusion and not to FI.

In all three cases, "connections took the form of sharing something in common" (Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 23). Elmas, for instance, associated inclusion with mutual interests, as well as a joint history and culture (see Figure 5 on p. 113)—along with the comfort and pride felt through those connections. Similarly, Lily and Nicolas, for whom inclusion was related to fitting in and commonality, spoke of shared passions and interests—resulting in a positive experience or the satisfaction of feeling part of a collective. Finally, for parents and guardians, inclusion in FI was associated with connecting, both in Canada and abroad, through a shared language. This link is revelatory of FI's cultural capital: "linguistic,

stylistic, and knowledge attributes which can enhance one's position in the cultural field" (Shirley, 1986, p. 99).

Community

The sub-theme of community appeared in three cases. In contrast with the previous sub-theme, in all but one case, community was linked to inclusion in FI. This finding isn't surprising, as FI classes were considered classroom communities.

In two of the cases, CLD learners and FSL teachers, community was explicitly connected to sharing one's perspectives and learning from others. Inherent to this process is engaging with the tensions of difference (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The importance of this engagement is emphasized by Smith (2016): "It is not enough in education to teach about accepting other cultures. If necessary, people must be made uncomfortable in order to see how they have normalized racist thinking." (p. 52). In effect, it is through such discomfort that we can come to see and address white supremacy—key to dismantling FI's culture of power (Anya, 2021).

In the third case, Anna associated the concept of inclusion with unity. In reference to Figure 16, "comm*unity* [community + unity] was reflected in the object and/or ideal through which the individuals were peacefully united" (Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 24). Nonetheless, in focusing on harmony in place of complexity, we risk evading the realities of racialized peoples (Banks, 1998; James & Shah, 2022), thus perpetuating White ways of knowing and being. Indeed, Bedard (1999) reminds us that multiculturalism is a (White) discourse used to "alter the reality [of systemic racism] that exists in our country" (p. 87). Sylvie's notion of comm*unity*—being oneself while still finding a sense of unity through our shared humanity—alluded instead to an amplification of CLD learners' realities through voices of difference or the calling out of perceived injustices.

Growth

Growth, the final sub-theme, was present in all four cases. In each case, it was linked to inclusion in FI.

In three of the cases, growth was connected to messiness and beauty. Participants pictured the paths they had taken or observed—either personally and/or professionally. For Lily, the path of inclusion in FI (see Figure 7 on p. 119), representing the effort and range of emotions associated with her expanding cultural and linguistic repertoire, could be described as follows: a gravel laden, "bumpy road," evolving into a beautifully painted path. Given the potential for ongoing growth, and Lily's emphasis on progress versus perfection, the path's ending was undefined. Catherine related the messiness of the path to walking through a park without seeing the beauty of the aerial view (see Figure 13 on p. 141). Once CLD learners reflected on their growth within the FI community, she was certain that the beauty of their accomplishments would come into sight—along with the related pride and joy. For Sylvie, the journey of individual and collective growth, or inclusion in FI, simultaneously looked messy and beautiful—much like Lego and macramé. As represented in Figure 15, CLD learners experienced connections, a lack thereof, and purposeful gaps—all as part of the learning process. As in Lily's case, despite the feeling of growth being distinct for each person, at its core was respect for unique strengths and experiences. As a whole, these understandings aligned with Ladson-Billings' (2014) definition of academic success: the intellectual growth that occurs through teaching and learning experiences.

In the third and fourth cases, growth was associated with experiences, language, and opportunities. In the case of Anna, herein taking a more nuanced approach to inclusion, growth referred to authentic experiences, such as a mock press conference or a Black Lives Matter march—meaningful ways in which CLD learners could apply their French by voicing their

opinions and realities. Moving away from the risk of complicity with whiteness, Anna also made reference to engaging with the tensions of difference between racial groups (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Finally, for parents and guardians, growth referred to opportunities, such as greater job prospects and language progression. As in prior studies (e.g., Dagenais, 2003; Davis et al., 2019, 2021), these parents and guardians were well aware of the economic capital (Jedwab, n.d.; Makropoulos, 2009) associated with official-language bilingualism.

In general, these findings suggest that participants see inclusion in FI as more than bringing CLD learners "into what already exists" (Dei, 2015, p. 19). Indeed, their understandings—associated with acceptance, individuality and comfort, connections, community, and growth—allude to "a better space for everyone" (Dei, 2015, p. 19). Creating this space, however, necessitates a deep understanding of the ways in which "race and racism affect the bodies, identities, and experiences of people of color" (de la Garza & Ono, 2016, p. 2). The second section connects to the theme of language and culture.

Language and Culture

Language and culture was another dominant theme across the four cases. It was first seen in the personal and professional factors discussed below, influencing participants' beliefs regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. It was equally present in the beliefs participants shared, connected to language learning and teaching, cultural knowledge and understanding, and success in FI—a sub-theme bridging language and culture.

Factors Influencing Beliefs Regarding the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion

In the first three cases, participants discussed the factors influencing their beliefs concerning the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. These factors can be divided into two categories: personal and professional.

In terms of personal factors, one of the biggest influences was family. Elmas, Kofi, Catherine, and Charlotte spoke of how their families had shaped their beliefs—whether through the environment they had created, the embracing of languages, community teachings, or their overall upbringing of their children. Although the impact of family was largely positive, that wasn't always the case. While growing up, "Sylvie's experience of being told that she was simply 'too sensitive' alluded to the fact that family could also be a negative influence" (Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 25). Aside from family, another impact on participants' beliefs was an intrinsic desire. Lily, for instance, had a strong desire to refine her French skills, and Kofi, to learn multiple languages.

Professional factors referred to education—both learning and teaching. Lily and Isabela discussed the influence of their school environment and experiences. Similarly, Nicolas spoke of the impact of his education, giving him the opportunity to travel and to gain a glimpse into the experiences of CLD learners. Charlotte, through her remarks, described the influence of teaching in various Canadian contexts—leading to her realization that there was something to learn from everyone. As an educator herself, Anna's beliefs were motivated by a sense of duty to foster both an understanding and appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversities and realities amongst her students. Finally, Sylvie's beliefs were also shaped by her own sense of exclusion at GEA, but above all, by the racist remarks directed at her pupils—CLD learners who were also international

students, seen through an "us" versus "them" (i.e., "White" versus "Other") binary. This dichotomy is revelatory of the fact that "racialized bodies and identities are still being governed *by* and *through* whiteness" (Patel, 2022, p. 29), meaning that they are marked as Other by the (White) majority.

Despite this Other-ing, these factors point towards a positive outlook of the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. In Sylvie's case, although she was socioculturally different from her students, her comments regarding the racism they experienced are indicative of sociocultural consciousness—an understanding that our ways of thinking and being are greatly impacted by factors such as race and language (Villegas & Lucas, 2002)—as well as an awareness of the role that schools play in "(re)produc[ing] social norms" (Collins & Coleman, 2008, p. 284). These understandings were likely informed by Sylvie's Masters degree studies, during which she had taken courses on anti-racism. The sub-sections that follow, centered on language, culture, and success, examine participants' beliefs concerning the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Language Learning and Teaching

A sub-theme central to participants' beliefs was language learning and teaching. Language learning was addressed in three of the cases and language teaching, in one.

When reflecting on inclusion in FI, several participants shared beliefs linked to the benefits of language learning. Elmas, for instance, believed that language learning enabled a greater understanding of other languages, one's self, and humanity as a whole. Similarly, Isabela considered linguistic diversity an asset, whereas Kofi believed that it was through language, not simply of the mind but of the heart, that individuals could connect at a deeper level. These benefits were mirrored through the experiences of Sarah (Dagenais et al., 2006), Chaska (Dagenais, 2008), and the CLD learners in Prasad (2015). Much like these students, the CLD

learners in this inquiry seemed to consider themselves literate multilinguals with the resources to contribute to the construction of knowledge (Dagenais et al., 2006). Language awareness activities, for instance, offer CLD learners "the opportunity to share their linguistic expertise and enhanc[e] all students' appreciation of the languages spoken by those students" (Ballinger et al., 2017, p. 50). Accordingly, Nicolas considered knowledge of several languages a strength in the FI classroom—akin to FSL teachers in Mady (2012) and Davis et al. (2019), who identified prior language learning experience and cross-linguistic transfer amongst the benefits to ELLs and allophone students learning French.

Sylvie and Anna deemed language a form of enrichment. Sylvie believed that all students should study them and stressed the need to value first or home languages. Similarly, Anna considered language a form of development for her classes as a whole and emphasized that French could unlock several personal and professional possibilities. Unlike select administrators in Mady and Masson (2018), associating FI with an intellectual elite, these teacher-administrators generally appeared more concerned with giving all learners access—thereby negating the notion of an ideal language learner.

Parents and guardians regarded language learning as important for brain function, as well as educational and professional success. Additionally, they deemed language an excellent tool for communication and in-depth cultural understanding. Through inclusion in FI, they also believed that the benefits of language learning extended to themselves. After all, their children could either teach them French or practise it with them. Where necessary, they could also act as family interpreters.

In addition to touching on the cognitive benefits of FI (Cepin, 2012; Lazaruk, 2007; OME, 2013), these findings highlight the various forms of capital—economic (e.g., Jedwab, n.d.;

Makropoulos, 2009), cultural (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977, 1982; Olson & Burns, 1983), and linguistic (e.g., Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Heller et al., 2018; Makropoulos, 1998)—parents and guardians associate with FI. At the same time, they signal a risk towards the preservation of societal hierarchies:

> What gives French Immersion so much potential for generating forms of social inequality and repression is not just the cultural capital it gives the middle classes, but the fact that this capital itself can be translated into technical action and technical and economic control. (Olson, 1983, p. 94)

Participants' beliefs were also linked to language teaching. Catherine, highlighting its affective dimension, showcased the importance of modelling her openness and vulnerability in front of her students. These qualities were equally modelled in Dagenais (2008) by Chaska's teacher—who shared that unlike Chaska, who spoke three languages, she spoke only two. She then acknowledged Chaska's perseverance, expressing that at times, it could be difficult to maintain three languages. Indeed, as Nicolas himself discovered during his Masters degree studies, language learning takes an emotional toll on the learner—a notion exemplified in Ballinger (2020) who described her son as "a shaken can of soda, struggling to hold in the thousands of thoughts bubbling in his head because he [was] afraid of making a mistake" (para. 8).

