“Hey G!” An Examination of how Black English Language Learning High School Students from Immigrant Families Experience the Intersection of Race and Second Language Education

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore Black Canadian English language learning students' acquisition and use of Black Stylised English. I will be looking at the use of Black Stylised English with respect to these students' experiences of racial microaggressions, defined as everyday subtle acts of racism. This study poses the question: How does experiencing racial microaggression impact Black Canadian ELL students' acquisition of Black English as a second language?

This study was conducted in 2015 and draws on Critical Race Theory methodology with a focus on storytelling and counter-storytelling as a means to disrupt the dominant narrative. The participants were Black Canadian ELL students from immigrant families living in a metropolitan city in Northeastern Ontario attending after-school programs. A purposefully selected sample of 24 students who self-identified as Black and four support workers were examined. Data for this study was collected at three different after-school program sites. The first after-school program was located in a suburb at a seniors' residence where students volunteered. The second after-school program was located in the downtown area and catered to newly arrived immigrants. The third site was located in the west end of the city and focused on the academic success of students from low-income families.

The study found the following: first, all participants had experienced racial microaggressions. Second, there are similarities and differences in the participants' experiences depending on the context. Third, experiencing racial microaggressions had an emotional effect on participants. Fourth, most participants did not know how to respond directly to racial microaggressions. Fifth, although they did not know how to respond to racial microaggressions, the boy participants used Black Stylized English as a defence mechanism to cope with the racial

microaggressions. The girl participants acquired and used BSE to fit-in with other Black girls. In response to racial microaggressions the girl participants focused on losing their accents in order fit-in with their racialized White counterparts. Sixth, after-school programs operate on the basis of the authorized multicultural discourse.

Dedication

Je dédicace cette thèse à ma mère qui a su me supporter, m'écouter et m'encourager tout au long de mon parcours. Merci pour tout ce que tu fais pour moi!

Ta fille qui t'aime, Carou

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Purpose

This study seeks to examine Black ELL Canadian students' use of what Ibrahim (2008) coined Black Stylised English (BSE) in the context of after-school programs. Ibrahim (2008) defines BSE as "ways of speaking that do not depend on full mastery of the language. It banks more on ritual expressions such as whassup, whadap, whassup [what is happening] my Nigger, and yo, yo homeboy [cool friend], which are performed habitually and recurrently in rap" (p. 66). BSE was the type of English spoken by the Black ELL students of this study. For example, an expression such as 'hey G!', mentioned in the title of this thesis, is used as a term of endearment and as a greeting. 'G' is a derivative of 'nigga' and often employed colloquially by Blacks (Hunter, 2007). Andrews (2014) explains that the use of 'hey G!' for example, is part of what is called acting Black. The implication of acting Black is that Whiteness is understood to be linked to academic success while Blackness is associated with being anti-school (Andrews, 2014).

I will be looking at the use of BSE specifically with respect to these students' experiences of racial microaggressions, defined for the purposes of this study as everyday verbal and non-verbal subtle acts of racism exhibited towards Black ELL students (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015; Solórzano, 1998; Sue et al., 2007). The cumulative impact of these assaults can take a psychological, physiological and academic toll (Sue, 2010). Some examples of racial microaggressions could include the following: a) a racialized Black woman being mistaken for hotel staff while attending a conference, b) a racialized White woman clutching her purse as a racialized Black man enters an elevator or, c) a racialized White woman crossing the street when encountering a group of Black young men or women. I use counter-stories, an element of critical

race theory (CRT) methodology, to understand these students' use of BSE in response to these racial microaggressions.

Overview of CRT and CRT Methodology

In its simplest form, CRT examines issues of race and racism and seeks to transform them (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Race is understood to be a socially and historically constructed notion (Ibrahim, 2008, 2014; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Miles, 1989; Miles & Brown, 2003; Omi, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1994; Schroeter & James, 2015). Nevertheless, it is used to place people in general categories based on phenotypical features such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture and facial features (Dei, 1996; Dei & McDermott, 2014; Ibrahim, 2000, 2008, 2014; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Omi & Winant, 1994). Given the socially constructed nature of race, scholars prefer the term racialization to refer to the process of categorizing people (Ibrahim, 2015; Kubota, 2015; Kubota & Lin, 2006). Racialization can lead to racism but does not always result in racist acts (Miles, 1989). Racism, can be overt, which are blatant acts of racism, like calling someone a 'nigger' or covert, which are referred to racial microaggressions. In this study, CRT will be used to help understand Black ELL Canadian students' experiences with racial microaggressions.

CRT methodology uses storytelling and counter-storytelling to give a voice to the voiceless (Ibrahim, 2015; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Counter-stories are "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 32). CRT characterizes those who are racialized and marginalized, people of colour, as the voiceless, ultimately addressing the situation of racial minority students (James, 2017b). Within this study's context, the racialized voiceless, those living on the margins, are the Black Canadian ELL youth (hereinafter Black

ELL youth). While 'the story' is often told by the dominant group, expressed to maintain the status quo (Delgado, Stefancic & Harris, 2017), the purpose of a counter-story is to disrupt this dominant narrative and, hence, the status quo (Delgado et al., 2017). The story, introduced in the following section, is also the problem that drives this study. The counter-story will emerge from the data collected during the interviews, focus group sessions, and observations and will be presented in the findings chapter. To explain the story, I now move on to the second tenet, CRT's critique of liberalism.

Storytelling the Problem

Schroeter and James (2015) argue that within the Canadian context, multiculturalism operates as an *authorized discourse.* The Canadian government in 1971 introduced the policy of multiculturalism. As a result of the government's interest in promoting cultural diversity educational institutions also began to examine their policies and practices (Henry & Tator, 2006; Lund, 2006). The aim of multicultural education is to encourage respect, tolerance and understanding of other cultures (Lund, 2006). With the introduction of multicultural education, the issue of racism appeared for the first time on the agenda of educational institutions (Henry & Tator, 2006).

However, multicultural education has now become nothing more than short-term programs with the intent to introduce the notion of diversity particularly to the majority group (Lund, 2006). This is accomplished through events such as Black History Month and Multicultural Days, in which students dress in their cultural clothing and share their ethnic food with the intent of fostering an awareness, sensitivity and tolerance of the values, beliefs and aspiration of ethnic minority group members (James, 2017b; Lund, 2006).

Dei (1996) and Lee (1985) are amongst the many Canadian scholars who have denounced multicultural education for failing to name and address racism. These scholars argue that multicultural education has stopped focusing on race altogether. Furthermore, James (2017b) notes that within a Canadian context where multicultural ideology:

> promotes color blindness, cultural democracy, equality of opportunity, and essentialist notions of identity, such theories compel questioning and interrogation of institutions' (e.g., schools') claims of being racially neutral and culturally democratic (or culturally neutral) spaces able to fairly accommodate all cultures. (p. 37)

The multicultural discourse has been widely critiqued for failing to address issues of discrimination, and indeed the problem of racialized discourse persists in everyday covert forms of racism, which I call racial microaggressions. These verbal and nonverbal racialized discourses persist and serve to support domination, exclusion and marginalization (Henry & Tator, 2006). Furthermore, these discourses can happen both inside and outside of formal schooling (Ibrahim, 2014). This study focuses on students attending informal after-school programs.

Research Questions

The main research question this study aims to answer is: How does experiencing racial microaggressions affect Black ELL youths' acquisition and use of what Ibrahim (2014) calls Black English as a second language (BESL)? This main inquiry is further elaborated through the following sub-questions:

1. What type of racial microaggressions do Black ELL youths experience?

2. What is the context of the racial microaggressions (how and where do they occur)?
3. What is the effect of the racial microaggressions on the Black ELL youths?
4. How do the Black ELL youths respond to interpersonal and institutional racist acts and behaviours?
5. Do after-school programs provide Black ELL youth with the necessary vocabulary and concepts to validate and name their experiences with racial microaggressions?

About the Study

The study took place in a city in a region of the Canadian province of Ontario. The province has the largest concentration of Black Canadians (4.7%), followed by Quebec (4%) and Alberta (3.3%) (Statistics Canada, 2017). The Black population is the third largest visible minorities group (627,715 people) in Ontario. In addition, of all the racialized people in Ontario under the age of 15, 20% are Black (Ontario Working to Build an Inclusive and Equitable Society for All, 2017). The city chosen for this study is similar to other metropolitan cities in Ontario in that it has a rich and vibrant hub of ethno-diversity. At the time of the study, the chosen city's school board had not started collecting data on Black ELL students. As such, I only looked at statistics from the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) to see how ELL students who self-identified as Black faired in English language classes.

According to the TDSB (2014) "more than 50% of students in the TDSB speak a language other than English at home. While some English language learners are new to Canada, others start learning English when they begin school" (n.p.). Commissioned by the TDSB Brown

and Sinay (2008) examined the English levels of students who self-identified as Black. They defined Black students as those born in Canada, the English-speaking Caribbean and Africa. As Table 1 illustrates, 14% of Black students enrolled in English as a second language (ESL) / English literacy development (ELD) programs were born in Africa, 0% were born in Canada and 6% from the English speaking Caribbean Region.

These numbers simply provide an overview of the percentage of students enrolled in ESL/ELD, they are approximately 10 years old and do not account for the recent immigration. Furthermore, they only focused on the Grade 9 cohort. They are the only statistics I could find on Black high school students in ESL/ELD programs. These statistics are nevertheless important because they illustrate, that at the time, 39 % of Canadian born Black students are speaking at a level 1 or below compared to 37% of Black students from English-speaking Caribbean and 31% of African born students. This puts them in ELL status, much like the study participants.

The data for this study was collected at three different sites offering after-school programs. After-school programs are defined as weekly informal student support gatherings. These gatherings are designed to provide recreational and social development activities for students enrolled in local high schools. Some of these programs focus on language training, job placement (Biles, Burstein, & Frideres, 2011) and career mentoring. The first after-school program (ASP 1) is located in a suburb at a seniors' residence where students volunteer. The second after-school program (ASP 2) caters to newly arrived immigrants and is located in the downtown area. The program focuses on language training and academic tutoring. The third site (ASP 3) is in the west end and is focused on academic success, offering career building and mentorship for students living in a catchment area of low-income families. More details about the context of each program will be provided in the methodology section.

Table 1

Gr. 9 Cohort Student Achievement of Self-identified Black Students in English-ESL/ELD by Region of Birth

	English – ESL/ELD				
Region of Birth	ESL/ELD	Level 1 and Below	Level 2	Level 3 and 4	Total
	%	%	%	%	N
Africa	14%	31%	20%	35%	208
Canada	0%	39%	25%	36%	1483
English Speaking Caribbean	6%	37%	19%	38%	191

Brown and Sinay (2008).

CRT methodology is used for this study with a focus on storytelling and counter-storytelling. The notion of racial microaggressions is used as an analytical tool to articulate the students' experiences and privilege their voices. The study participants are comprised of a purposefully selected sample of 24 Black ELL youths from immigrant families enrolled in after-school programs, as well as four support workers.

Rationale

This study can serve to inform educators—teachers and youth support workers (YSW)—of the importance of talking to Black ELL students about race. In addition, it can increase educators' awareness of the significance of helping their Black ELL students understand and validate their experiences. Most importantly, this study outlines the necessity of giving these students the vocabulary to name their experiences with racial microaggressions and of helping them develop the tools to respond to these offensive acts. If nothing more, my hope is that this study provokes

a re-examination of current after-school program practices, and better positions YSW to work towards establishing programs that are more responsive to their students' needs.

Background of the Researcher

My interest in the topic of racialization in education stems from my personal experience as an ELL. I was born in Montreal (Quebec). Growing up, my parents spoke to me exclusively in French. Unexpectedly, just before I was to start primary school, my family moved to Ontario, which, while ostensibly bilingual, is still far less of a cultural and language haven than Montreal. Ontario is where I currently reside and work part-time.

While at my part-time job, an incident occurred. Last year (2017), as part of the life cycling of computer equipment at work, I received a Surface Pro. I requested training on the new functionalities of Windows 10 on this device. My trainer was a woman whom I racialized as White and who was nearing her retirement. The training began formally and slowly turned into a casual conversation. She began telling me, in French, about her most recent European cruise. I did the usual and expressed interest in her trip. She then abruptly changed the conversation and proceeded to ask me how long I had been in Canada. At that point, I realized that I was, for the first time ever, being racialized through a microaggression. I was at a loss for words. That simple question stirred up feelings of anger and frustration and internal doubt. Was my French, my mother tongue, not good enough to qualify me as a Canadian? I did not have the necessary tools to address the matter, so I immediately shut down and did nothing.

As I reflect on this moment, I continue to feel angry and frustrated. If I, a doctoral student who had read academic literature on the subject and was myself researching race and racism, did not have the words or the tools to properly respond to this racial mircroaggression, how can educators and scholars expect youths, who are in the process of learning English and developing

their identities, to do so? At that point I realized that while much focus has been put on educating everyone about race and racism, not all those who are racialized as Black have been given the tools to address issues of race and racism.

Key Terms

Various key terms are used throughout this thesis. It is therefore necessary to take sometime to explain how these terms are defined within the context of this study. Most of the key terms have been introduced and defined in the previous sections; however, I shall reiterate them here. In-depth definitions of these terms will be provided in the literature review, conceptual framework and methodology chapters.

After-School Program (ASP): A weekly informal program designed to provide recreational and social development activities for students enrolled in a local high school and who are either a) immigrant youths; b) from low-income families; or c) seeking volunteer opportunities.

Counter-Storytelling: “A method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 32).

Critical Race Theory (CRT): In its simplest form, CRT examines issues of race and racism and seeks to transform them (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It may be the only critical theory of race that starts from the supposition that the racist system is, in spite of all the seeming efforts to eradicate it, not actually meant to be done away with after all (R. Delgado, personal communication, April 3, 2017).

Black Canadian students: High school aged students who identify with family origins in Black Africa and/or the Caribbean and who reside Canada.

Black English (BE): "is a set of communication patterns and practices resulting from Africans' appropriation and transformation of a foreign tongue during the African Holocaust" (Smitherman, 2000, p. 19). BE has its own linguistic rules (Green, 2016; Smitherman, 2000)

Black English as a Second Language (BESL): See definition of Black Stylized English. The two terms will be used interchangeably.

Black Stylized English (BSE): Ibrahim (2008) defines BSE as "ways of speaking that do not depend on full mastery of the language. It banks more on ritual expressions such as whassup, whadap, whassup [what is happening] my Nigger, and yo, yo homeboy [cool friend], which are performed habitually and recurrently in rap" (p. 66).

Covert Racism: See definition of racial microaggression.

English Language Learner (ELL): "Students whose first language is a language other than English, or a significantly different variety of English (or French) from that used for instruction in Ontario schools" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 6).

Race: Within the context of this study, race is understood to be a socially and historically constructed notion used to categorize a person based on phenotypical features such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture and facial features (Kubota & Lin, 2009).

Racialization: "Sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed [which in turn] produces and legitimates difference amongst social groups based on perceived biological characteristics" (Miles, 2003; Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 55).

Racial Microaggression: Verbal and non-verbal covert acts of racialization, in this study, exhibited towards Black ELL students. These everyday subtle racist assaults are based on

phenotype. The cumulative impact of these assaults can take a psychological, physiological and academic toll (Sue, 2010).

Overt Racism: "Overt forms of bigotry, rather than structural or institutional inequalities, and this undertone tends to prevent open dialogue" (Kubota, 2015, p. 472). It is based on an ideology of the superiority of one racial group over another (Henry & Tator, 2006).

Standard English (SE): The English spoken by racialized White speakers from parts of the Anglosphere (i.e. the United States, Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand or the United Kingdom) and who have 'White accents' (Amin, 2005).

Youth Support Worker (YSW): An employee of a non-profit organization who coordinates, organizes, facilitates and/or supervises an after-school program designed to provide recreational and educational activities.

Chapter Organization

Chapter Two: Literature Review is a review of the literature on identity, including race as an identity category, the notion of legitimate and illegitimate racialized speakers, and racial microaggression with a focus on Black Stylized English (BSE). In *Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework* I first explain the concept of race, racism and racial microaggressions; second, I review the foundations of CRT; third, I outline the five tenets that frame the study. The chapter concludes with a graphic illustration of the concept of racial macroaggressions as a tool to understand the experiences of the Black study participants. *Chapter Four: Methodology* consists of two sections: in the first, a rationale is provided for choosing qualitative research and CRT methodology; in the second, I describe the research sites and explain the data collection methods (focus groups, interviews and observation). The limitations of the methods and methodology,

ethical considerations, challenges, and tensions are also considered. *Chapter Five: Findings* reports on the main findings of the investigation. In *Chapter Six: Discussion,* I discuss the study's finding with respect to CRT tenets. *Chapter 7: Conclusion* summarizes the study, answers the research questions and discusses the study's contributions to knowledge and its implications for after-school programs.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Chilling, problematic and uncomfortable are all terms that have been used to describe the discussion of race; this helps explain why the subject has up to now been avoided in the field of second language education (SLE) (Ibrahim, 2004, 2008, 2015; Kubota, 2015; Rich & Troudi, 2006). As noted by educational scholars, the literature on race is rarely combined with the literature on second language (Ibrahim, 2011; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Rich & Troudi, 2006). In fact, only a few researchers have tackled this difficult issue (Amin, 2005, 2007; Ibrahim, 1999, 2004, 2011, 2014; Kubota, 2015; Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009; Rich & Troudi, 2006). With that said, research examining issues of race and racialization is on the rise (Lee, 2015).

This chapter is organized as follows. First, the concept of identity will be examined. Second, race and second language education will be reviewed. Third, the scholarship examining BE on BSE will be provided. Fourth, studies examining issues of language and power will be reviewed. Lastly, the significance of this study will be discussed.

Understanding Identity and Its Relation to Race

In recent years, there has been a trend within the research community towards more socially-oriented examinations of second language theory (Block, 2003). This trend has emerged in response to revelations concerning the complex, multilayered social context in which learning takes place: the concept of *identity.* Where once researchers viewed learners' identities as fixed personalities formed independently of social interaction (Firth &Wagner, 1997), identity is now understood as being complex, fragmented, multilayered and continuously in flux (Block, 2007; Ibrahim, 1999; Nunan & Choi, 2010).

Norton and Toohey (2011) explain that the social science community has adopted a poststructuralist view of identity. Poststructuralism is concerned with the destabilization and deconstruction of identities, the construction of knowledge, and the representation of hegemony in discourse. It views identities as contingent, shifting and context dependent (Norton & Toohey, 2011). While poststructuralists believe identities or positions are often given by social structures or ascribed by others, they acknowledge that identities can also be negotiated by agents (Block, 2007).

Identities are socially constructed through discourse and are continuously being (re)constructed and (re)interpreted (Yuval-Davis, 2010). It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains—or is denied—access to powerful social networks that give them the opportunity to speak (Heller, 2006). When students' languages, cultures and experiences are recognized, they are more likely to succeed academically than when their sense of self is dismissed as irrelevant to school learning (Cummins, 2001).

Identity is also constructed through representation. Social representations are a stock of values, ideas, metaphors, beliefs and practices that are shared amongst groups and communities (Doise, 1997; Jodelet, 1997; Moscovici, 1997). The purpose of social representation is twofold. First, it establishes order to allow individuals to orient themselves in the social world (Moscovici, 1997). Second, it enables communication to take place amongst the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying the ambiguous aspects of their world—the 'other' (Moscovici, 1997). Miles and Brown (2003) refer to racialization as the dialectal process of representing the other.

Hall (1996) states, “identity is formed at the unstable point where the “unspeakable” stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture” (p. 115). He explains that marginalized individuals are positioned in relation to cultured stories where they are always removed and as such cannot speak from. Hall (1996) also notes that it is important to recognize that “all identity is constructed across difference and begins to live with the politics of difference” (p. 117). He illustrates this point by reflecting on his own sense of identity, which is dependent on being a Black Jamaican migrant. Although Jamaica is a society of Black and Brown people, Jamaicans do not see themselves as Black. As such, Black is an identity that had to be learned within a certain moment. According to Hall (1996) “Black or white question, has never been the experience of black people in the diaspora. These are ‘imaginary communities’ – and not a bit the less real because they are also symbolic” (p. 116). Imaginary communities are discussed later in this chapter.

Bhabha (1996) points out that “identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation” (p. 4) and as such we need to understand them as produced in specific historical contexts within specific discursive practices. Bhabha (2004) adds that identity is “always the production of an image and the transformation of the subject assuming that image (p. 45). It is through discourse that individuals define and redefine their identities (Dagenais & Moore, 2004). Ibrahim (2006, 2008) adds that postmodern trends, described above, emphasize hybridized, transnational, in-between, and other ‘third space’ conceptualizations. In short, identities can both allow and constrict an individual’s possibility of becoming (Ibrahim, 1999).

Imagined Communities. Research on identity construction includes the work of Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, and Armand (2008) which examines students’ conception of their neighbourhood’s language community and how this in turn influences their own identity

construction. This research centres on the concept of *imagined communities*, hypothetical communities to which new arrivals imagine themselves one day belonging (Anderson, 1991). Anderson (1991), the originator of this concept, explains in his analysis that nations are a political and ideological (and thus largely imagined) construct, with the purpose of uniting citizens who ostensibly share values and practices—despite the fact that all citizens of even the smallest nation will never meet. Anderson (1991) states that "a nation is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). In the context of identity formation and language learning, the concept of the imagined community is used to analyze how language learners' desire to belong to the imagined communities of the target language affect their learning trajectories (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

Race as an Identity Category. Cresse (2007) criticizes the notion of imagined communities; she argues that "'imagined communities' operate through discourses of citizenship that tend to homogenize and erase differences internal to the nation, and separate citizens from (both internally and externally located) 'Others'" (p. 356). Cresse (2007) also notes that the imagined community of Canadians has always been and currently remains entrenched in images of Whiteness. As a result, it ignores the First Nations communities and the fact that early migrants included people from Africa and Asia. In her later work, Norton (2013) develops the concept of imagined communities by applying it to a language learning context. The author highlights the possibility that "the target language community may be, to some extent, a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships, but also a community of the imagination […] that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (p. 3). Norton's (2013) recent work recognizes the growing body of

research that seeks to investigate how identity categories may impact the language learning process. These identity categories include race, gender, class and sexual orientation (Norton, 2013). This study focuses on the identity category of race. It's important to note that race does not overpower or dominate the other aforementioned identity categories (Ibrahim, 2015). Rather, identity categories are intrinsically linked despite the fact that they are social labels. Norton (2013) best explains the relationship between identity categories by pointing out that researchers who examine issues of identity categories do not regard these categories as 'variables'. Instead, they view them "as sets of relationships that are socially and historically constructed within particular relations of power" (p. 11). Ibrahim (2008) examined race as an identity category by conducting a critical ethnographic research project, which examined a group of African refugees who had immigrated to Canada and who are attending a French-language high school in southwestern Ontario. He explains that the notion of race, as a historical and socially constructed product, determined how individuals perceived their 'Blackness'. Eventually this perception becomes their reality, which in turn impacts their identity formation. He found that the participants' identification with Black America influenced what they culturally and linguistically learn. He argued that these youths were not Black in their home countries, but became Black once they arrived in Canada. On further study of these youths, Ibrahim (2014) explains that they entered a 'social imaginary' constructed by hegemonic discourse and groups which influenced the manner in which they spoke Black English as a Second Language (BESL). This will be discussed later in this chapter. For now, I continue the discussion on race, identity, language and power.