As with Chaska's teacher, Catherine's explicit positioning of herself—a White educator—as vulnerable, showed that she was deliberately working against the language classroom's status quo (Anya, 2021). In turn, this positioning led to a sense of trust between Catherine and her students—integral to language learning and inclusion. Given the importance of

relationships in Indigenous cultures, Catherine's community likely inspired her belief in modelling.

Finally, Nicolas, stressing language teaching's physical dimension, touched upon the fact that proximity—particularly, when teaching aspects such as *« la correction phonétique »*—was vital to student learning and inclusion. This belief, likely a result of his own experiences as a student, could position all learners as competent in place of a dichotomy of linguistic inferiority versus superiority.

Cultural Knowledge and Understanding

Another dominant sub-theme related to participants' beliefs was cultural knowledge and understanding. This sub-theme was present in three of the cases.

Certain participants expressed beliefs linked to benefits. Elmas, for instance, believed that in sharing her family's cultural history, she could increase both her own awareness, and that of her peers, regarding the Armenian genocide—a world issue that may otherwise be silenced beyond the classroom. Lily and Catherine equally insisted that cultural knowledge and understanding led to individual and collective connections—a central component of inclusion, as connections fostered relationships. As for Isabela, she viewed cultural knowledge as a means of developing open-mindedness and considered cultural diversity an asset in the FI classroom. Alternatively, Kofi believed that sharing cultural knowledge was a form of motivation to develop language skills.

The sub-theme of cultural knowledge and understanding was also discussed in relation to an inclusive classroom environment. For Nicolas, this setting would first and foremost focus on our common humanity as a means of developing tolerance. Although this emphasis has been linked with an evasion of race (James & Shah, 2022), Nicolas' practices showed evidence of

equitable learning outcomes accounting for students' lived realities. Charlotte, through her remarks, insisted on the importance of open-mindedness—an outlook that could lead to a greater understanding of one another's perspectives, and eventually, to inclusion as the norm.

Conversely, Charlotte had also alluded to a belief in colour-blindness—which may be the result of a lack of self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021) of her own racial identity. As explained by Carter (1997), "Whites, while socialized in a racially constructed world, are taught not to be aware of themselves in racial terms" (p. 199). Charlotte's example is thus noteworthy, as it not only suggests that our beliefs can indeed be in contrast with one another, but more so, it highlights the risk of FI perpetuating the notion of racelessness (Dei, 1999).

Finally, Sylvie considered a safe environment, built on trust and respect for cultural knowledge and understanding, as integral to inclusion. Essentially, it would enable students to have the space and comfort to share their perceptions and stories.

Success in French Immersion

Bridging language and culture, success in FI was explicitly addressed in two of the four cases: FSL teachers and teacher-administrators. In sharing their beliefs, some participants made specific reference to CLD learners; however, their comments still applied to all students.

Although Charlotte and Nicolas explicitly and implicitly referenced marks, a perceived symbol of intelligence and an allusion to FI being intellectually demanding (Arnett & Mady, 2017), success went beyond numbers. For Charlotte and Catherine, instead of focusing on proficiency—as seen in related literature (e.g., Arnett & Mady, 2017, 2018; Davis et al., 2019; Mady, 2012, 2013c), success in FI was about acquiring and applying linguistic and cultural knowledge. Catherine challenged the Western belief of superiority (Kunnas, 2019), suggesting in its place "a complementarity between Western and Indigenous understandings of success"

(Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 25): the ability to not only understand content but know how to use it to become a better human. Nicolas, in light of FI's stark attrition rates, aligned success with perseverance. Indeed, CPF (2020) notes that in Ontario, "5,745 students graduated in 2019 with a Grade 12 French Immersion credit, representing [only] 38 percent of the original Grade 1 cohort with a small influx of middle and late French Immersion students" (p. 3).

Sylvie, who defined success in FI as inclusion, emphasized the importance of CLD learners viewing themselves as legitimate speakers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977)—a lens that could influence both their individual success and their positioning in the minds of other students. Alternatively, Anna linked success in FI with intrinsic motivation—a characteristic associated with the affective domain, which has long been deemed insufficient in predicting success (Naiman et al., 1978). Despite her concern with all learners accessing FI, this particular belief could be interpreted as elitist, as it suggests that a student can only be successful if they show a willingness to put forth additional effort and an appreciation for FI's lifelong benefits. Although further probing into this belief would certainly be necessary, it is important to recall that all students wouldn't have access to the same resources and support (Dei, 2000; Luet, 2017); hence, expressions of willingness and appreciation could differ from (White) convention.

By and large, participants' beliefs regarding the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were linked to the benefits of language learning, as well as those of cultural knowledge and understanding. Success in FI was also perceived as going beyond numbers. Despite a generally positive outlook, the findings suggest that the beliefs of an individual participant could be in contrast with one another while also pointing to certain risks—namely, the maintenance of FI's middle-class bias, colour-blindness, and elitism. In the face of these inequities, I find myself reflecting on the words of Tatum (2017): "we may be living in a color-*silent* society, where we

have learned to avoid *talking about* racial difference" (p. 51). The third section connects to the theme of pedagogy.

Pedagogy

Pedagogy was a final dominant theme across the four cases. It was discussed in terms of practices—both in-class and out-of-class—described below.

In-Class Practices

In-class practices, herein defined as taking place inside of the classroom, whether in-person or virtual, were discussed in three of the four cases. These practices were primarily linked to building a community of understanding, as well as centering student voices, and challenging misperceptions.

For Elmas and Isabela, their teachers strove to develop a community of understanding through the cultural connections they made and inspired—leading to the sharing of histories and injustices that may otherwise have been silenced. Similarly, Kofi believed that through opportunities to educate his peers about his culture, whether through assignments or discussions, his teachers were contributing to the collective cultural knowledge of their classes. As discussed by Gay (2002), Elmas and Kofi also spoke of a moral obligation to capitalize on such occasions—demonstrating their appreciation of the importance of increasing their class's cultural knowledge and awareness.

Anna, through her remarks, emphasized critical listening, so students could comprehend one another's perceptions, whereas "Catherine focused on thinking relationally—enabling her students to understand learning as a mutually beneficial experience" (Reflective journal entry, 2021, August 26). At the same time, Catherine's students learnt about ways of knowing and

being that differed from the White normative. As emphasized by Bear (2000), "no matter how dominant a worldview is, there are always other ways of interpreting the world" (p. 77).

In Charlotte's case, through activities highlighting students' cultures, as well as by encouraging her students to engage in conversation with their parents and guardians, she was building the class's understanding of each other's values. As a result, Charlotte herself gained a better grasp of her students' identities and aspirations, as well as the support they needed to be successful.

Despite the loss of human connection in the online space, Charlotte attempted to re-build a community of understanding by sharing her worries and anxiety, and by re-thinking her course design in order to better meet her students' evolving needs. In that same vein, she had registered for webinars and other PD activities—a means of educating herself on addressing the topic of race and racism. Given that Charlotte had alluded to a belief in colour-blindness, this PD could facilitate her knowledge of her own role in unknowingly perpetuating racism: "Naming whiteness displaces it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance" (Frankenburg, 1993, p. 6).

As for Nicolas, in order to cultivate a comfortable classroom environment, he strove to foster an understanding of our common humanity and to strengthen his awareness of his students' needs—particularly, those of CLD learners. Within their shared classroom space, Nicolas welcomed, and sought to unmask, voices of difference. Still, as suggested by Bedard (1999), I find myself questioning whether his emphasis on a common humanity and tolerance stem from a masking of his own racial identity:

> Since whiteness has had the power to confer upon itself the title of normality, I feel that most white people fail to see themselves as a race because we do not see ourselves as racial beings but as human beings—the quintessential embodiment of humanness. (p. 85)

The PD in which Charlotte would be engaging could thus benefit Nicolas in unmasking his true self—that is, his White racial identity. After all, he did show an openness towards PD combining the theoretical with the practical: « *je crois beaucoup à la formation théorique, mais il faut que ça donne l'opportunité de la mettre en perspective avec la pratique. »*

In-class practices were also focused on centering student voices. For Elmas and Catherine, one way of doing so was through discussion circles. These were not only a means of engagement but also a forum for students to express different ways of knowing and being through counternarratives. Similarly, in Anna's case, storytelling was an opportunity for CLD learners to share the lived experiences they bring to the classroom.

In-class practices were equally connected to challenging misperceptions. For Isabela, teachers like Nicolas used provocative questions to contest their outlooks. At times, these questions also led to students themselves critiquing each other's viewpoints. Alternatively, Anna used counter-perspectives, so students could challenge one another's opinions and confront their racial biases.

That being said, as GEA transitioned to online learning, Anna showed evidence of self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021) by recognizing that a student with multiple individuals in their household wouldn't be in a position to keep their camera turned on—something Anna had initially requested. Hence, to continue fostering critical discussions, she shifted from cameras to discussion prompts. McIntyre (1997), in discussing the absence of self-reflection, highlights the importance of the change in Anna's practice:

> The lack of self-reflection about being a white person in this society distances white people from investigating the meaning of whiteness and prohibits a critical examination of the individual, institutional, and cultural forms of racism . . . For white educators, in particular, this invisibility to one's own racial being has implications in one's teaching practices . . . (p. 14)

Finally, using photographs, Catherine challenged her students' societal misperceptions by drawing their attention to the systemic nature of racism:

> In the Canadian context, the negative qualities that undermine national unity are projected onto others including poor and working-class people, racialized and ethnic minorities, and First Nations peoples. By the projection and vilification of the other, negative attributes are distributed along class and race lines and reinforced by assumptions that the differences are innate. (Schick, 1998, p. 178)

Given Canada's commitment to Truth and Reconciliation, understanding the media's role in perpetuating racism is integral to critiquing opinions about Indigenous peoples.