Race, Identity, Language and Power

Language as Investment. Norton (2000) has done extensive work on issues of identity and language learning with immigrant language learners in Canada. She explains that to invest in the second language (L2) is to have an interest in engaging in social interactions and community practices of the target language group. She draws on the notion of *cultural capital* which is defined as knowledge of linguistic, political, social and economic factors within a culture (Bourdieu, 1966). What counts as valuable capital varies between societies. In the context of second language education (SLE), an example of cultural capital would be fluency in a second (target) language. Once symbolic and material capital has been obtained, the cultural capital of the language learner increases (Grant & Wong, 2008). Scholars agree that ELL may be motivated to acquire an L2 because it can be used to obtain social capital. According to Yosso (2005), social capital "can be understood as networks of people and community resources" (p. 79). Peers and social contacts can provide the support to navigate through society which can ultimately lead to social and economic upward mobility (Houle, 2011; Yosso, 2005).

Amin (2005), Goldstein (1987) and Siegel (2010) argue that when it comes to the acquisition of ESL, scholars assume that the target L2 is Standard English (SE), which I define as English spoken by racialized White speakers from parts of the Anglosphere (i.e. the U.S., Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand or the U.K) and who have 'White accents' (Amin, 2005). Amin (2005) argues that 'the native speaker of English' is a code phrase for White speakers of English from 'first-world' countries such as Canada, the U.K. and the U.S., whereas, 'non-native speakers of English' refers to speakers of English from the Third World such as India, Kenya and Singapore. The division that exists between the native English speaker and the non-native English speaker is based on gender and race amongst other categories. Kubota (2015)

contends that “what is regarded as legitimate language and language use – oral or written – is likewise racialized” (p. 8). In other words, the variety of language deemed legitimate, whether it is English or French, is the White settlers’ language (Amin 2005; Ibrahim 2011; Motha 2006;).

Ibrahim (2011) found something much more problematic while conducting a qualitative study in a school in Ontario. He examined a group of African refugees with immigrant backgrounds and found that despite the fact that these students spoke in ‘Parisian French’, which holds more value than the French spoken in Ontario, the students were perceived as having ‘deceptive fluency’. In other words, he found that Black speakers are not considered to possess the cultural capital to speak the legitimate version of a language even when they do – because of their Blackness. Consequently, they were streamed into lower educational tracks. He argues that in this context, the struggle became about race and language ownership. He poses the question ‘who owns language?’ (Ibrahim, 2011, p. 619). The participants may have sounded French, but the language was not theirs: the legitimate language was spoken by an ‘illegitimate’ speaker. In other words, Parisian French, normally associated with White speakers from France, was being spoken by Black refugees. This in turn led to a mistrust of linguistic capital because the teachers could not believe that African youth could have such superior linguistic capital. This racist reading, the author contends, was in direct correlation with the students’ racialized experiences.

Yosso (2005) and Schroeter and James (2015) note that visible minority students, more often than not come to school with multiple languages and communication skills. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) have found that these groups suffer a decrease in cultural capital within the school context as a direct result of the widespread idea that ‘non-native’ speakers are deficient communicators. These authors report that visible minorities are still overrepresented in French remedial classes even when the language of instruction in the home country was French.

The Myth of Multicultural Education and the Racialization of Black Students in Canadian Schools

The overrepresentation of Black students in remedial classes was confirmed by Schroeter and James (2015). In their study, which was conducted in Western Canada, the authors argue that a group of French-speaking Black African-born students with refugee experiences were academically streamed into remedial French programs. Although the program was established to meet the needs of students who had had a break in their education due to their refugee experiences, it also catered to students with low academic motivation. The students attributed their placement in the program to their blackness. They understood that no matter how hard they worked, it would be difficult for them to transfer out of their current program and into a more challenging educational stream because the decision would be based on grades rather than on merit. The authors argue that at Canadian academic institutions, multicultural education operates under the guise of being culturally responsive to the needs of students of colour, while in reality, it is saturated with values of liberalism that are detrimental to Black students while maintaining the status quo. In other words, by not discussing race or addressing racial differences the program allowed existing racial inequality to persist all while maintaining the status quo. This was done by directing the students towards a vocational field characterized by lower pay rather than an academic field, which could have provided them with higher paying careers.

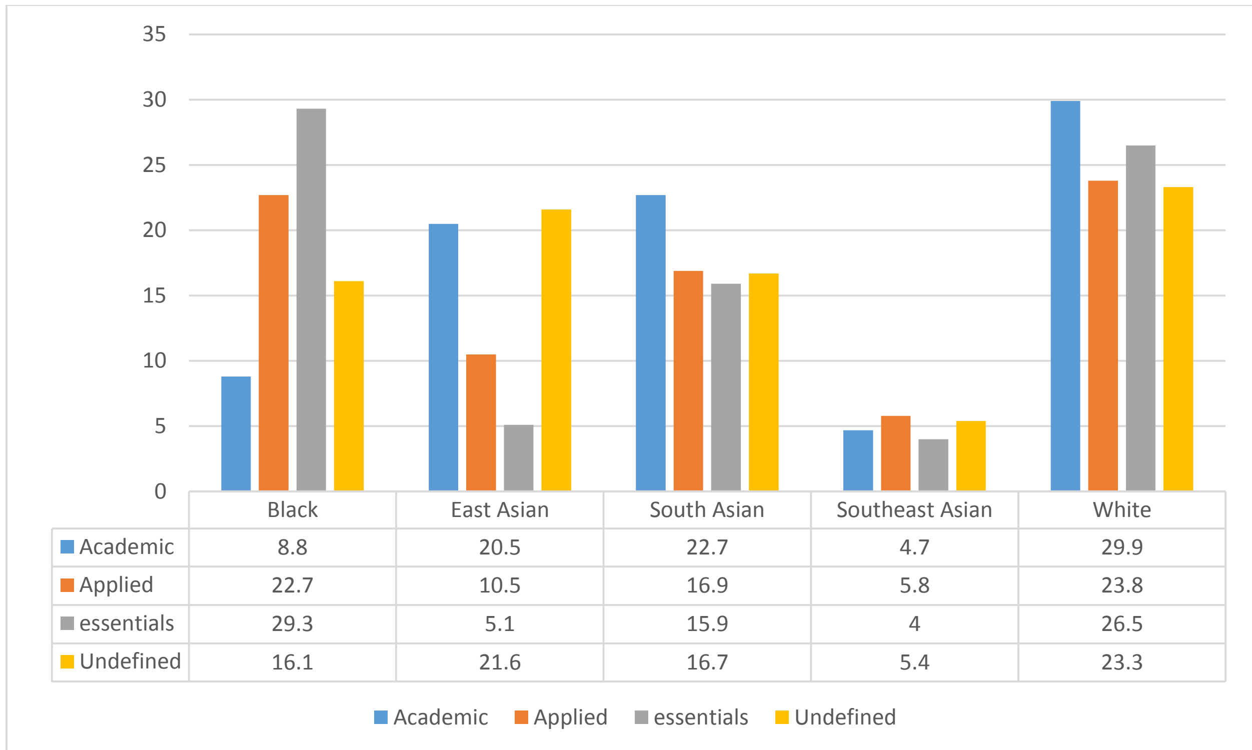
James and Turner (2017) have conducted a study with data from the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). The authors found that Black students are being academically streamed into lower teaching tracks (see Figure 1). The TDSB offers secondary school students the opportunity to enrol in classes within various programs of study: Academic, Applied, and

Locally Developed/Essentials. Academic-level courses are the most academically demanding and are required to enter university. Applied courses prepare students to enter college. The "Locally Developed/Essentials" program of study provides students with the credits needed to obtain a secondary diploma. It prepares the student to secure employment after high school; however, students in this academic stream are unable to go directly to college or university. Figure 1 shows that 29.3% of the student population taking the Essentials program of study had self-identified as Black, making it the highest percentage of students in this program of study. Black students were also overrepresented in the applied stream at 22.7%, while they were underrepresented in the Academic stream at 8.8%. The table provides a picture of one part of Ontario and therefore may be representative of other parts of the province.

They also found that Black students are disproportionately being expelled or suspended. In fact, the TDSB (2017) reported that out of the 213 students with 'ethno-cultural' backgrounds expelled from 2011–12 to 2015–16, 48% of the students self-identified as Black. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

Racialization in After-School Programs

Given their importance, after-school programs need more attention. Community-based programs are designed to bridge the gap between the home and the school (Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2010). Taylor (2006) explores the linguistic interactions and power dynamics in two different environments: an ESL camp—a non-formal setting—as well as a public high school—a formal academic setting. She uses a CRT lens to examine how students have come to conceptualize 'race' and racism and the implications their analysis has for their own identity claims as immigrant ESL learners. The author argues that linguistic interactions are not neutral



	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Southeast Asian	White
Academic	8.8	20.5	22.7	4.7	29.9
Applied	22.7	10.5	16.9	5.8	23.8
essentials	29.3	5.1	15.9	4	26.5
Undefined	16.1	21.6	16.7	5.4	23.3

Figure 1. Self-identified race across programs of study (adapted from Toronto District School Board, 2013, p. 3).

nor is the right to be listened to universally accorded; rather, they are structured through social power relations, including racism. Using a case study, she examined 30 public high school students aged 15–19, of 15 different nationalities. She conducted a three-day antidiscrimination leadership camp, asking questions in three different categories: stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. In addition, she conducted an hour-long semi-structured interview with each of her 30 camp participants. The author argues for an understanding of power dynamics as integral to the processes of identity construction through ELL. She concludes that integrative antiracism education can support immigrant language learners' intersectional and multilevel understanding of discrimination, and explains that it is important to recognize that teaching and learning practices are not neutral but always embedded within racialized discourse.

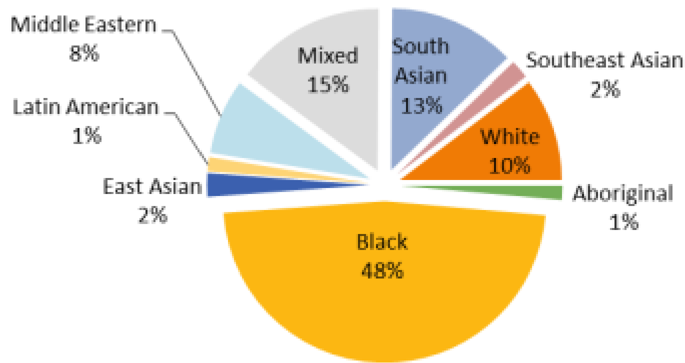


Figure 2. Distribution of expulsions by student ethno-racial background, 2011–12 to 2015–16 (N=213). (Toronto District School Board, 2017, p. 25).

Justifying the 'Black' in Black English

Smitherman (2000) explains that the term Ebonics, which I refer to as Black English (BE), did not initially catch on amongst linguists. It never became the term of choice amongst scholars to refer to the English spoken by Black people. Instead terms such as: Black English, Black Talk, Black Language, Black English Vernacular, Vernacular Black English, Black Vernacular English, African American English, African American Vernacular English, Ghetto Speech and Street Talk, were used (Alim & Smitherman, 2012; Green, 2016; Smitherman, 2000). For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to refer to the English spoken by the Black ELL participants as BE. My decision was informed by the following studies conducted in Ontario, the province in which this study takes place.

First, Boatswain and Lalonde's (2000) conducted a study in which they evaluated how a sample of Black Torontonians (N=101) preferred to be labeled. Torontonians is the name given to residents of the city of Toronto, the capital of Ontario, Canada. They found that the term 'Black' was the self-label preferred by 63% of the respondents. This was followed by 'Canadian', which was chosen by 27%. Only 19% of respondents preferred the term Black

Canadian and 18% used the term African Canadian in reference to themselves. Baxter and Peters (2011) noted the low interest in the term African Canadian in their study by also examining Black English varieties within different communities in Toronto. They explained that in Canada, immigrants from Africa refer to themselves as 'Black' or 'African' but rarely as African Canadians. Baxter and Peters (2011) noted that the majority of their participants noted the inclusivity of the term 'Black', and of the Black Canadian community, to which one can belong regardless of one's country of origin. The term 'Black' captures the demographic of Torontonians, which includes Black Torontonians of Caribbean decent and the large Somali community, composed mainly of refugee claimants. Lastly, Baxter and Peters (2011) note that in the 2006 Canadian census, the term African never appeared. This was still the case with the 2016 census (Statistics Canada, 2017).

The above studies illustrate, that in Ontario, the term Black is generally preferred and as such, will be used to refer to the participants who self-identify as Black and Black English (BE) as the style of English spoken by Black individuals. Next I provide an overview of some of the academic literature on BE, including studies of its composition and origin.

Research on Black English in the United States and in Canada

Labov (1972) conducted an ethnographic study of the BE vernacular spoken by Black youth in New York City during the second half of the 1960s. In his study, he concludes that Black English vernacular is a well-formed and logical dialect of English. He argues that Black English has its own grammatical rules and as such should be respected as a variety of English.

Poplack and Tagliamonte (2010) also conducted an ethnographic study to explore African American English in Nova Scotia. More specifically, they were most interested in the

historical makeup of what they rightfully call African American English vernacular in Nova Scotia. They found that because the communities they examined were so isolated, they maintained traces of African dialect in their speech.

A study that is more closely related to the present investigation in terms its location and its informants is that of Baxter and Peters (2011), which examined the regional and ethnic differences of English spoken by Black Canadians in Toronto. The authors sought to examine whether there was a difference between the BE varieties within communities located in the city. To do so, Baxter and Peters (2011) looked at the (t/d)-deletion in speech, the process of deleting the final consonant of a word in a sentence (e.g. “what *mos* people don’t know” instead of “what *most* people don’t know”). Their study included eight second-generation Black Canadian children (Jamaican, Somali and of West Indian heritage), who were either born in Canada or who had immigrated before the age of six. The participants belonged to two distinct Toronto communities, the first a suburb and the second the Jane and Finch (JF) neighbourhood, where many of the residents are of Jamaican origin. The significance of these communities for this study will be discussed at the end of this chapter. The authors found that some Black Canadian English speakers of Jamaican decent appeared to be speaking their own variety of English based on Jamaican creole. They explain that Jamaican creole already includes (t/d)-deletion and is closely related to English. They propose that Black Canadian English speakers from non-Jamaican backgrounds may be adopting a Jamaican-influenced variety of Black Toronto English because linguistic forms adopted will be those of the largest and oldest community population, in this case the Black Jamaican community.

Labov (1972), Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001 & 2010) and Baxter and Peters (2011) all focus on the semantics (grammar and morphology) of spoken BE, as they are linguists. However, I am not so much interested in the semantics of BE, but rather in how it is performed.

Ibrahim (2008, 2014) cautions not to confuse BESL with BE. Green (2016) and Smitherman (2000) explain that BE has its own discernable grammar and syntax. Green (2016) adds, "it is not simply a lexis of underclass illiteracies, the linguistic version of an impoverished guetto" (p. 58). Within the field of education, however, scholars are not concerned with the linguistic rules that make up BE, but rather focus on how it is performed. BE and BSE, used interchangeably with BESL, are not to be confused with the forms of English viewed as either transfer or development characteristics of the process of L2 acquisition. Ibrahim (1999, 2004, 2009, 2014) has done extensive work on BSE in the field of second language education. Ibrahim (2014) explains that youth often slip in and out of language. They code switch or interchange between BSE and Standard English (SE). The notion of code switching is reviewed next.

Code Switching Between English Varieties

The practice of switching between language varieties is called code switching (CS). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an in-depth analysis of the literature around the concept of code switching, but some of the complexities around the concept are highlighted below.

To begin, Poplack (2015) interestingly remarks that despite the fact that the field of CS has been 'exceptionally well researched' (p. 918) scholars cannot seem to agree on its structure, identity or even its definition. Eastman (1992) captured this sentiment when she wrote that "efforts to distinguish code switching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed" (p. 1). Gardner-Chloros (2009) echoes the aforementioned scholars by explaining that CS was developed by

linguists for the purposes of describing their data. She goes on to say that early linguists borrowed the term 'code' from the field of communication technology but that what was meant by it in its original context has nothing to do with CS as understood by linguists, and that today it is used as a catch-all phrase to refer to languages, dialects, styles/registers, etc. As such, Gardner-Chloros (2009) concludes that "it is therefore pointless to argue about what CS *is*, because, to paraphrase Humpty Dumpty, the word CS can mean whatever we want it to mean" (pp. 10–11). Gardner-Chloros (2009) and Poplack (2015) are amongst the many authors who choose to use CS as a catch-all term, but nevertheless highlight the importance of developing a common theoretical language for CS researchers.

Despite the lack of common accountable theories of CS, researchers have forged ahead and conducted many studies on it. Most notably, Heller (1988, 1996, 2006) conducted an ethnographic study in a French language high school in the Toronto area. Heller (1996) examined CS amongst French–English bilingual students and teachers in a French-language school in a predominantly English-speaking Canadian city. She sought to understand why some language is legitimate and others are not, and what that meant for the participants in the setting. She found although French was the language of choice, teachers often used English references when they encountered communication difficulties. Within this French setting, legitimate language was French but English was used in some instances. She concludes that context plays an integral part in determining meaning behind CS.

For this study, it is important to distinguish between CS and language crossing or code crossing. CS appears to occur between two or more languages both of which have a distinct morphology and grammar. Given that this study focuses on BSE, which is performative, the term CS does not seem to apply fully. Rampton (2018), who looked at stylized Asian English, refers

to the act of switching from Asian English to SE as code crossing. This is also what Ibrahim (2014) refers to as the act of 'slipping in and slipping out' of language (p. 3). Unlike CS, code crossing does not only occur between members of an in-group—it also occurs with members of an out-group.

Code Crossing as a Political Choice. Stand-up comedian Dave Chappelle famously said, "Every Black American is bilingual. All of us. We speak street vernacular and we speak 'job interview'. There's a certain way I gotta speak to have access" (Art/research, 2015). What Dave Chappelle is alluding to is the practice of switching between English varieties. In the above example, the comedian says to be switching between BE which he refers to as street vernacular and (SE), which he calls, job interview.

Goldstein (1987) points out that scholars assume that the target language of the ELL, or the non-native speaker, is SE. In reality, students make choices regarding the varieties of English they want to speak, for example choosing to speak BSE instead of SE (Ibrahim, 2014). Heller (1992) explains, "conventional language practices represent relatively stable relations of power, while violations can be seen as forms of resistance" (p. 123). In this study, BSE can be read as a violation of, or resistance to, SE– or, rather, to the power relations it represents. Rampton (2001) conducted two years of fieldwork in one neighbourhood in the South Midlands of England. He wanted to understand how far and in what ways British-born adolescents of Indian and Pakistani descent were engaging in acts of resistance when speaking to teachers and adults in second-language learner Indian English, even though, in reality, they were fluent speakers of SE. Rampton (2001) found that students engage in putting on accents not just as an act of resistance, but also as a way to consolidate Black-White student-teacher relationship that exist in opposition to other racial inequalities. The next section discusses the significance of the study.

Significance of the Study

As noted above, the current literature on race and second language education within a Canadian setting still remains thin (Kubota & Lin, 2009). The bulk of the studies in Ontario have been conducted in Toronto. My study also takes place in a city located in Northeastern Ontario. Like Baxter and Peters (2011), I examine Black Canadian children of immigrants who were either born and raised in Canada or immigrated to Canada at a young age and who had Somali, Jamaican or other West Indian heritage. It is important to note that I am nevertheless aware of the importance of acknowledging the significance of the immigration status of students.

The Jane and Finch (JF) is one of the 'priority neighbourhood areas' of the city of Toronto. It is mostly made up of public housing projects which are given priority in terms of access to social services and police presence. JF is considered a Black neighbourhood (although the Black population is supposed to be less segregated in Canada than in the United States) and is notorious for high crime rates (Baxter & Peters, 2011; Schroeter & James, 2015). Their data was collected in two communities, whereas I examine racialization of Black ELL students in three different communities: ASP 1 is located in the suburbs, at a site that resembles the first site looked at by Baxter and Peters; ASP 2 is located downtown and similar to the JF neighbourhood in that there is some public housing and that some community members need social services, but some of its residents are also wealthy. ASP 3, located in the west end of the city, is very similar to the JF neighbourhood. Like JF, the site of ASP 3 is a priority area for the city in which the study was conducted. It has a high crime rate, which has resulted in increased police presence, and it is seen as a mostly Black neighbourhood.

Taylor (2006) argues that few researchers examine how antiracist pedagogies may help ELLs understand and challenge processes of racialization and discrimination in their own lives. I

contribute to the field by examining the concrete ways in which students are being racialized through racial microaggressions outside of school. This study also explores the use of BSE as a response to their racialization. The current literature largely focuses on the voices of racialized students within a formal school setting, but the reality is that language learning does not stop when the bell rings. It extends beyond the four walls of formal educational institutions. In fact, Ibrahim (2014) argues that most language learning takes place outside school. The schools partner with many organizations to ensure that all students are given the opportunity to complete the necessary requirements of education and obtain their high school diploma. More importantly, we learn language as a result of communication with our peers, as well as through our interactions with and through various media.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the literature of identity and race as an identity category. It also highlighted the difference between CS and codecrossing. For the purposes of this study it is important to differentiate between the two concepts because it allows to better understand the study participants response to racial microaggressions. As it will be shown in Chapter 5, the participants codecrossed between BSE and SE in response to these offensive acts.

Next, I discussed the relationship between race, identity, language and power. This was followed by a justification of the use of the term ‘Black’ in Black English and a discussion of code switching and code crossing a language choice and a form of resistance. In the next chapter I discuss CRT, the chosen conceptual framework.

Chapter 3

Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I first provide a brief overview of the concepts of race, racialization and racial microaggressions. I then introduce CRT and its tenets and present a visual representation of how CRT analyzes issues of race, specifically racial microaggressions. After that I explain the concept of racial microaggression in more detail, presenting an illustration of a tool with which to analyze it. Lastly I combine the two illustrations to offer a consolidated conceptual lens that will be used to analyze the data from this study.