By normalizing mistakes and struggle, Catherine also called into question misperceptions of White teachers as being all-knowing, and therefore incapable of making errors. Accordingly, Nicolas positioned all of his students as competent—thereby challenging their misperceptions of being illegitimate speakers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Out-of-Class Practices

Out-of-class practices, herein defined as taking place outside of the classroom or scheduled learning time, were addressed in three cases. These practices largely took the form of encouragement and support.

Given her belief that language was a form of enrichment, Anna encouraged the pursuit of FI when speaking with parents and guardians of CLD learners. In turn, due to the numerous benefits these participants associated with inclusion in FI, they encouraged their children to focus on their French language development—thereby echoing previous studies (e.g., Dagenais, 2008; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Dagenais & Moore, 2008).

Parents and guardians also discussed exploring the personal and professional possibilities accessible to French speakers. Although they didn't elaborate on these opportunities, Davis et al. (2021) suggest that employment with the Government of Canada would be one possibility. Similarly, Kunnas (2019) notes that "while there is no guarantee that being in FI will result in a career with the government, it definitely improves the odds" (pp. 18–19). In addition to encouraging the pursuit of such opportunities, parents and guardians supported their children through resources of wealth, time, and knowledge.

Clearly, these participants wanted their children to be successful in FI. At the same time, given their middle- to upper-class standing, it is undeniable that their actions impact social reproduction and risk the perpetuation of FI's elite status. In other words, the encouragement and support of parents and guardians ensure that their children "maintain advantageous social positions through the accumulation of pertinent symbolic capital" (Yoon & Gulson, 2010, p. 715). One participant had even proposed offering courses to parents of EF/FI students as a means of further supporting their children's French-language acquisition. Although these courses represent an opportunity to strengthen home-school partnerships, if offered beyond GEA itself to all interested parents and guardians, they could equally contribute towards challenging FI's middle-class bias. Indeed, there remains "a significant under-representation of the poorest students within schools offering French Immersion" (Parekh et al., 2011, p. 272).

Support also extended to pre-class conversations and extra help—as discussed by Lily in the first case. Due to the ongoing pandemic, these forms of assistance were particularly important, as they could establish a comfortable and trusting environment for speaking in French while also making extra help more accessible—both of which could be extremely beneficial for those learners whose home support differs from that of their peers. As Davis et al. (2019) rightfully note, the "intent for immersion has never been to support the French practices of families who already display French language abilities" (p. 57). Still, there are clear advantages for these families, as "you can understand what your child is learning, better assist them, and more easily locate resources for them" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 58). As a former FI student, I can attest to these benefits, as I was fortunate to have the help of my older sister who was also in Late FI.

Finally, support equally took the form of advocacy. Although Sylvie and Anna both advocated for the use of culturally relevant (Gay, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995b) resources in FI, their efforts as part of GEA's pluralism initiative differed. Whereas Sylvie's were focused on equity, Anna's examined diversity. Questioning why the prayer room for Muslim students was unannounced, out of sight, and inaccessible, Sylvie would be investigating the underlying inequities behind these barriers through a focus on language, identity, policies, and student voice. As for Anna, given the visible absence of POC amongst GEA's staff, she, along with the school's administrators, was seeking to understand their lack of representation. As part of that process, Anna would be conducting a formal assessment of teacher training, PD, and curriculum. Collectively, Sylvie and Anna's efforts could therefore be seen as advocating for a more inclusive school environment by addressing the systems of domination that uphold whiteness (Bedard, 1999).

In summary, the practices participants associated with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI were reflective of a pedagogy focused on students' academic success (Ladson-Billings, 2014). Not only were their repertoires viewed as resources for individual and collective learning, students were encouraged and supported in various ways. Voices of difference and advocacy also signalled hope of bringing CLD learners to the forefront (Dei, 2015) by addressing FI's culture of power (Anya, 2021). Although this section equally highlights "disparities in opportunity and achievement" (Irizarry, 2007, p. 93), a reality of our current education system, it mirrors possibilities for change—through PD activities, self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021), courses for interested parents and guardians, and GEA's pluralism initiative. Having presented the cross-case analysis and discussion, I now turn to the fourth section of this chapter, which considers the findings through this inquiry's pedagogical lenses.

Pedagogical Lenses

In the sub-sections that follow, I examine the findings through the four pedagogical lenses of this investigation: culturally relevant pedagogy, culturally responsive teaching, culturally and linguistically responsive teaching, and finally, critical race pedagogy for world language teaching.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Attending to students' academic needs, the first tenet of CRP, was evident in the case of Kofi, for whom the novel Nicolas had selected, Dany Laferrière's *Cette grenade dans la main du jeune nègre est-elle une arme ou un fruit ?*, was particularly meaningful considering his lived experiences as a Black male. In other words, Kofi's sociocultural identity meant that he could relate to the novel more than his White peers—thereby helping him in understanding and articulating its key concepts. These ideas were then shared with the classroom collective, as

Nicolas gave Kofi and the other CLD learners the space to express their viewpoints, leading to additional conversations after class. Much like Ann Lewis, one of the teachers whom Ladson-Billings (1995a) had observed, it could be said that Nicolas had attended to Kofi's academic needs—channelling key aspects of his identity, as well as his passion for Ethiopian culture. As a result, Kofi had even selected Laferrière's novel as the topic for his IB oral exam.

Cultural competence, referring to security in the knowledge of one's own culture and growth in the understanding of at least one additional culture (Ladson-Billings, 2021a), was apparent in the study of *la négritude*. As students prepared presentations on various aspects of Blackness, Nicolas engaged them in discussion on connections between *la négritude* and their own cultures (Observation note, 2020, February 20). For Isabela, this discussion prompted her to speak out against discrimination towards women. A normalized practice in Brazil, it was a means for Isabela to connect, as discrimination is an equally pervasive injustice in Black culture. Nicolas was thus using his students' cultures to facilitate their learning—thereby contributing to their academic success and cultural competence.

Finally, socio-political consciousness—that is, the capacity to extend learning beyond the classroom by using academic knowledge and skills to address real-world issues (Ladson-Billings, 2014), was reflected in a photo activity through which Catherine was challenging societal misperceptions about Indigenous peoples. As part of the ensuing classroom discussion, focused on the media's role in fuelling systemic racism, Catherine explained that she was also teaching her students about critical media literacy—providing them with the knowledge and skills to recognize, understand, and critique the endemic nature of racism in the media's dominant discourse. These intellectual tools are indeed a key step towards shifting misperceptions.

Culturally Responsive Teaching

One of the key tenets of CRT involves the designing of curricula that is culturally relevant. Part of that process includes the analysis of materials supporting the formal curriculum, which I observed as part of Catherine's lesson on *Les pionniers du nouveau monde*. In place of presenting a term such as *sauvage* through "a single story" (TED, 2009), Catherine used counter-perspectives to challenge the colonizer's narrative. By teaching her students about the history of settler colonialism, she was addressing a common obstacle to CRT—that is, the evasion of racism and historical acts of violence.

The symbolic curriculum was represented by Catherine's turkey feather—a symbol or artefact whose primary teachings were inclusion and listening to one another's perspectives. To convey these values to her students, Catherine used the turkey feather as a talking stick during discussion circles. Counternarratives centering the voices and lived experiences of CLD learners led to the other students learning from their peers.

The societal curriculum was highlighted through a photo activity in which all of Catherine's students recognized Greta Thunberg but none Autumn Peltier—an Anishinaabe Indigenous clean water advocate. Illustrating the media's power in erasing peoples and histories from societal consciousness, this activity equally brought to light its role in perpetuating misperceptions about Indigenous peoples. Through critical media literacy skills, Catherine was thus teaching her students to both question and counter their media consumption.

As these examples would suggest, Catherine was seeking to engage her students through culturally relevant curricula. Indeed, she was not only focused on their academic achievement but also on their cultural identities and sense of criticality (Ladson-Billings, 1995b).

Shifting to the thought process of CLD learners, Cazden et al. (1985) suggest that their thinking is culturally encoded or significantly influenced by cultural socialization. Nicolas alluded to this point in speaking of *L'Amant*, sharing that due to their cultural values, some CLD learners may disapprove of an affair between a young woman and an older man, but they wouldn't necessarily express their true opinions. As such, Gay (2002) notes that to teach students effectively, it is the responsibility of their teachers to decode their thoughts. Nicolas believed that he could do so but also gave learners the opportunity to communicate their perceptions in writing—after all, the process of decoding students' sentiments could lead to stereotyping and overgeneralization (Gay, 2002).

Conversely, when it came to questions of race and racism, Nicolas shared that his Black students—particularly, the Black males, would freely express their viewpoints: *« ils sont pas timides . . . ils sont très militants puis ils vont le dire quoi, donc là, de ce point de vue-là, je pense que la parole a été un peu libérée. »* In this case, Gay (2002) would classify their communication style as active-participatory, wherein the speaker and listener roles are flexible and interchangeable.

Culturally and Linguistically Responsive Teaching

A central tenet of CLRT is the notion of sociocultural consciousness—an understanding that our ways of thinking and being are shaped by factors such as race, class, and language (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). This particular notion was most evident in the case of Sylvie. As a White educator whose first languages were English and French, Sylvie was socioculturally different from her international students. At the same time, her recognition of the White versus Other binary through which they were seen suggested an understanding of both the impact of sociocultural factors on our thinking and behaviours, as well as the role schooling can play in

reinforcing societal inequities. In other words, Sylvie recognized the air of White superiority in the covert racism directed at her students.

Given their roles within GEA's pluralism initiative, Sylvie and Anna could both be considered agents of change (Villegas & Lucas, 2002), as they were advocating for, and working towards, meaningful learning opportunities for all students—both in and out of the classroom. Reflections on their White privilege, which had taken the form of cultural stereotypes and an insistence on cameras during virtual classes, conveyed an understanding that it is people who sustain inequities within institutions. Questioning the (White) barriers to accessing the prayer room for Muslim students, or a position on GEA's staff, could thus be seen as a critique of the role of schooling in perpetuating societal injustices. That being said, it is reasonable to assume that Sylvie and Anna wouldn't be engaging in this work if they weren't hopeful that change was possible.