Understanding Concepts: Race, Racialization and Racial Microaggressions

As Kubota and Lin (2009) explain, “race is socially and historically constructed and shaped by discourses that give specific meanings to the ways we see the world, rather than reflecting the world” (p. 3). Despite race being socially constructed, it is still relevant as a concept and in its operationalization within the contemporary ideology of Western society (Derrida, 1998; Miles, 1989). Ibrahim (2009) agrees that race is a socially and historically constructed notion that society uses to categorize individuals. This results in the justification of the dominance of one race over another (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). It is precisely for this reason that Ibrahim (2009) urges scholars to focus on how marginalized groups are racially categorized or racialized every day.

Omi and Winant (1994) define the process of racial formation as a “sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed [which in turn] produces and legitimates difference amongst social groups based on perceived biological characteristics” (p. 55). Kubota (2015) explains that racial formation is similar to the concept of

racialization. Miles and Brown (2003) view racialization as the process of categorizing the 'other'—people deemed different according to real or attributed characteristics for the purposes of inclusion or exclusion. In defining the 'other', one also defines the 'self'. For example, by representing Africans as 'Blacks' and 'savages' during the 18th century, Europeans by extension cast themselves as 'White' and 'civilized' (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992).

Racialization does not always lead to acts of racism (Miles, 1989). However, when it does, it can take the form of overt racism or everyday covert acts of racism. For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to focus on the latter. I refer to these everyday subtle verbal and non-verbal acts of racism as racial microaggressions. Experiencing racial microaggressions can lead to feelings of humiliation, marginalization, exclusion and frustration (Ibrahim, 2008, 2015; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Schroeter & James, 2015). Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) have developed a racial microaggression tool to help understand the experiences of students of colour with racial microaggressions. I have chosen to use their term and their tool for this study and will introduce both at greater length later in this chapter.

Whereas racial microaggressions are covert in nature, acts of racism are overt by nature. Kubota (2015) defines racism as "overt forms of bigotry, rather than structural or institutional inequalities, and this undertone tends to prevent open dialogue" (p. 472). In other words, racial microaggressions are exhibited through structural and institutional inequalities hidden in policies, procedures and practices; whereas racism is blatant. Some examples of blatant racism towards racialized Blacks include: a racialized White person calling someone a racialized Black person a "nigger," displaying the hood of the Ku Klux Klan, or refusing to serve a Black person. Omi and Winant (1994) note that racism, like race, changes over time. CRT framework is used

to help understand how issues of racism and racial microaggression persist in today's North American society.

Critical Race Theory

There are different frameworks that critically analyze issues of race and racism. One of these frameworks is critical multiculturalism (May, 2010). However, CRT may be the only critical theory of race that starts from the supposition that the racist system is, in spite of all the seeming efforts to eradicate it, not actually meant to be done away with after all (R. Delgado, personal communication, April 3, 2017).

CRT emerged in the 1970s in response to the shortcomings of critical legal studies (CLS), which failed to address issues of race from the perspective of people of colour (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, Thomas, & Valverde, 1995; Lawrence, Matsuda, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004). CRT builds on several theories, including those brought forth by CLS and radical feminism, to understand inequity (Lawrence et al., 1993). CRT is founded on the notion that racism is "normal," not aberrant but ingrained in North American society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Delgado et al., 2017; Ibrahim, 2015; Schroeter & James, 2015). As such, it impacts the lives of people of colour (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado et al., 2017; Schroeter & James, 2015).

CLS scholars start with the premise that judicial decision-making is a subjective exercise since there is no objective way of interpreting facts (Hunt, 1986). A judge's ruling is influenced by their personal background, religious beliefs, morals, upbringing and social position (Hunt, 1986). As such CLS scholars argue that the legal order is a self-serving system in place to maintain its own power and privilege. As Hunt (1986) explains, lawmakers will only make amendments that are favourable to their own interests or the general interests of the wealthy.

CRT springs off this notion to introduce the concept of interest convergence, that is, the dominant group, those with power, will only make changes when it benefits them (Devlin & Hutchinson, 1991). The notion of interest convergence will be further described below. Going from the idea that the legal system is subjective and only upholds the interests of those in power, CLS scholars argue that, as a result, the idea that the system is neutral and treats everyone equally, fairly and justly is a myth (Devlin & Hutchinson, 1991). CRT piggybacks on this idea, explaining that the education system is not neutral either, and that any notion that the system functions as a meritocracy is false.

CRT borrows its notions of power and the construction of social roles from radical feminism in the United States (Hunt 1986). They examine the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance over women by men. CRT theorists examine the patriarchal roots of colonialism, more specifically inequality between the dominant group and the marginalised groups. In an effort to combat racial injustices, scholars and students came together to protest and address the issues at hand (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). In addition to being used in the field of law, today CRT is also applied in such fields as education where it is used as an analytical tool to understand inequity in the classroom (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Strengths of CRT

The interdisciplinary nature of CRT is one of its many strengths. Another strength of CRT is that its proponents are interested in the same issues that civil rights activists. However, CRT academics take the concept of racial inequity a step further by examining how issues of race intersect with economics, history, context, groups and self-interest (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

In fact, CRT addresses a broad range of issues such as crime, LGBTQ issues, the Black–White binary, intergroup tensions and critical race practice; it has also branched out to include Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) and QueerCrit perspectives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

CRT also provides a structured approach to addressing race issues. It does this by establishing clear statements of principle, the key tenets that prevents the 'reinventing of the wheel' with each new study or article (Gillborn, 2006). It offers a set of beliefs about the centrality of race and racism and how it operates in Western society, particularly in the U.S. (Gillborn, 2006). However, it has taken on an international dimension (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006). It is now being employed in countries like the U.K. and Canada, where the racial histories differ from those in the U.S. (Ibrahim, 2015; Schroeter & James, 2015).

Lastly, Delgado et al. (2017) note that there is no set of tenets to which all CRT scholars subscribe, but there are some generally agreed to tenets which are a) the engrained nature of racism rendering it an ordinary part of Western society, b) the critique of liberalism and c) the importance of the experiences of those living in the margins. Tate (1997) describes CRT as an "interactive project of scholarship and social justice" (p. 235). Gillborn (2006) states that CRT, as an approach, is not fixed and as more researchers add to the discipline priorities may shift. As such, some tenets may change or disappear. It is for this reason that I have opted to develop my own set of five tenets, based on the various conceptualizations in the literature located in the field of second language education and addressing the specific issues and questions arising out of this study. In so doing, I keep in line with the dynamism of the CRT project.

Characterization of CRT Tenets

First, one of the basic tenets to which a majority of CRT researchers subscribe is the notion that racism is an ordinary, ingrained feature of Western society (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006). Liggett (2014) explains that in the case of ELL this plays out through linguicism. According to the author, "Linguicism is accepted as an ordinary, permanent fixture of life" (p. 115). Linguicism appears in educational institutions through their policies and lesson plans. It is not mandated for schools and teachers to use the ELL's first language to help in the acquisition of the L2. This, despite the fact that research has shown that students whose first language and culture are valued by their school and wider society are more successful language learners (Cummins & Swain, 2014). Instead, ELLs are being encouraged to develop their L2 at the expense of their first language (L1). The linguicism transcends the educational institution's walls and becomes part of these students' everyday home life. For example, Sandra one of this study's participant, recently arrived in Canada and a student participant at the downtown after-school program, says her dad prefers that she practice her English rather than speak Swahili, "I don't really talk Swahili so much, when at home my dad says usually let's practice English and let's not speak Swahili any more, let's leave it."

Most CRT scholars also take a critical view of the version of liberalism that mainstream Western educational institutions follow. These institutions make traditional claims of meritocracy, objectivity, equal opportunity, race neutrality and 'colour-blindness'. Colour-blindness only serves to redress overt displays of racism, though, while allowing more subtle forms of racism (racial microaggressions) to continue. As explained in Chapter 2, Black ELL students are disproportionately being pushed out of school through suspensions and expulsions.

Most importantly, they are being academically streamed into lower tracks creating new challenges for these students (James, 2017b, 2017a; James & Turner, 2017).

The third CRT principle to be used in this research is that of intersectionality. Delgado et al. (2017) state that closely related to the notion of 'differential racialization' is the concept of intersectionality which stipulates that no individual has a single identity and that, therefore, when examining issues of race scholars should consider the overlapping identities (i.e. race, gender, class) (Ibrahim, 2015). Ibrahim (2015) explains that race, language and gender, just to name a few, are all categories of difference. As such, race should not be viewed as a competing category. This tenet is reflected in the characterizations of the study participants, which includes both female and male Black ELL high school students and I have been careful to take into account how each participant experiences racial microaggressions differently. A profile of each of the study participants is provided in Chapter 4.

A fourth CRT tenet applicable to this study is the method of storytelling and counter-storytelling, explained in detail in Chapter 4. This tenet draws on the narrated experiences of the Black ELLs who participated in this study and acknowledges them as valid. This is done as a means to disrupt and deconstruct dominant hegemonic discourse (Duncan, 2006). It acknowledges that there is no single story, only overlapping narratives, and that stories have the power to reveal experiences that the dominant group have most likely been unable to relate to (Gottesman, 2016). This tenet will be further discussed in the next chapter that deals with method.

A fifth CRT perspective of value for this research is the concept of racialization. In order to understand how ELL youths are being racialized, race must be central to the discussion. The notion of racialization sheds light on how the study participants experience racial

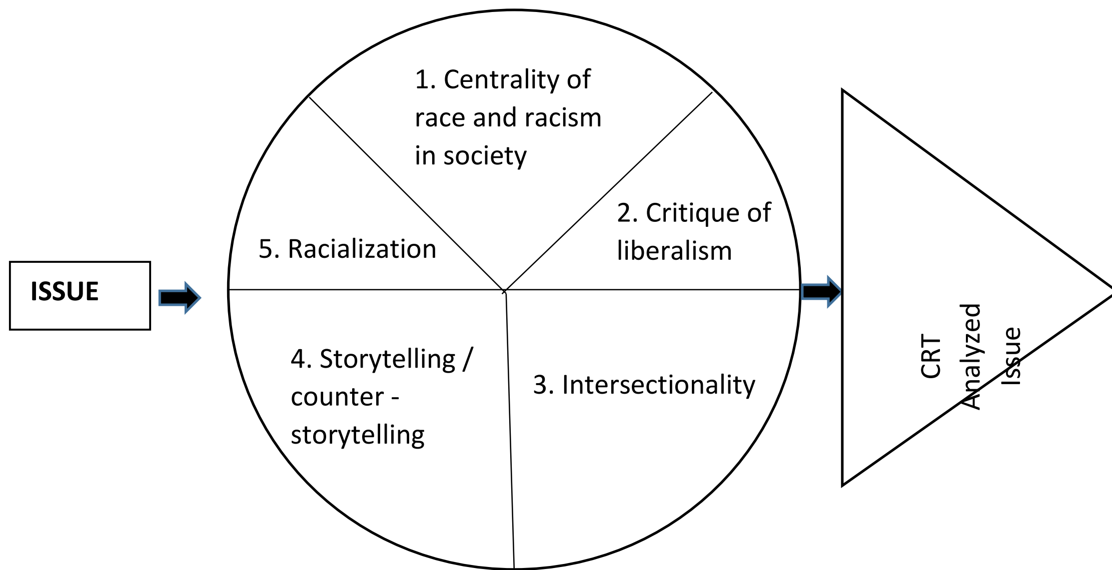


Figure 3. CRT Analysis Process (adapted from Lee, 2008)

microaggressions. It is through the use of racial microaggression as an analytical tool that we can arrive at an understanding how people, policies and the system are affecting these racialized youths. It is to be noted that racial microaggression appears both as a tenet and as an issue. As a tenet because Black ELL students need to be able to name their experiences. As an issue because these students should understand the process in which racial microaggressions occur and the impact they have.