Although the participants in this study largely reflected an asset-oriented attitude towards CLD learners, the acknowledgement and validation of diverse ways of thinking and being was most apparent in Catherine's practices—whether through discussion circles disrupting tales of a White Christmas or a song project reflecting changes in worldviews. Engaging students in meaningful conversations—through discussion circles, informal chats, whole-class discussions, or storytelling—was thus one means of acquiring knowledge about students' lives that participants used to support new learning. Alternative formats included listening to student presentations and reading reflective writing pieces.

In terms of teaching practices that were culturally responsive, the final tenet of CLRT, these took the form of inquiries that were personally meaningful to students—namely, Elmas and the (Armenian) song project, Isabela and the connection to discrimination in Black culture, and

Kofi and the lived experiences exemplified in Laferrière's novel. At the same time, culturally responsive practices also took the form of topics that may otherwise be evaded or silenced from classroom conversations—a prime example being Canada's ongoing role in the genocide of Indigenous peoples.

Critical Race Pedagogy for World Language Teaching

Sylvie and Anna were both involved in GEA's pluralism initiative, a collective endeavour of students, staff, alumni, parents, and board members. Established in the summer of 2020, this initiative was meant to enhance the school's efforts towards a safe, respectful, and inclusive community environment. Sylvie would be focusing on language, identity, policies, and student voice, whereas Anna would be facilitating a formal assessment of teacher training, PD, and curriculum. As part of their roles, and as per CRPWLT's first tenet, they would each be involved in assessing whether, and to what extent, FI promotes the inclusion of CLD learners.

As part of our interviews, Sylvie and Anna showed awareness of their White racial identities—Sylvie, in discussing her Masters degree studies and sense of exclusion at GEA, and Anna, her practices as both a teacher and administrator. They were equally conscious of their privileged positionalities, as Sylvie recognized her role in reinforcing societal inequities via cultural stereotypes, and Anna, her biases as a White educator in relation to cameras during virtual classes. Most importantly, they showed evidence of working against these injustices by re-directing staff conversations from the culture to the student and by inciting discussions via textual prompts versus the lens of a camera.

As is evident from these analyses, various tenets of each pedagogy were apparent in the findings. Amongst the various participants, however, I didn't observe these aspects consistently enough to make the assertion that CLD learners in FI were truly included—that is, supported

through pedagogies with a critical orientation. Similarly, the transformation of a classroom collective, inherent to true inclusion, wasn't a shift I had observed on a regular basis. These inconsistencies allude to the need for further observations, which I discuss in the following chapter. As these pedagogies are rooted in the critical race theory movement, the analyses are reflective of the different theoretical tenets at play in the context of inclusion at GEA. The last section of this chapter connects the findings back to theory.

Critical Race Theory

In the sub-sections that follow, I interpret the findings using critical race theory—making analytical generalizations and reflecting on the theoretical implications of these insights.

Analytical Generalizations

This study took place at an independent school—a sociocultural context, or property, that critical race theory would characterize as "privileged," given that its clientele (i.e., students) generally came from families with high socio-economic status. With privilege comes the power of exclusion, a sentiment I experienced in my early days of conducting research at GEA. Through a singular question, I had falsely been labelled as The Brown Receptionist, excluding me from my role as a researcher and reminding me of the normativity of racism—which, given its intersectional nature, was heightened by the fact that I was a female.

As Sylvie had stated during our first interview, GEA was initially designed as a White space, in that it was an Anglo-Christian school exclusively for boys. Although it had greatly evolved since its founding in the 19th century, an air of White superiority remained, which Sylvie recognized in the Other-ing of her international learners and the inaccessibility of the prayer room to Muslim students—the latter alluding to critical race theory's interest convergence wherein POC only gain if Whites also benefit. Given the White privilege upholding these

practices, it isn't surprising that Kofi, a Black male, had experienced a period at GEA during which he would mask his authentic self, so as not to appear as visibly different in the midst of whiteness.

In this inquiry, although CLD learners like Kofi were seen as students whose lived experiences and diverse ways of knowing and being could enrich their collective classroom communities, race wasn't explicitly associated with the term CLD learner. As previously suggested, its evasion was likely linked to the term itself, which naturally emphasizes cultures and languages. Critical race theory, however, would further link its omission to the myth of multiculturalism—alluding to the acceptance of all races while negating the systemic racism inherent to students' lived experiences (Bedard, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This discourse, equally suggestive of a common humanity, was echoed by parents and guardians.

Inclusion in FI—associated with acceptance, individuality and comfort, connections, community, and growth—reflected greater visibility of CLD learners. Amongst other examples, participants spoke of removing one's mask of perceived inferiority, showing one's true colours, sharing one's perspectives, and engaging in authentic experiences. Yet, critical race theory would assert that moving beyond FI's (White) status quo, or "bring[ing] to the forefront those on the peripheries" (Dei, 2015, p. 19), necessitates a profound understanding of the endemic nature of racism—suggesting that CLD learners weren't always seen in their full complexity, as participants' interpretations of inclusion in FI weren't necessarily situated within the pervasiveness of racism. Most telling was Charlotte's allusion to colour-blindness—a discourse evading the "systemic racism continu[ing] to form part of the live(d) realities of people of colour" (Patel, 2022, p. 9).

These realities were voiced through fora such as presentations, discussion circles, and storytelling—which critical race theory would legitimize as the sharing of experiential knowledge of racism (Delgado, 1990). Still, experiences such as those of Isabela and Kofi, who spoke out against injustices and shared alternative perspectives, reveal that tensions remain in understanding and accepting knowledge different from the White standard. That being said, although CLD learners were generally viewed through an asset-oriented perspective—in that their repertoires were considered resources for individual and collective learning—the findings signal a need to "problematize race in such a way that it breaks open the dialogue about white privilege, white advantage, and the white ways of thinking and knowing that dominate education" (McIntyre, 1997, p. 15).

Despite the fact that this investigation identified the risk of underlying racial inequities—such as colour-blindness, a common humanity, and (in)tolerance, participants could still be seen addressing schooling's culture of power (Anya, 2021)—through practices such as conversing in alter(n)ative (Prasad, 2009) formats, challenging misperceptions, calling out and assessing racial injustices, and encouraging CLD learners to explore the personal and professional possibilities inherent to FI. By seeking to address the barriers of whiteness, thereby creating a more equitable learning environment, the findings could be interpreted as indicative of a pedagogy focused on students' academic success (Ladson-Billings, 2014). At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the middle- to upper-class standing of parents and guardians—affording them privileges of wealth, time, and knowledge to support their children's success while also alluding to the risk of maintaining FI's middle-class bias and reinforcing societal inequities.

It is thus noteworthy that this study reflects the potential to inspire change—specifically, through PD activities, self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021), courses for interested parents and guardians,

and GEA's pluralism initiative. As proponents of critical race theory would agree, racial inequities must be "acknowledged through ongoing, systematic reflection, and [be] continuously addressed in concrete and material ways" (Kohli et al., 2022, p. 53). Hence, in cases where a participant's individual beliefs appear to be in contrast with one another or incongruent with their practices—as with a participant like Charlotte or Anna, critical race theory would assert that change is possible but that racism is much more than "discrimination toward *individuals* of color" (Martinez, 2014, p. 12). In other words, change should not only be individual but systemic.

Theoretical Implications

Interpreting the findings using critical race theory has highlighted certain aspects that researchers should keep in mind when applying this theory within the FI context.

First, unlike the setting of English as a Second Language, wherein the majority of learners would likely be POC, in FI, these students represent the minority; hence, it is characterized as a White space. Challenging this notion necessitates an intimate understanding of the endemic nature of racism, as CLD learners aren't always seen in their full complexity—alluding to the risk of a racist status quo (Anya, 2021).

Second, tensions remain in understanding and accepting ways of thinking and being that differ from the White standard of knowledge. Although these tensions may initially appear insignificant, the underlying issue, as expressed by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, is that a single perspective or story "creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they aren't true, but they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story." (TED, 2009). There is thus a need to further problematize race through dialogue and stories that counter "master narratives" (Martinez, 2014), thereby disrupting White privilege and amplifying intersectionality

in ways that recognize the legitimacy of the "experiential and embodied knowledge of people of color" (Martinez, 2014, p. 23).

Finally, underlying racial inequities, such as those identified in this study, need to be addressed consistently and concretely, as "racially unequal opportunities and outcomes are inbuilt or intrinsic to the operation of a society's structure" (Banaji et al., 2021, p. 2). Having connected and discussed stakeholder perspectives and theory, the final chapter concludes this thesis and looks ahead to future possibilities.

Chapter Seven:

Concluding and Looking Ahead

> When schools talk about multiculturalism and diversity, what we are really referring to is the colour of the children, or their difference from that white norm and how they do not fit perfectly inside our lines. If the colour of the space does not change, we are still in the business of assimilation, no matter how many school reform initiatives we dream up. What we have to do, is change the colour of the space—so that the space fits our children and they do not have to constantly adjust to fit in. (Milne, 2016, p. 4)

In this seventh and last chapter, I conclude this thesis and look ahead to future possibilities. To begin, I formally answer the research questions. Next, I discuss important implications of this study for practice, teacher education, and parental involvement. Subsequently, I describe the contributions and limitations of this inquiry and suggest areas for future research. I end this chapter with some final thoughts on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Research Questions

This investigation asked how CLD learners were included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario. In order to respond to this primary research question, this study was guided by three interconnected secondary research questions. In the sub-sections below, I formally respond to each of these.

How do Participants Understand the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion?

Inherent to participants' understandings of inclusion in FI were their interpretations of the term CLD learner, addressed in the first three cases. Participants connected their understandings

to their personal and/or professional experiences—including the effort and circumstances through which they had expanded their cultural and linguistic repertoires, Indigenous teachings acquired in and through community, their role as educators at GEA, as well as their overall learning and teaching experiences, thereby bridging the personal with the professional. By and large, participants viewed CLD learners as students whose lived realities and diverse ways of knowing and being could enrich their collective classroom communities.