CRT helps makes sense of issues of racism and racial microaggressions by analyzing them, as illustrated in Figure 3. Now that the theoretical groundwork has been laid out, I will give a more detailed presentation of the concept of microaggression.

Microaggressions

The term microaggression was first coined by Chester Pierce, an African-American psychiatrist, medical doctor and scholar, to describe how African-Americans experienced racial oppression. Pierce (1970) commences his paper, titled "Offensive Mechanisms," with a discussion of 'defensive mechanisms' and then poses the question: "why is there no emphasis placed on offensive mechanisms?" (p. 265). Defensive mechanisms are defined as mechanisms that "act to reduce or dilute shame and guilt. They permit the organism to function without being overwhelmed by anxiety" (Pierce, 1970, p. 265). Within the context of the experiences of African-Americans, Pierce (1970) considers 'offensive mechanisms' to be those that lead to violence and oppression in society by allowing the dominant group to express their superiority (Pierce, 1970). He later expanded his concept of 'offensive mechanisms' to explain these 'subtle and stunning' forms of racism which he defines as microaggressions. Pierce (1970) explains:

> Most offensive actions are not gross and crippling. They are subtle and stunning. The enormity of the complications they cause can be appreciated only when one considers that these subtle blows are delivered incessantly. Even though any single negotiation of offense can in justice be considered of itself to be relatively innocuous, the cumulative effect to the victim and to the victimizer is of an unimaginable magnitude. Hence, the therapist is obliged to pose the idea that offensive mechanisms are usually a micro-aggression. (pp. 265–66)

Offensive mechanisms are the vehicle that allow for microaggressions to occur which can result in racism (Pierce, 1970). This is done by ensuring that the person of colour is ignored, terrorized, minimized, essentially made to feel invisible and worthless (Pierce, 1970). These acts are slow occurring acts, but they are constant and incessant; they occur every day, multiple times

a day, and over time they come to take a cumulative toll on the person of colour (Pierce, 1970). In other words, as time goes on, the effects of microaggressions carry an emotional and psychological weight, which becomes ever heavier over time. The stress related to these microaggressions can lead to mental health issues and physiological issues such as high blood pressure. He goes as far as to say that racism is a public health and mental health issue (Pierce, 1970). It is a mental health disease because it causes mental health issues in its victims and therefore should be combatted on those grounds. The phenomenon of microaggressions is socially and historically constructed and both its meaning and forms will change over time and context (Omi & Winant, 1994; Pierce, 1970; Profit, Mino, & Pierce, 2000). However, as long as it is ingrained in our institutions, it is a public health issue (Pierce, 1970).

Scholars are becoming more aware of the emotional impact of microaggressions. In particular, more scholars are looking at the psychological, physiological and emotional impact that microaggressions can have on a person of colour.

The effects of microaggressions can be so strong that they have been studied by many scholars in the field of psychology. Some of these scholars include Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal and Esquilin (2007) who advance the work of Pierce by theorizing that microaggressions can, within the field of counseling, be categorized as *microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation*. Working again within the context of the African-American experience they provide a 'taxonomy' of microaggressions of the various forms they take (Sue et al., 2007). Microaggressions do not of course only affect Black people, but can affect anyone who find themselves in the minority or in some way different from the cultural norm, such as women, LGBTQ persons, religious minorities, disabled persons (Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal, &

Torino, 2008). The work of Sue and his colleagues (2007) has been widely cited in many fields including that of education (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015).

Microaggressions in Education. Within the context of education, Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) focus specifically on racial microaggressions. They define them as:

> A form of systemic, everyday racism used to keep those at the racial margins in their place. They are: (1) verbal and non-verbal assaults directed toward People of Color, often carried out in subtle, automatic or unconscious forms; (2) layered assaults, based on race and its intersections with gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, or surname; and (3) cumulative assaults that take a psychological, physiological, and academic toll on People of Color. (p. 298)

Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) build on Pierce's (1970) definition of microaggression by including notions of verbal and non-verbal assaults, as well as intersectionalities. Examples of verbal microaggressions would be saying one of the following to a marginalized youth: a) "You're African? You don't even look Black." b) "You're White on the inside, because you don't act Black."; or c) "You're well spoken." ('I, too, Am Harvard', 2014). These examples were raised by students of colour from colleges and universities across the US engaged in the Spring 2014 campaign to bring attention to the subtle, everyday forms of racism they encounter on their campuses. The campaign included a play titled 'I, too, Am Harvard (2014), organized and performed by African-American students at Harvard University, consisting of skits and monologues about their experiences with racial microaggressions ('I, too, Am Harvard', 2014).

A notable study is that of Kohli and Solórzano (2012) who examined name-calling amongst K-12 students of colour. Kohli and Solórzano (2012) explain that "names can connect children to their ancestors, country of origin or ethnic group and often have deep meaning and

symbolism for families" (p. 444). Asking for a nickname or implying a student's name is too long to pronounce shows little regard for the religious or cultural significance of names and is a form of microaggression. Stanley (2014) explains that the failure to know someone's name, an act of microaggression, is one of the first racialized encounters of school aged students. It can have a lasting psychological impact on the students who come to accept the mispronunciation of their names as part of their reality. This can create a sense of loss of culture and identity for minority groups.

Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) acknowledge that "a microaggression may be based on multiple characteristics and positionalities that define identities and experiences of People of Color" (p. 310). For instance, when a police officer engages in the practice of stop and frisk (a practice of stopping civilians on the street to check for contraband), the choice of target is often based on raced and gendered stereotypes of perceived criminality.

One of the problems with racial microaggressions lies in their invisibility to the perpetrator, often making it even harder for the victim to defend themselves (Sue, 2010). People belonging to a dominant race find it difficult to see their own racial biases; they are not always conscious of their biases (Sue, 2010). That is why when a microaggression occurs, the perpetrator can defend themselves by saying that there was no ill intent; consequently, leaving the victim of the microaggression doubting both themselves and the perpetrator. For example, let's say a Black student was to give a presentation. A comment that could follow the presentation is "Wow, you are so articulate! You speak English well." which could be considered a microaggression because the statement implies that the student is expected not to be articulate or maybe to have an accent. If the student were to say so, however, they could be told that they are being overly sensitive, or that the comment was meant as a compliment. Either way, the

comment is troublesome because it demonstrates to the student that they are expected to speak less properly than their majority culture counterpart. This in turn can have an impact on the student's identity and motivation, because as a result of those everyday subtle assaults the student begins to understand the expectations society has of them, in this case to speak less eloquently than others.

Racial Microaggression as an Analytical Tool

Racial microaggressions will be analyzed from a CRT perspective. Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) explain that "theorizing racial microaggressions from a CRT perspective challenges us to more clearly articulate the structural and systemic forms of racism that operate in everyday racist acts" (p. 301). With this in mind, the authors developed the racial microaggression tool. Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) argue that the concept of racial microaggressions is a useful tool that allows scholars to identify the often subtle acts of racism that can emerge anywhere including schools, classrooms and after-school programs. Figure 4 illustrates this tool.

The racial microaggression tool contains three different coloured rectangles, which represent the different layers of racism. Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) explain that racial microaggressions are a subset of institutional racism which in turn are a subset of macroaggression. The core of the theoretical framework lies in the white box, which depicts the relationship between the perpetrator and the primary target ELL. The primary target ELL will be subjected to various types of racial microaggression, their effects that in turn define the response.

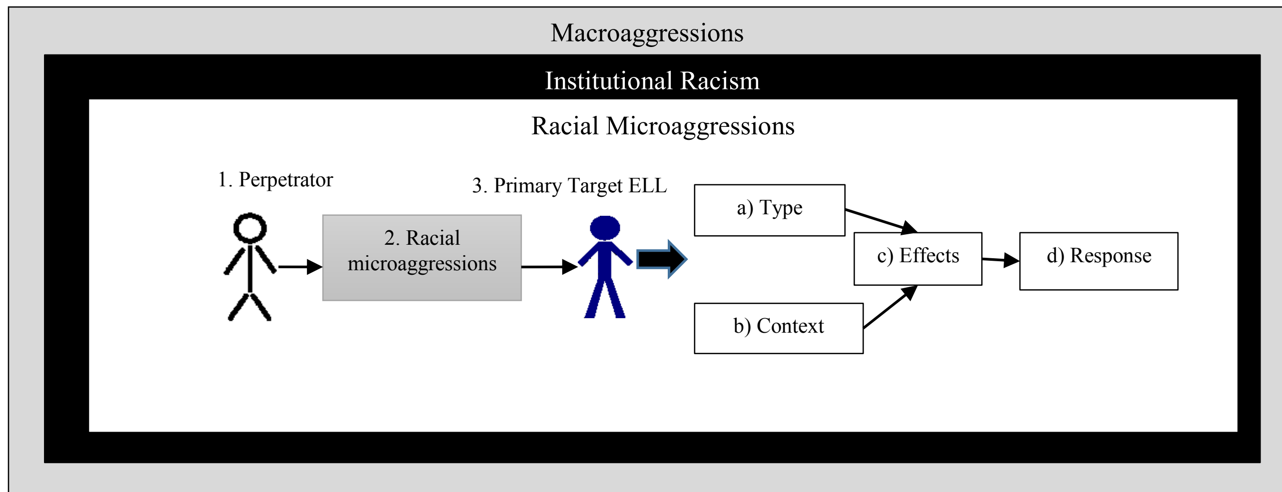


Figure 4. Microaggression tool. This figure illustrates how ELL students experience racial microaggressions by examining: types of racial microaggressions, context, effects, responses (adapted from Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015).

First Layer – Racial Microaggressions. The innermost, white box of the figure represents racial microaggressions. As the figure illustrates, racial microaggressions can be viewed as occurring in two parts. The first part consists of the perpetrator (represented by the stick figure to the left) making a conscious or unconscious verbal or nonverbal comment with racist undertones (the racial microaggression) directed at the primary target (represented by the blue stick figure to the right). The second part shows that there are types of racial microaggression and contexts in which it occurs. These two factors combine to determine the effects of a given racial microaggression, which, in turn, leads to the target's response.

The approach follows that of Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) in grouping together the different forms of racial microaggression. This differs from the approach of Sue et al. (2007) who developed a taxonomy of racial microaggressions, which includes microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations.

Microassault is defined as an “explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behaviour, or purposeful discriminatory actions” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). The examples of microassaults would resemble those of overt acts of racism.

Microinsults and *microinvalidations* are very different from *microassaults* because they may not be intentional on the part of the microaggressor. Frequently it may also be difficult for the person being oppressed to realize that they have occurred (Sue, 2010). They are both, however, characterized by racial undertones based on stereotype. According to Sue et al. (2008) *microinsults* are defined as “actions (verbal, nonverbal, or environmental) that convey insensitivity, are rude, or directly demean a person’s racial identity or heritage” (p. 331). Two examples are “You speak such good English.” and “But you speak without an accent.” Sue et al. (2007) define *microinvalidations* as “communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color” (p. 274).
Figure 5 shows that within each of these categories is contained a virtual encyclopedia of racial microaggressions. This approach has subsequently been discarded in favour of the formation of a single broad category of racial microaggression as used by Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015). However, Sue and colleagues’ (2007) categorization of the types of microaggressions (e.g. ascription of intelligence, assumption of criminal status, and of being an alien in one’s own land, just to name a few) is used as a starting point to name the types of racial microaggressions that the study participants described. This will be further discussed in the methodology chapter.