Race, however, wasn't explicitly discussed as part of their understandings. Although its absence is likely linked to the term CLD learner, emphasizing cultures and languages, it equally alludes to the dominant discourse of multiculturalism—accepting all races while negating the systemic racism intrinsic to students' lived experiences (Bedard, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The myth of multiculturalism, in the form of a common humanity, was echoed by parents and guardians.

Inclusion in FI—associated with acceptance, individuality and comfort, connections, community, and growth—reflected greater visibility of CLD learners, as participants discussed aspects such as the following: removing one's mask of perceived inferiority, showing one's true colours, speaking one's truths, and engaging in authentic experiences. Despite their positive outlook of CLD learners, informing their understandings of inclusion in FI, the findings suggest that these students weren't always seen in their full complexity. In other words, participants' interpretations of inclusion in FI weren't necessarily situated within the endemic nature of racism. Rather, they were generally rooted in a CLD learner's knowledge and understanding, as well as expressions of their identity. Education, however, "cannot be separated from the realities of race and racism" (Patel, 2022, p. 9)—as exemplified through Charlotte's allusion to colour-

blindness, a rhetoric that perpetuates the "status quo with all of its deeply institutionalized injustices to racial minorities" (Olson, 2003, p. 211).

What Beliefs Guide Participants' Understandings of the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion and the Practices Participants Associate With This Form of Inclusion?

Personal and professional factors influenced the beliefs guiding participants' understandings and practices.

In terms of personal factors, one of the greatest impacts was family—with participants discussing the environment they had established, the embracing of languages, community teachings, and their general upbringing. Participants also spoke of an intrinsic desire. Lily, for instance, had a strong desire to refine her French skills, and Kofi, to learn multiple languages.

Professional factors signified education—with participants referring to the impacts of their classroom environments. Examples included the opportunity to gain a glimpse into the experiences of CLD learners and the realization that from everyone, there is something to learn. Anna spoke instead of a sense of duty to instill in her students an understanding and appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversities and realities, whereas Sylvie discussed her sense of exclusion, as well as the racism directed at her students—the latter alluding to the tensions of whiteness, Other-ing CLD learners despite participants' asset-oriented perspective of these students.

Contextualized in personal and professional factors, participants' beliefs were linked to language learning and teaching, cultural knowledge and understanding, and success in FI. Specifically, they discussed the benefits of language learning, the affective and physical

dimensions of language teaching, the advantages of cultural knowledge and understanding, an inclusive classroom environment, and success in FI as going beyond numbers.

Although participants considered the repertoires of CLD learners as resources for individual and collective learning, the findings suggest that tensions remain in understanding and accepting knowledge different from the White standard—as implied through risks, such as the maintenance of FI's middle-class bias and elitism. In the classroom, tensions were indeed visible through experiences like Isabela and Kofi's—resisting the pull of whiteness by speaking out against injustices and sharing alternative perspectives met with opposition and disagreement from certain classmates. As Patel (2022) aptly states, "the site of resistance is not without its (con)tensions" (p. 69).

What Practices do Participants Associate With the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion?

The practices participants associated with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI occurred both in and out of the classroom.

In-class practices were linked to building a community of understanding, centering student voices, and challenging misperceptions, whereas out-of-class practices took the form of encouragement and support. Amongst other examples, participants shared histories and injustices that may otherwise be silenced, confronted racial biases, normalized mistakes and struggle, and advocated for students—thereby addressing schooling's culture of power (Anya, 2021). The findings are thus suggestive of a pedagogy focused on students' academic success (Ladson-Billings, 2014), as participants generally sought to decenter whiteness in order to create a more equitable learning environment.

Although this inquiry also identified the risk of underlying racial inequities—in forms such as colour-blindness, a common humanity, and (in)tolerance, it equally reflected practices with the potential to incite change: PD activities, self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021), courses for interested parents and guardians, and GEA's pluralism initiative. Ahmed's (2012) words speak to the necessity of addressing implicit racial injustices: "hearing a language as a threat is a way of not hearing: if the organization has ears, it can block them, to stop the word 'racism' from getting through" (p. 162).

Returning to my primary research question, How are CLD learners included in FI at an independent school in southeastern Ontario?, it is clear that although these students are viewed through an asset-oriented perspective and are supported in their success, there exist barriers to true inclusion—namely, the invisibility of these learners in their full complexity, tensions in understanding and accepting knowledge that differs from the White standard, and the risk of underlying racial inequities. Taking these into consideration, it isn't surprising that I didn't observe the tenets of true inclusion—as per pedagogies with a critical orientation—on a consistent basis. Likewise, the transformation of a classroom collective, integral to true inclusion, wasn't a shift I had regularly observed. That being said, the findings of this investigation highlight key implications to be addressed in the subsequent section: the need to understand the endemic nature of racism, to problematize race through dialogue and stories that counter master narratives (Martinez, 2014), and to address underlying racial inequities consistently and concretely.

Implications

This study presents important implications for practice, teacher education, and parental involvement, which I discuss in the sub-sections that follow.

Practice

In this inquiry, CLD learners weren't always seen in their full complexity, as their interpretations of inclusion in FI weren't necessarily situated within the pervasiveness of racism. Participants further alluded to myths, such as colour-blindness, a common humanity, and multiculturalism—emphasizing the need for an intimate understanding of the endemic nature of racism. Although it is encouraging that select participants showed evidence of self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021), this practice should be the norm amongst all staff—both at GEA and beyond.

PD, as suggested in this investigation, would be an obvious space in which to engage in self-reflection; however, Gorski (2019) cautions that in school contexts, a "common 'equity' PD framework . . . is *cultural competence*—an approach that provides a way to talk about 'cultural differences' without having to name or confront racism" (p. 68). Yet, meaningful engagement with systemic racism would necessitate that schools prioritize equity over comfort (Gorski, 2019). It is therefore noteworthy that through GEA's pluralism initiative, participants like Anna would be assessing the school's current PD offerings, as well as other aspects, along a similar line of thinking—that is, for underlying racial inequities.

My recommendation for understanding the endemic nature of racism aligns with Shim (2018), in that I believe that educators and staff alike should regularly participate in "critical self-reflection around race, [a process through which] individuals [can] come to realize how they are situated in society, recognize the dynamics of oppression, and question the consequences of their beliefs and behaviors in classrooms" (p. 134). Combining theory with practice, this process would ideally be followed by addressing racial injustices through concrete actions, as teachers and administrators should "constantly [be] engaged in creating disruption—within themselves, in society, and in the world" (Shim, 2018, p. 134).

Teacher Education

As the findings from this study suggest that tensions remain in understanding and accepting knowledge that differs from the White standard, the question arises of how to problematize race in FSL teacher education programs. After all, TCs have been known to leave their training feeling unprepared for the realities of CLD classrooms (Moldoveanu & Mujawamariya, 2007). Catherine, for instance, questioned how knowledge of "dead, White . . . philosophers" could assist her in creating an inclusive learning environment. That being said, within teacher education, conversations about race and racism tend to privilege narratives of whiteness (Patel, 2022), in that they often result in "accomodat[ing] the feelings and fears of white educators" (Gorski, 2019, p. 67). There is thus a need to name and engage with race (Dei, 1999), both through self-reflexivity (Anya, 2021) and the lived experiences of POC, so as to normalize and legitimize different ways of knowing and being. Otherwise, as in the classroom, those whose narratives counter the dominant discourse will "pose a problem, or appear 'out of place'" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 162).

Parental Involvement

A micro-finding of this inquiry was that parents and guardians of CLD learners were in a privileged position to support their children's success in FI through resources of wealth, time, and knowledge. One participant had even suggested offering courses to parents of EF/FI students, so they could further support their children's language learning efforts.

With privilege, however, comes the risk of maintaining FI's middle-class bias. That being said, CPF (2022b) offers its members free or low-cost French lessons, so in addition to sharing this opportunity with parents and guardians at GEA, one way of disrupting FI's status quo would be to inform their counterparts in the publicly funded school context—of both current and future

EF/FI students. In addition to lessons by CPF, if educators were to offer courses to all interested parents and guardians within private and publicly funded school contexts, they could be re-imagined as opportunities for dialogue on strengthening home-school partnerships and addressing FI's culture of power (Anya, 2021)—which, in turn, could not only influence students' success but also their continuation and interest in FI. The impact of parental involvement could thus extend far beyond students' French language learning. The following section describes the contributions of this inquiry.

Contributions

This investigation makes several important contributions of knowledge and practice to scholarship on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

First, as CLD learners were the main participant group of this study, it offers rich empirical insights into the understandings, beliefs, and practices they associate with their inclusion. In doing so, this inquiry addresses a significant knowledge gap in their perspectives—specifically, those of learners at the Intermediate/Senior divisions. This contribution is especially meaningful, as it not only reveals a barrier to true inclusion—tensions in understanding and accepting knowledge that counters FI's (White) status quo—but it does so through the experiences of the students themselves. Tatum (2003), through poetic reflection, captures the significance of CLD learners voicing their own perceptions, as was the case in this investigation:

> Who am I? The answer depends in large part on who the world around me says I am. Who do my parents say I am? Who do my peers say I am? What message is reflected back to me in the faces and voices of my teachers, my neighbours, store clerks? What do I learn from the media about myself? How am I represented in the cultural images around me? Or, am I missing from the picture altogether? (p. 18)

Amplifying the voices of CLD learners is thus a significant contribution to scholarship, as it challenges the norms and notions of a "whitestream" (Milne, 2016) society.

Second, by examining the viewpoints of FSL teachers, this study contributes to meaningful support for CLD learners, in that it highlights examples of disrupting FI's White narrative—namely, through practices such as challenging misperceptions, re-building a community of understanding, and cultivating comfort. By underlining racial inequities, this inquiry further speaks to the barriers to true inclusion—as per the concern raised by Mady et al. (2017).

Third, this investigation responds to Mady and Masson's (2018) call to discuss the understandings and beliefs inherent to administrators' practices, while also addressing the gap in current FSL scholarship on research with these stakeholders (Masson et al., 2021). In doing so, this study adds to our understanding of underlying racial injustices while also showcasing excellence—both through shifts in Sylvie and Anna's individual practices as they facilitated conversations from the culture to the student and from cameras to discussion prompts, as well as their commitment to collective transformation, as they sought "to understand the policies and thinking that shape contemporary whitestream schooling" (Milne, 2016, p. 6).

Finally, although parents and guardians were secondary participants in this inquiry, this investigation still furthers our understanding of their perspectives on inclusion in FI—which is noteworthy, as research focused on these participants has been "severely lacking in the body of FSL studies since 2000" (Masson et al., 2021, p. 177). Specifically, this study builds upon prior research in that it nuances our understanding of parents and guardians' perceptions through the notion of a common humanity and the risk of FI maintaining its middle-class bias. At the same

time, this inquiry presents the potential for change in the form of courses for interested parents and guardians—a way forward in a "sea of whiteness" (Patel, 2022).

Overall, this investigation contributes to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI. It does so through the viewpoints of CLD learners, as well as other key stakeholders at the Intermediate/Senior divisions—thereby responding to Davis et al.'s (2019) call for future research. Through its framing within critical race theory, this study urges educators not only to reconsider their assumptions of language learning (Mady & Masson, 2018) but also the potential of these spaces. In effect, this inquiry encourages all stakeholders to think critically about the intersection between race and FI (Kunnas, 2019) and its possibilities for "a different educational pathway for the future" (Milne, 2016, p. 6). That being said, despite this investigation's many contributions, it is not without its limitations—discussed in the next section.

Limitations

First, the setting of this study was unique in that it was an independent school in which the majority of students and staff came from middle- to upper-class families—affording them privileges that could impact the understandings, beliefs, and practices they associate with the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. The FI context was equally distinctive in that class sizes were small (17 being the average) and included students from the IB program as well as francophones—the latter being learners who would normally attend a French-language school. The administrative context could also be characterized as exceptional in that it was teacher-, and not school administrators (i.e., vice-principals and principals), who participated. These particularities all impact the applicability of the findings to other contexts; therefore, I used thick descriptions so readers would have sufficient knowledge to form their own conclusions of

transferability (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It is also important to emphasize that I sought to achieve analytical, and not statistical, generalization (Yin, 1994, 2003, 2009, 2014).

Second, Adams and Cox (2008) state that a common limitation of questionnaires is the possibility of misinterpreting questions. In light of that risk, my intention was to pilot the online questionnaire with colleagues. However, given that the timing of the proposed pilot coincided with the onset of the pandemic, it no longer seemed appropriate or viable. Hence, it was only through those participants who completed the questionnaire early on (i.e., in March 2020) that I came to realize that the fourth question had been interpreted differently than I had intended (see Questionnaire Prompts on p. 84). Although I proceeded to insert a supplementary question specific to my original aim, it was only seen and addressed by those who completed the questionnaire in April 2020 onwards.

Last, it is important to discuss the pandemic's overall impact on this inquiry. Aside from eliminating the option for in-class observations, the pandemic meant that teachers had to adapt to the virtual space, leading to inevitable changes in their pedagogy. As such, it wasn't possible for me to observe practices to the same depth or to fully grasp their impact on CLD learners and the class as a whole. Moreover, due to restrictions put into place by the TC's university, she wasn't permitted to teach virtually—thus removing the opportunity for continued observation of her practices. Additionally, in final interviews, the physical and mental toll of the pandemic were evident and acknowledged. Therefore, it is undeniable that it would have influenced participants' responses—amplifying the importance of member checks (Creswell, 2013; Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). At the same time, knowing that participants had just experienced what was quite possibly the most stressful semester of their

lives, I didn't want to cause further anxiety or harm through my research; hence, I didn't probe participants to the same extent as I may have otherwise. Finally, the fact that I conducted parent and guardian recruitment during what is now recognized as the height of the pandemic's first wave (i.e., March 2020), a time when these individuals would have experienced an abrupt change in routines and responsibilities, likely impacted their participation.

Despite these limitations, some of which I couldn't address, this investigation makes a significant contribution to knowledge and practice, as it is amongst the first to use critical race theory to interpret inclusion/exclusion in FI. The subsequent section highlights avenues for further study.

Future Research

The limitations and findings of this inquiry inspire directions for future research.

First, given that the setting of this investigation was an independent school in which the majority of students and staff came from middle- to upper-class families, it would be well worth conducting a similar study in the publicly funded school context to expand upon the findings. Indeed, examining the perspectives of participants from a variety of socio-economic classes could further speak to challenging FI's middle-class bias—an aspect of particular importance, as schools are "an active agent in producing and reproducing class relations and inequities" (Kunnas, 2019, p. 27). As schools have now resumed in-person learning, conducting additional research in either the publicly funded or private school context could also be a means of engaging school administrators, as well as further observing critical pedagogies and their impact on the classroom collective.

Second, in this inquiry, parents and guardians of CLD learners were secondary participants, as their involvement was limited to a single method of data collection. That being

said, there remains a need to gain further insight into their perceptions. Since this investigation also highlighted the possibility of offering courses to parents and guardians as a means of strengthening home-school partnerships and addressing FI's culture of power (Anya, 2021), it would be extremely valuable to examine the impacts of such a course on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Third, given that GEA's pluralism initiative was established towards the end of this study, it would be important to research its effects, as well as those of other similar efforts, on the inclusion of CLD learners. After all, it addresses both individual and systemic change.

Last, there remains an overall need for further inquiries engaging with critical race theory in order to disrupt the notion of racelessness (Dei, 1999) in our field. As noted by Kunnas (2019), there is "a gap in research directly addressing how race intersects with FI" (p. 32). Given that this investigation considered the perspectives of stakeholders at the secondary level, future studies could focus on elementary, or, as suggested by Davis et al. (2019), on specific populations of CLD learners—such as First Nations, Métis, and Inuit students. Inquiries amplifying the voices of this particular population are especially lacking, as Masson et al. (2021) identified only one investigation which "discussed the relationship of FSL teaching and learning to Canada's Indigenous communities and languages" (p. 175). The final section includes some closing reflections on the inclusion of CLD learners in FI.

Final Thoughts

As I draw this chapter to a close, I return to the hope with which I engaged in this study—true visibility for all learners. Reflecting on my own experiences in FI, wherein my identity as a CLD learner was largely hidden, the fact that students are countering this erasure—by speaking out against injustices and proposing worldviews different from the White standard—

gives me hope for future generations. That being said, although disrupting the narrative of whiteness is indeed a sign of progress, much work lies ahead, as FI's "white background, and its unspoken privilege, is [still] the norm" (Milne, 2016, p. 4).

Milne (2016) expands upon the "institution of whiteness" (Ahmed, 2012) through the evolution of a child's colouring:

> When our children are small, they do not care where they put the colours, but as they get older they colour in more and more carefully—they learn about the place of colour and the importance of staying within those pre-determined boundaries and expectations. (p. 4)

Colouring outside of the lines, thereby bringing CLD learners into their full complexity and humanity, thus requires systemic change. Central to this shift—that is, changing the colour of FI—is the recognition that Whites also constitute a racial group with a racial identity (Anya, 2021). After all, failing to see whiteness is to regard the Other as "invisible from being human" (Patel, 2022, p. 30). Desmond Tutu (2015), anti-apartheid and human rights activist, put it best: "All of our humanity is dependent upon recognizing the humanity in others." It is only then that FI can be a space of true visibility for all learners.

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Appendix A

Administrator Information Letter and Consent Form

(printed on university letterhead)

Dear Administrator:

I am a researcher studying inclusion in French Immersion (FI) at elementary and secondary schools in Ontario. The purpose of this study is to understand how culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners are included in FI.

The School Leadership Team has given permission for this study to be carried out in your school.

You will be asked to participate in the following tasks:

Individual photography: This will take place in December 2019 and March/April 2020; the timing of the task will vary for each individual. Photograph prompts relate to the theme of belonging—both in a general sense and in the FI stream. Prompts will be provided to you via e-mail.

An individual initial interview: This will be conducted in December 2019 and will take 30–45 minutes. In addition to demographic information, it will include questions about the photographs you took, your school, the FI stream, and the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. It will be audio-recorded.

An individual final interview: This will be conducted in March/April 2020 and will take 30–45 minutes. It will include questions about the photographs you took and will also be an opportunity to confirm, nuance, or challenge data gathered throughout the study. It will be audio-recorded.

Given that participation in this study will entail sharing demographic information and personal reflections and experiences related to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, you may feel sad, angry, or vulnerable, or experience other forms of mild emotional distress. Every effort will thus be made to minimize these risks through the option to refuse answering certain questions, the possibility of speaking with a school psychologist or counsellor, the option to withdraw from the study at any time, as well as the use of pseudonyms.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the research at any time. The information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for the researcher's thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Your name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.

Following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password

protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from the researcher's home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher's supervisor.

Please indicate below whether you agree to participate in this study. You may return your consent form by e-mail or in person. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated, as this study could contribute to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI. Please do not hesitate to contact me at [removed for privacy] or by e-mail at [removed for privacy] if you have further questions or concerns. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Donatille Mujawamariya, at [removed for privacy]. If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

For consent forms returned in person, a physical or digital copy will be shared with you.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Shelina Adatia

****

I have read and understood the request for me to participate in the study of *An Examination of the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion at Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario*.

☐ I agree to participate.

☐ I agree to be audio-recorded.

☐ I do not agree to participate.

Name of Administrator: *(please print)* _____ Date:_____

Signature of Administrator: _____

Appendix B

French as a Second Language Teacher Information Letter and Consent Form

(printed on university letterhead)

Dear Teacher:

I am a researcher studying inclusion in French Immersion (FI) at elementary and secondary schools in Ontario. The purpose of this study is to understand how culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners are included in FI.

The School Leadership Team has given permission for this study to be carried out in your school.

You will be asked to participate in the following tasks:

Individual photography: This will take place in December 2019 and March/April 2020; the timing of the task will vary for each individual. Photograph prompts relate to the theme of belonging—both in a general sense and in the FI stream. Prompts will be provided to you via e-mail.