Now that we have briefly discussed the types of microaggression we shall also look at the context of microaggression, where and how it occurs. In this study, the context will be after-school programming. These programs are part of a number of services provided by community

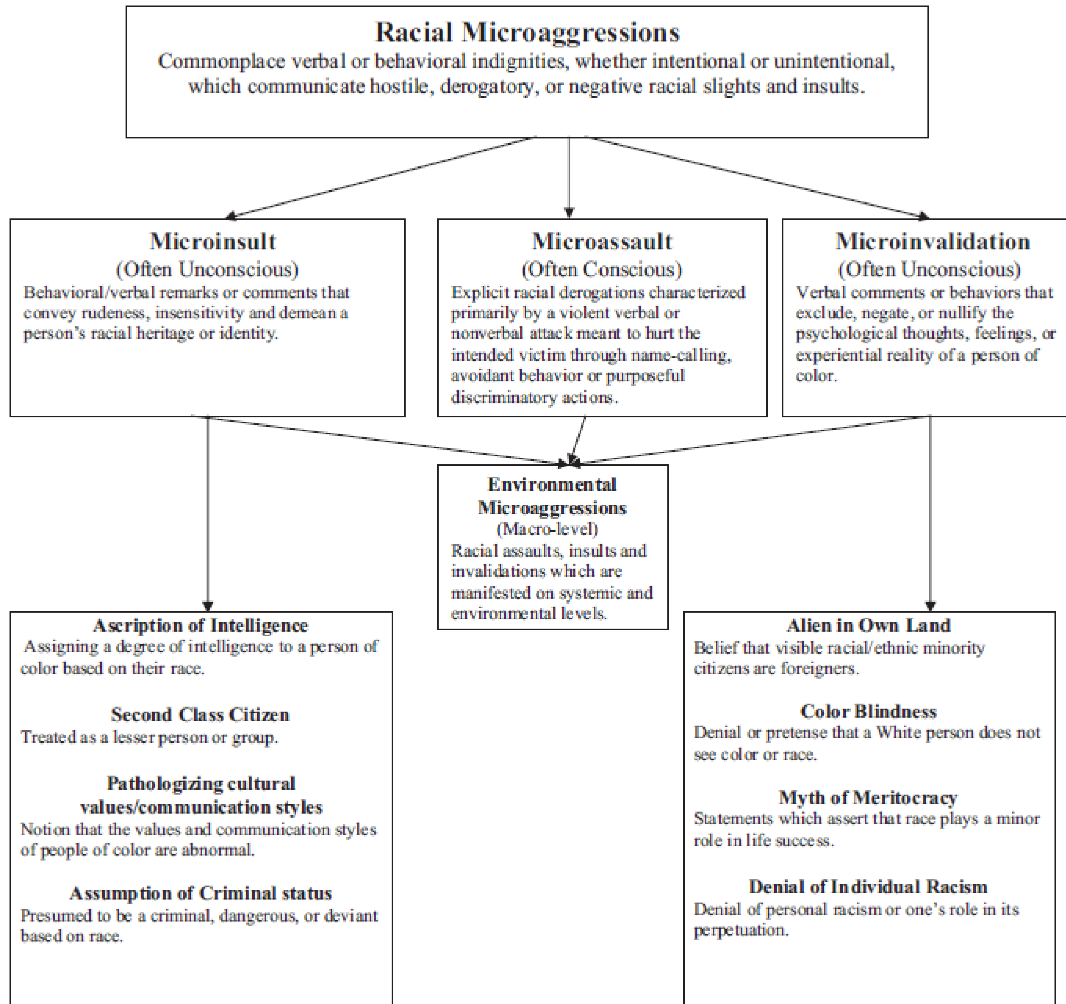


Figure 5. Racial Microaggression Taxonomy. This figure illustrates the categories of relationships amongst racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007, p. 278).

centres. According to Henry and Tator (2006) community centres have tried to respond to the needs of people from various multiracial and multicultural backgrounds. They have accomplished this, by being accountable to minority communities by providing them with ‘responsive, and equitable services’ (p. 192). Some community centres even focus on new immigrants, like ASP 2.

However many of their attempts have been futile because they are being left out of the mainstream delivery system, are being cast aside by the schools and are being seen as duplicating of services already being provided by other formal institutions (Henry and Tator, 2006). As mentioned earlier, this study seeks to empower these community centres through their after-school program.

Third, the effects of the microaggressions must be understood. The effect refers to the negative cumulative psychological and physiological toll microaggressions can have on its victims (Pierce, 1970; Profit et al., 2000).

Fourth, the response to the racial microaggression refers to the ‘if and when’ an ELL learner should defend themselves against these racial microaggressions. As Pierce (1995) argues, since these acts are subtle and hard to recognize, knowing when and how to defend oneself against a racial microaggression requires time and energy. Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) explain that the responses depend on the type and context of the microaggression.

Second Layer – Institutional Racism. The racial microaggressions are surrounded by a second layer called institutional racism (the black box in Figure 4). This can be understood as formal and informal policies and processes that subordinate and marginalize people of colour. Institutional racism is key to understanding how racism remains ingrained in society (Goldberg, 1993).

Third Layer – Macroaggressions. The third layer, the box in light grey, constitutes macroaggressions. They encompass both institutional racism and microaggressions. Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) define macroaggressions as “the set of beliefs and/or ideologies that justify actual or potential social arrangements that legitimate the interests and/or positions of a dominant group over non-dominant groups, that in turn lead to related structures and acts of subordination”

(p. 303). Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) conceptualize macroaggressions differently than other scholars. For example, Gildersleeve, Croom & Vasquez (2011), define macroaggression as overt and happening on a larger scale and microaggressions as subtle acts, whereas Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) argue that there should not be a difference between 'micro' and 'macro' as subtle or overt. Microaggressions are only 'micro' in name since they can have a big, 'macro', emotional impact on the victim. Instead, they view microaggressions as encompassing racial microaggressions and institutional racism, which was defined above as racism ingrained in society through policies and processes (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015).

With this in mind, my analysis of racial microaggressions will only examine the innermost box/first layer –because CRT assumes that racism is present within macro and institutional levels and the micro level, but for the purposes of this study, I will focus on the micro. The entire social order is set up to preserve racial order (Omi &Winant, 1994). Whatever happens at the racial microaggression level is a result of race being present in all aspects of the nation state. The two are so intertwined that Goldberg (2001) argues that state formation and racism are the same thing. He explains that despite there being a clear conceptual difference between the two concepts, they are connected conceptually, historically and politically. Furthermore, given that race is entrenched in modern society, the way we think is shaped by our experiences. In fact, Baker & Fishbeins suggest "it is nearly impossible for any of us not to inherit the racial, gender, and sexual-orientation biases of our forebears" (as cited in Sue, 2010, p. 22). A detailed examination of how racism trickles down to racialized youths is beyond the purpose of this study, which is why I will focus on understanding how these youths experience racialization through racial microaggressions. Now that I have discussed the concepts that frame this study, I next turn to the illustration of this study's conceptual framework, figure 6.

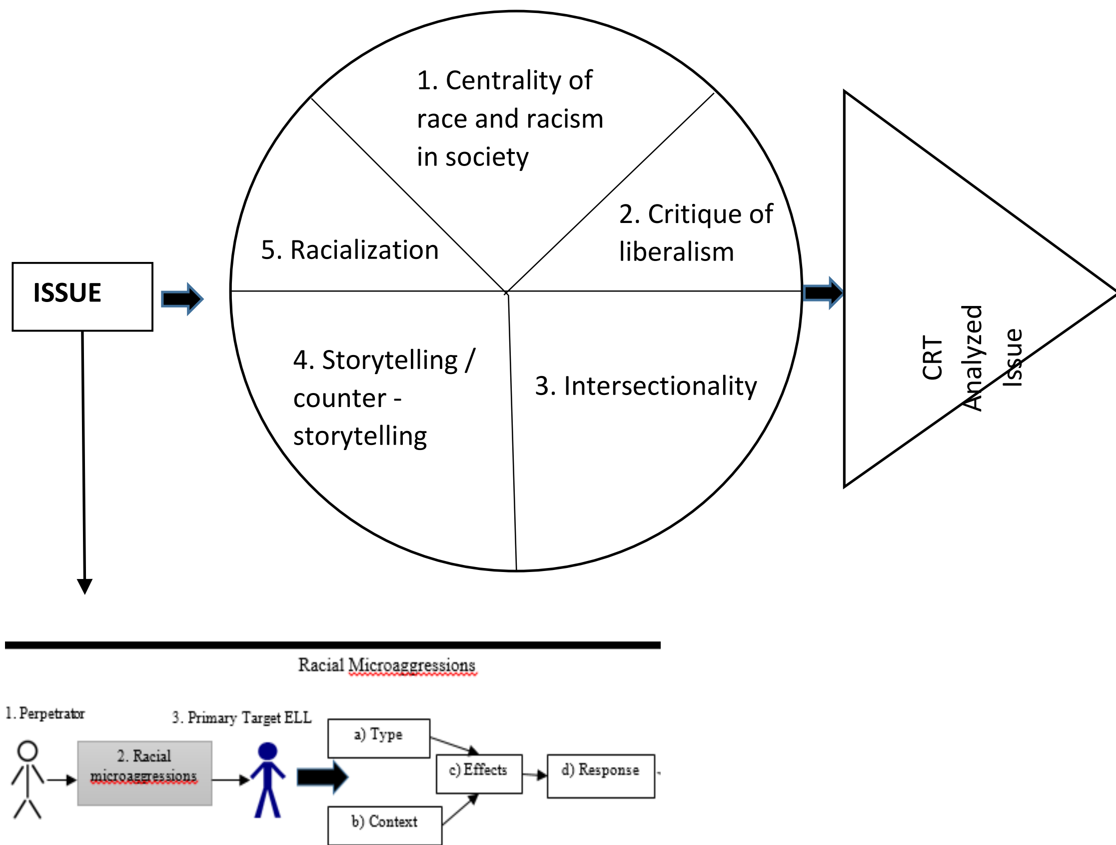


Figure 6. Conceptual Framework

The above figure, illustrates this study's conceptual framework. The arrow points to the issue being examined, namely racial microaggression towards Black ELL students, including the type and context of the racial microaggressions as well as their emotional effects and the responses of the Black ELL students to them. This is followed by an analysis of the racial microaggressions using the five CRT tenets shown below.

Summary

This chapter introduced the core concepts of the CRT framework as well as the epistemological root of CRT. This was followed by a discussion of the framework based on the key terms found

in the literature review. This conceptual framework will be applied in the following chapters with the aim of answering the research questions and in so doing, find out how ELL youths from immigrant families, living in no Ontario, experience the intersection of 'race' and second language learning in after-school programs.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology and methods employed to conduct this study. First, I explain why qualitative research was chosen. Second, I discuss CRT methodology with a particular focus on storytelling and counter-storytelling. Third, I present the context. Fourth, I introduce the participants. The methods section includes a discussion of the procedures related to data collection interpretation and subsequent analysis. Fifth, I explain issues surrounding the validity of the findings.