An individual initial interview: This will be conducted in December 2019 and will take 30–45 minutes. In addition to demographic information, it will include questions about the photographs you took, your classes, the FI stream, and the inclusion of CLD learners in FI. It will be audio-recorded.

Weekly/bi-weekly classroom observations: These will be conducted once every week/once every two weeks between January and March 2020 for part of or the entire class period. You may be photographed and asked questions about classroom interactions and activities.

An individual final interview: This will be conducted in March/April 2020 and will take 30–45 minutes. It will include questions about the photographs you took and will also be an opportunity to confirm, nuance, or challenge data gathered throughout the study. It will be audio-recorded.

Given that participation in this study will entail sharing demographic information and personal reflections and experiences related to the inclusion of CLD learners in FI, you may feel sad, angry, or vulnerable, or experience other forms of mild emotional distress. Every effort will thus be made to minimize these risks through the option to refuse answering certain questions, the possibility of speaking with a school psychologist or counsellor, the option to withdraw from the study at any time, as well as the use of pseudonyms.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the research at any time. The information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for the researcher's

thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Your name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.

Following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from the researcher's home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher's supervisor.

Please indicate below whether you agree to participate in this study. You may return your consent form by e-mail or in person. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated, as this study could contribute to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI. Please do not hesitate to contact me at [removed for privacy] or by e-mail at [removed for privacy] if you have further questions or concerns. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Donatille Mujawamariya, at [removed for privacy]. If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

For consent forms returned in person, a physical or digital copy will be shared with you.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Shelina Adatia

****

I have read and understood the request for me to participate in the study of *An Examination of the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion at Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario*.

☐ I agree to participate.

☐ I agree to be audio-recorded.

☐ I agree to be photographed.

☐ I do not agree to participate.

Name of Teacher: *(please print)* _____ Date:_____

Signature of Teacher: _____

Appendix C

Parent/Guardian Information Letter and Consent Form

(printed on university letterhead)

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I am a researcher studying inclusion in French Immersion (FI) at elementary and secondary schools in Ontario. The purpose of this study is to understand how culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners are included in FI.

The School Leadership Team has given permission for this study to be carried out in your child's school.

Your child will be asked to participate in the following tasks:

Individual photography: This will take place in February 2020 and in April/May 2020; the timing of the task will vary for each individual. Photograph prompts relate to the theme of belonging—both in a general sense and in the Extended French/FI stream. Prompts will be provided to your child via e-mail.

An individual initial interview: This will be conducted in February 2020 and will take 30–45 minutes. In addition to demographic information, it will include questions about the photographs your child took, their identity as a CLD learner, the Extended French/FI stream, and your child's inclusion in this stream. It will be audio-recorded.

Weekly/bi-weekly classroom observations: These will be conducted once every week/once every two weeks between February 2020 and April/May 2020 for part of or the entire class period. Your child may be photographed and asked questions about classroom interactions and activities.

An individual final interview: This will be conducted in April/May 2020 and will take 30–45 minutes. It will include questions about the photographs your child took and will also be an opportunity for your child to confirm, nuance, or challenge data gathered throughout the study. It will be audio-recorded.

Given that participation in this study will entail sharing demographic information and personal reflections and experiences related to the inclusion of CLD learners in Extended French/FI, your child may feel sad, angry, or vulnerable, or experience other forms of mild emotional distress. Every effort will thus be made to minimize these risks through the option to refuse answering certain questions, the possibility of speaking with a school psychologist or counsellor, the option to withdraw from the study at any time, as well as the use of pseudonyms.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary, and your child may withdraw from the research at any time. The research will have no impact on your child's attendance in class or

grades. The information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for the researcher's thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Your child's name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.

Following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from the researcher's home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher's supervisor.

Please indicate below whether you permit your child to participate in this study. You may return the consent form by e-mail or in person via your child. Your child's cooperation will be greatly appreciated, as this study could contribute to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI. Please do not hesitate to contact me at [removed for privacy] or by e-mail at [removed for privacy] if you have further questions or concerns. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Donatille Mujawamariya, at [removed for privacy]. If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

For consent forms returned in person, a physical or digital copy will be shared with you.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Shelina Adatia

****

I have read and understood the request for my child to participate in the study of *An Examination of the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion at Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario*. I have discussed it with my child and:

☐ I give permission for my child to participate.

☐ I give permission for my child to be audio-recorded.

☐ I give permission for my child to be photographed.

☐ I do not give permission for my child to participate.

Name of Student: *(please print)* _____ Date:_____

Name of Parent/Guardian: *(please print)* _____

Signature of Parent/Guardian: _____

Appendix D

Parent/Guardian Participant Information Letter and Consent Form

(printed on university letterhead)

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I am a researcher studying inclusion in French Immersion (FI) at elementary and secondary schools in Ontario. The purpose of this study is to understand how culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learners are included in FI.

The School Leadership Team has given permission for this study to be carried out in your child's school.

You will be asked to participate in the following task:

An individual, online questionnaire: This will be accessible as of March 2020 and will take approximately 10 minutes. It will include questions about the inclusion of your child in Extended French/FI. The questionnaire can be completed in English, French, or in any other language of your choice. The questionnaire can be accessed at the following link: https://forms.gle/VdnAKCVaPBZkNbqM7.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the research at any time. The information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for the researcher's thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Your name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.

Following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from the researcher's home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher's supervisor.

Please indicate on the following page whether you agree to participate in this study. You may return your consent form by e-mail. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated, as this study could contribute to the development of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning spaces in FI. Please do not hesitate to contact me at [removed for privacy] or by e-mail at [removed for privacy] if you have further questions or concerns. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Donatille Mujawamariya, at [removed for privacy]. If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Shelina Adatia

****

I have read and understood the request for me to participate in the study of *An Examination of the Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion at Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario*.

☐ I agree to participate.

☐ I do not agree to participate.

Name of Parent/Guardian: *(please print)* _____ Date:_____

Signature of Parent/Guardian: _____

Appendix E

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Initial Interviews With Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant, remind them of the following interview, and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your name?
2. What grade are you in?
3. Where were you born?
4. What is your first language/home language?
5. What other languages do you know/are you learning?
6. How did you learn/are you learning these languages? (e.g., through formal classes, tutoring, your family, church, etc.)
7. How long have you been in the French Immersion/Extended French stream?

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learner Identity:

1. How does it make you feel when you can speak in different languages? How about when you talk about where you're from?
2. Do you think it's important to talk about these things in the French Immersion or Extended French classroom? Why or why not?
3. Do you get to speak in different languages and talk about where you're from in French Immersion or Extended French? If yes, can you tell me about a time when you got to do that? If no, what do you think about that?

French Immersion Stream:

1. Why are you in French Immersion/Extended French?
2. Are you enjoying being in the French Immersion/Extended French stream? Why or why not?
3. Did you have to do anything like take a test or answer questions before joining your French Immersion/Extended French class?

Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion:

1. How do you understand the term "culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learner?"
2. Do you feel like you are included as a CLD learner in French Immersion/Extended French? Why or why not?
3. Could you give me an example/examples of when you felt like you were included as a CLD learner in French Immersion/Extended French (you could talk about an activity, a conversation with someone, an assignment, etc.) or of when you felt like you weren't included?
4. Do you think it's important to be included as a CLD learner in French Immersion/Extended French? Why or why not?
5. Who could help you to be included as a CLD learner in French Immersion/Extended French? How could they help you?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview. Just a reminder that we'll be meeting for a final interview towards the end of the study. I will also be asking you to take some photos in response to a question/prompt before that interview. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You/your parent or guardian may contact me at [removed for privacy] should you/they have any questions for me about the study.

Appendix F

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Final Interviews With Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?
5. Where would you say this understanding comes from?
6. What photos would you have sent if I had added "during the COVID-19 pandemic" to the photo prompt?

Teaching and Learning during COVID-19:

1. Tell me what it was like to be a Grade X student amidst the COVID-19 pandemic—both generally and specifically as a CLD learner.
2. How did you find the experience of online classes? (e.g., What were some unexpected opportunities or challenges?)
3. How did you find the experience of working in small groups in breakout rooms?
4. Did you notice any shift in teaching practices in regards to inclusion—both generally and specific to CLD learners? Could you tell me about that?
5. Did assignments and other evaluations shift as a result of online learning? What are your thoughts on that?

6. Have there been more opportunities for you to connect with your friends or family in relation to school or more personally during this time? If so, how have you found that experience?
7. Have you had more time to pursue interests or passions of yours? Could you tell me about that?
8. What do you think teaching and learning will look like at your school in September 2020? How can teachers in Extended French and French Immersion continue to prioritize the inclusion of CLD learners?
9. What impact did the shift to online learning have on your sense of inclusion—in a general sense and specifically as a CLD learner?

School Initiatives:

1. Did initiatives that would normally happen at your school continue virtually? If so, how was that? If not, how do you feel about that?
2. Were other initiatives or practices put into place? If so, how have you found those or what impact have they had on yourself, other students, etc.?

Recommendations and Memories:

1. What advice would you have for younger students coming to your school regarding inclusion—both generally and specific to the Extended French/French Immersion stream?
2. What advice would you have for teachers in regards to the inclusion of CLD learners in Extended French/French Immersion? (e.g., What are they doing well and what could be changed or improved upon?)
3. Do you have any advice for administrators?
4. **Grade 12 students:** What is your greatest memory from the French Immersion stream?
5. **Grade 12 students:** What is one lesson from the French Immersion stream that you will keep with you as you move on?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview and in the study. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You/your parent or guardian may contact me at [removed for privacy] should you/they have any questions for me about the study. Thank you again!

Appendix G

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Initial Interviews With French as a Second Language Teachers

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis
- and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant, remind them of the following interview, and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your first language/home language?
4. What other languages do you know/are you learning?
5. How did you learn/are you learning these languages? (e.g., through formal classes, tutoring, your family, church, etc.)
6. How long have you been teaching in the French Immersion/Extended French stream? What does your role entail? What did you do previously, here or elsewhere?

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?

Class Description (of the class or classes I would likely observe):

1. What are the different cultures and languages represented in your class(es)?
2. How do you communicate/interact with your students' families?

3. What curricular content are you currently teaching in this class/will you be teaching in January when I hopefully begin classroom observations?
4. How are your students responding to the content/how do you think they will respond to the content?

French Immersion Stream:

1. Why did you decide to teach in the French Immersion/Extended French stream?
2. How are students admitted into the stream?
3. What does the term "culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learner" mean to you?
4. Is there a special/different process for CLD learners to be admitted into the stream?
5. Are there any conditions under which you would exclude CLD learners from French Immersion? Why or why not?
6. What are your overall thoughts on the stream?
7. How would you define success in French Immersion?

Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion:

1. How do you understand/define your role as a teacher in the French Immersion/Extended French stream with regards to the inclusion of CLD learners?
2. Where do you think that understanding comes from?
3. Could you share some examples of specific classroom practices or strategies that you use as a teacher to be inclusive of CLD learners in French Immersion/Extended French?
4. Do you think that such practices or strategies are important? Why or why not?
5. How would you define success in French Immersion/Extended French for CLD learners?
6. What types of support would be useful to you as a teacher in being more inclusive of CLD learners in French Immersion/Extended French?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview. Just a reminder that we'll be meeting for a final interview towards the end of the study. I will also be asking you to take some photos in response to a question/prompt before that interview. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You may contact me at [removed for privacy] or via e-mail should you have any questions for me about the study. Thank you again!

Appendix H

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Final Interviews With French as a Second Language Teachers

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?
5. Where would you say this understanding comes from?
6. What photos would you have sent if I had added "during the COVID-19 pandemic" to the photo prompt?

Teaching and Learning during COVID-19[38]:

1. Tell me what it was like to be a teacher amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. (e.g., What are some examples of challenges and opportunities that you've experienced? Did you feel supported by your department and/ or the administration in addressing those challenges?)
2. Other than teaching online, did you make any other changes to your teaching practices during the pandemic? Why or why not?

[38] Questions in this section were modified as necessary for the TC.

3. From what you've seen in your class(es), what impact has the shift to online learning had on students' sense of inclusion—both generally and specifically as CLD learners?
4. What were parents and guardians' thoughts around the shift to online teaching and learning?
5. Are there any best practices from your online teaching experience that you'll continue to follow?
6. Moving away for a moment from COVID-19 itself, how might movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples influence your curriculum or teaching practices this coming year?
7. Are there any significant curricular changes being planned within your department or even school-wide changes being planned as a result of movements like #BlackLivesMatter or anti-racist movements in general?
8. Have you made any changes to your curriculum for this coming year? If so, could you tell me about them?
9. Are there plans for ongoing professional development for teachers and administrators regarding anti-racist education that you're able to share?

School Initiatives:

1. Did initiatives that would normally happen at your school continue virtually? If so, how was that? If not, how do you feel about that?
2. Did you participate in modifying initiatives for the virtual space or did you launch any new initiatives with students during this period? If so, could you tell me about that?

Advice:

1. What advice would you give to CLD learners entering Extended French or French Immersion next year?
2. What advice would you give to the 2020 graduates of Extended French or French Immersion?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview and in the study. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You may contact me at [removed for privacy] or via e-mail should you have any questions for me about the study. Thank you again!

Appendix I

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Initial Interviews With Teacher-Administrators

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant, remind them of the following interview, and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your first language/home language?
4. What other languages do you know/are you learning?
5. How did you learn/are you learning these languages? (e.g., through formal classes, tutoring, your family, church, etc.)
6. How long have you been an administrator in the French Immersion stream? What does your role entail? What did you do previously here or elsewhere?

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?

School Description:

1. Could you tell me about your school's culture/ethos?
2. What are the different cultures and languages represented by your staff and students?
3. How do you communicate/interact with students and families of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds?
4. How many of these students are in the French Immersion stream?

French Immersion Stream:

1. What are your thoughts on the French Immersion stream?
2. How are students admitted into the stream?
3. What does the term "culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learner" mean to you?
4. Is there a special/different process for CLD learners to be admitted into the stream?
5. Are there any conditions under which you would exclude CLD learners from French Immersion? Why or why not?
6. How would you define success in French Immersion?

Inclusion of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Learners in French Immersion:

1. How do you understand/define your role as an administrator in the French Immersion stream with regards to the inclusion of CLD learners?
2. Where do you think that understanding comes from?
3. Could you share some examples of specific practices or strategies that you use to be inclusive of CLD learners in French Immersion?
4. Do you think that such practices or strategies are important? Why or why not?
5. How would you define success in French Immersion for CLD learners?
6. What types of support would be useful to you in being more inclusive of CLD learners in French Immersion (e.g., as an administrator, a teacher, support for teachers)?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview. Just a reminder that we'll be meeting for a final interview towards the end of the study. I will also be asking you to take some photos in response to a question/prompt before that interview. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You may contact me at [removed for privacy] or via e-mail should you have any questions for me about the study. Thank you again!

Appendix J

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Final Interviews With Teacher-Administrators

Date:

Interviewee:

Duration of Interview:

General Procedure:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to be interviewed and confirm that this is still the case.
- Test the recording equipment and remind the participant that the interview will be audio-recorded (ensure that they still agree to that).
- Remind the participant of the research purpose: To understand how CLD learners are included in FI.
- Remind the participant that the information shared will be kept confidential and will be used for my thesis and subsequent presentations and publications. Their name will be replaced by a pseudonym, as will the school's, during oral presentations and in written publications.
- Assure the participant that following the five-year retention period, physical data, stored in a locked cabinet at my home office, will be securely shredded. Electronic data, stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer, will be securely deleted from my home office computer and from the external hard drive, stored in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor.
- Remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and that they may withdraw at any time.
- Share the interview themes with the participant and remind them of the estimated interview time.
- Upon completion of the interview, thank the participant and ask if the participant has any additional comments or questions.
- Turn off the audio-recorders.

Photograph Discussion: (**PROMPT:** How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?)

1. Tell me about the photographs you took.
2. Why did you choose to take these photographs?
3. How do you feel when you look at these photographs?
4. How would you now respond to this question: How does it look and feel to belong as a CLD learner in Extended French/French Immersion?
5. Where would you say this understanding comes from?
6. What photos would you have sent if I had added "during the COVID-19 pandemic" to the photo prompt?

Teaching and Learning during COVID-19:

1. Tell me what it was like to be a teacher and administrator amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. (e.g., What are some examples of challenges and opportunities that you've experienced?)
2. From your understanding, did the teachers in your department make any significant shifts in teaching practices in regards to inclusion—both generally and specific to CLD learners?
3. From what you've seen in your classes as well as what you've been told by teachers, what impact has the shift to online learning had on students' sense of inclusion—both generally and specifically as CLD learners?
4. Have you been in contact with parents and guardians? What have been their thoughts around the shift to online teaching and learning?
5. What are some best practices from your online teaching experience that you'll continue to follow?

6. How do you think global issues, such as COVID-19, the #BlackLivesMatter movement, and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples will influence teaching and learning at the school?
7. Within your department, are you planning any curricular changes or new courses to be taught in regards to the growing need for anti-racist education?
8. Are there any changes being planned in terms of professional development for teachers and administrators or even whole school anti-racist initiatives that you're able to share?

School Initiatives:

1. Did initiatives that would normally happen at your school continue virtually? If so, how was that? If not, how do you feel about that?
2. Did you participate in modifying initiatives for the virtual space or did you launch any new initiatives with students during this period? If so, could you tell me about that?

Advice:

1. What advice would you give to CLD learners entering Extended French or French Immersion next year?
2. What advice would you give to the 2020 graduates of Extended French or French Immersion?

Additional Comments/Questions:

- Thank you very much for participating in this interview and in the study. Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we end our interview?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- You may contact me at [removed for privacy] or via e-mail should you have any questions for me about the study. Thank you again!

Appendix K

Photograph Prompt: Initial Interview

Please read the prompt (question) below. You must take at least two photographs (but no more than five) in response to the prompt. Please take your photographs at least two days before our interview so that they can be shared with me beforehand. We will discuss your photographs during our interview. Please don't hesitate to contact me should you have any questions/concerns at [removed for privacy].

Prompt 1

How does it look and feel to belong somewhere?

Appendix L

Photograph Prompt: Final Interview

Please read the prompt (question) below. You must take at least two photographs (but no more than five) in response to the prompt. Photos can be taken at home and can also be abstract/symbolic in nature. I welcome your creativity! Please share your photographs with me at least one day before your interview. Don't hesitate to contact me should you have any questions/concerns at [removed for privacy].

Prompt 2

How does it look and feel to belong as a culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) learner in Extended French/French Immersion?

Appendix M

Classroom Observation Protocol

Date:	**Start & End Times:**
Grade & Class:	**Type of Observation:**
Teacher:	**Student Participants:**

Theme	**Notes/Questions/Reflections/Drawings/Other**
Classroom Space: How is the classroom space organized? How are students seated/grouped? What types of visuals/messaging is present in the classroom?	
Classroom Interactions (e.g., student-student, FI teacher-student): What is being discussed? Who is participating and how? What languages and cultural references are present and how are they used?	
Classroom Activities: What's happening/being discussed? What instructions are given and how? Who is participating and how? What languages and cultural references are present and how are they being used? What modes of expression are used and for what purpose(s)? What is the end result and what are students' reactions/reflections?	
Other/General Comments:	

Appendix N

Questionnaire for Parents/Guardians

Please respond to the questions below in the language of your choice (English, French, or another language).

Note: The type of inclusion I am referring to in the questions below is the inclusion of culturally and linguistically diverse learners (i.e., learners who have at least one first language/home language that is not English or French).

1. What does the inclusion of your child in Extended French[39]/French Immersion mean to you?
2. Is their inclusion important? Why or why not? Please explain.
3. What, if any, do you believe is your role as a parent or guardian in fostering an inclusive classroom environment in Extended French/French Immersion?
4. What, if anything, could be beneficial to you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?
5. What, if anything, could help you in supporting your child's inclusion in Extended French/French Immersion?

[39] Given that two of the CLD learners in this study were in EF, the EF stream was mentioned as part of the questions.