Rationale for Choosing Qualitative Research

Qualitative research was chosen to examine the phenomena for five reasons. First, Dei (2014) provides the following analogy when explaining how to understand experiences, he says "if you want to know how heavy a bag of salt is, ask the one carrying it" (slide 4). Qualitative research does just that, it allows researchers to go into the field to focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events and ask questions (Stake, 2010). This is what Miles, Huberman and Suldana (2014) refer to as "local groundness".

Second, as Hammersley (2013) points out, qualitative approaches enable researchers to study a phenomenon within its natural environment, as opposed to a laboratory or other controlled setting. In the context under examination, this is preferable to a laboratory or other controlled environment since the natural environment allows for the examination of the naturally occurring chain of factors resulting in the observed behaviours as opposed to the laboratory's potentially artificial series of cues and results.

Third, qualitative research is grounded in an essentially constructivist philosophical position, in the sense that it is concerned with understanding how the complexities of the sociocultural world are experienced, interpreted, and understood in a particular context and at a particular point in time (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The participants in this study all had different language learning experiences, and I was interested in understanding this phenomenon by examining it through their lens and interpreting the meaning they bring to their world (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012; Boeije, 2010; Guba & Lincoln, 1994, 2005). The only way to do so was to adopt an emic point of view, in other words being an insider, rather than an etic point of view, which is being on the outside looking in (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Doing so provides a more thorough comprehension of the issue being studied (Creswell, 2013; Maxwell, 2013).

A fourth reason for employing a qualitative approach links to Maxwell's (Maxwell, 2013) portrayal of the qualitative researcher as a *bricoleur* because they have the ability to "spontaneously adapt to the situation, creatively employing the available tools and materials to come up with unique solutions to a problem" (p. 42-43). This notion *bricoleur* gave me the opportunity to constantly revise my conclusions as findings from the data emerged and I gained more insight from the data. In this aspect qualitative research is emergent, rather than rigid and fixed, to allow for exploration. A qualitative approach also allows for a reflexive process throughout the study where I, the researcher, become the instrument and am able to reflect on myself, the "human as instrument" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 183).

Finally, qualitative researchers understand that there is more than one approach. In other words that there are multiple realities and one has to ask the study participants to understand what their perception of reality is and how they construct meaning. In order to represent the multiple realities, people ascribe to different sets of beliefs, called paradigms. For the purposes

of this research I have chosen CRT as the lens through which to understand the phenomena being examined. For CRT, this means that the researcher foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process; challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts and theories used to explain the traditional research paradigms, texts and categories used to explain the experiences of people of color; and offers transformative situations to racial gender and class subordination in our societal and institutional structures (Creswell, 2013). Guba & Lincoln (2005) also state that "qualitative research serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power and truth" (p. 1). They explain that methods used for data collection (observation, focus groups and interviews) allow for representation of the 'other' to the dominant (white) world. Therefore, researchers have to be aware of this and make sure that the voices of the marginalized are heard. To do this, critical race theorists propose that researchers use storytelling and counter storytelling, which is used to shed light on the experiences of marginalized groups (Crenshaw et al., 1995). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) storytelling and counter storytelling as:

> a theoretically grounded approach to research that (a) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process. However, it also challenges the separate discourses on race, gender, and class by showing how these three elements intersect to affect the experiences of students of color; (b) challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color; (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination; and (d) focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color. Furthermore, it views these experiences as sources of strength and (e) uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color. (p. 24)

In other words, researchers using Critical race methodology offer transformative perspectives on the racial, gender and class subordination taking place within our societal and institutional structures (Creswell, 2013). Guba & Lincoln (2005) also state that “qualitative research serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power and truth” (p. 1). They explain that methods used for data collection (observation, focus groups and interviews) allow for representation of the ‘other’ to the dominant (in this case White) world. Researchers have to be aware of this and make sure that the voices of the marginalized are heard. To do this, critical race theorists propose that researchers use storytelling and counter-storytelling to shed light on the experiences of marginalized groups (Crenshaw et al., 1995).

Storytelling / Counter-Storytelling

Delgado (1989) reminds us that “oppressed groups have known instinctively that stories are an essential tool to their own survival and liberation” (p. 2436). The narrative can be used to support the majoritarian or dominant perspective or to act as a counter-narrative, or counter-story, which challenges the dominant story (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). As such, counter-storytelling serves both as a means of telling the story of the experiences of the people on the margins of society and as a tool for challenging and analyzing stories of the dominant discourse (Delgado, 1989; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). A counter-narrative or counter-story, by its very nature, is a form of resistance that challenges the majoritarian story. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) clarify that a story can only be called a counter-story when it begins to include CRT tenets.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) explain that “a critical race methodology in education recognizes that multiple layers of oppression and discrimination are met with multiple forms of resistance” (p. 26). The authors go on to explain that traditions of social, political and cultural

resistance are being strengthened by recounting the experiences of Black students, through storytelling and counter-storytelling. With this in mind, I used storytelling to provide insight into the reality of Black ELL students enrolled in after-school programs and their counter-stories to see what forms of resistance are being employed. Their stories of experiences with racial microaggressions act as a counter-story to the authorized liberal discourse outline in the problem section of this study's introduction. The non-coercive gathering of these stories through a systematically applied process of data collection allowed for these stories to be voices of the Black student who have been silent and at that time become the counter-story to that of the dominant group.

Delgado (1989), Lawson (1995) and Solórzano and Yosso (2001; 2002) have developed the following list of functions served by counter-stories:

1. They can build community amongst those at the margins of society by putting a human and familiar face to educational theory and practice.
2. They can challenge the perceived wisdom of those at society's centre by providing a context to understand and transform established belief systems.
3. They can open new windows into the reality of those at the margins of society by showing the possibilities beyond the ones they live and demonstrating that they are not alone in their position.
4. They can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone (Delgado, 1989).

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) identify three different types of counter-stories. First, there are autobiographical reflections of people that do not belong to the majority or mainstream

culture on their experiences involving various forms of racial microaggression. Second, there are other people's stories or narratives. This form of counter-storytelling gives a third-person biographical account of a person living in society's margins encounters with racism. The third type of counter-story is known as composite and draws on the autobiographical stories of several people. As Solórzano and Yosso (2002) explain, these stories are based on the various forms of experiences with racialized, sexualized, and classed encounters with the dominant group. Such counter-stories may offer both biographical and autobiographical analyses. The third form of counter-storytelling was employed in this study. This section discussed the rationale for choosing the methodology; the next section explains how I chose the study participants.

Participant Selection

In order to select the study participants, purposeful sampling was used (Creswell, 2012). Purposeful sampling is justified and strengthened since it allows researchers to choose participants who can provide rich information that contributes to the in-depth study of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2012; Patton, 2015). Patton (2015) provides 40 different sampling strategies, which can be classified into eight categories. Two of the 40 strategies are: 1. homogeneous; and 2. snowball sampling. In the current study, participants included ELL high school students enrolled in various after-school programs and youth support workers working in the after-school programs. The homogeneous strategy was used to select the students and the snowball strategy to select the youth support workers. The final sample consisted of 24 students and four youth support workers. The reasons that the two groups were selected via different strategies are elaborated on below.

Student Participants – Homogeneous Sampling

The strategy of homogeneous sampling lent itself well for the selection of student participants. According to Creswell (2012), in homogeneous sampling "the researcher purposefully samples individuals or sites based on membership in a subgroup that has defining characteristics" (p. 208). Creswell (2012) goes on to explain that "to use this procedure, you have to identify the characteristics and find individuals or sites that possess it" (p. 208). This strategy allowed me to select student participants with similar characteristics. The characteristics identified for the students were that:

(a) they were enrolled in high school (grades 9, 10, 11 or 12);

(b) they had arrived in the city less than one year ago; or

(c) they were born in Canada, but one or both parents had immigrated to Canada.

I sought to locate individuals at a seniors' residence and local immigration centres that offered after-school programing to ELL youths.

Youth Support Workers – Snowball Sampling

Given that I had primary contacts at each of the sites, I chose to employ snowball sampling strategy to recruit more youth support workers directly involved in after-school programs. The snowball or chain sampling process is based on locating more participants based on referrals made by previous participants in the study, who share or know others whose experiences are related to the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 2015). The advantages of using this sampling technique lie in accumulating "information-rich" or "critical cases" as it relates to the objectives of the research (Patton, 2015, p. 298). The pitfall of using snowball sampling is

recruiting participants who may represent similar traits or demographics to the initial participants, which may be problematic in terms of the type of the experiences these participants represent. I made sure to include youth support workers with a great diversity of experiences.

Context

In what follows, I highlight the linguistic statistical landscape by neighbourhood of this study's chosen city. Student participants were from a seniors' residence in the East End, a community centre in the downtown core and the other community centre in the West End. The four youth support workers were from the community centres located downtown and in the West End. I chose to conduct the study in different locations to get a better understanding of their respective challenges. The descriptions of each of the three sites, below, include excerpts from all four youth support workers describing their respective programs.

ASP 1 – Seniors' Residence. The first site is located in a suburb of the chosen city. It can be described as economically stable. Study participants had initially volunteered in the senior citizens' home as part of their cooperative education program or as a requirement for completing their 40 hours of community service[1] and stayed to take part in the volunteer program. To participate, students had to be referred by a teacher and had to undergo a preliminary interview with the volunteer coordinator. The program offers students a wealth of experience in a variety of fields, including recreation services, music and memory programs, occupational therapy, and beauty salon, amongst others, but most importantly the opportunity to work with seniors. At the

[1] As stated in *Ontario Secondary Schools, Grades 9 to 12: Program and Diploma Requirements, 1999* (OSS), every student who begins secondary school during or after the 1999–2000 school year must complete a minimum of 40 hours of community involvement activities as part of the requirements for an Ontario Secondary School Diploma (OSSD). (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2017).

time of the study I observed that the senior residence population consisted of, for the most part, French- and English-speaking Canadians, most racialized as White, with a small percentage of racialized Black residents.

ASP 2 – Community Centre Downtown. The second recruitment site was in an after-school program located in the downtown area of the city. ASP 2 specializes in welcoming new immigrants to the city. According to their website, the youth program is specifically designed to assist immigrant youth, aged 13–24, with their settlement and integration process in Canada. The youth program offers services that range from language courses, homework help, summer camps and after-school programs. Ivy, my contact at the community centre and one of the study participants, provides more detail about the program in the excerpt below:

> The youth program supports newcomer youths by implementing services that will help them with their integration. So they will do drop-in services where youths can come together, kind of see their peers going through the same things, and learn from each other with the help [of] youth facilitators. [We] share information with them on community engagement, provide skill building, leadership skills and life skill building sessions. [We] basically create a safe space where newcomer youth can come together, learn together, and get the tools that they need to participate in the community, so that's what the program is about.

In terms of demographics, Jameson, a male youth support worker, says it varies depending on the schools:

> The demographic kind of depends on which school we're at, I would say, in the South there is a higher population of Arab, Somali and Nepali students and so I guess it kind of

changes every time we have a programming, we're not sure what the demographic is really gonna be.

ASP 3 – Community Centre West End. The third recruitment site was a community centre located in the city's urban centre. ASP 3 focuses on the educational success of students from low-income families by ensuring the students remain motivated to complete their secondary education and go forward to vocational studies or post-secondary education. As Henriette, one of the youth support workers, explains:

> [Our program] helps low-income community member students, assists them, and helps them graduate high school, by providing four types of support: mentorship, tutoring, financial and student–parent relationship building… [Our program] gives kind of that extra step in terms of almost making it to par with students who have privilege and come from necessarily higher-income communities, so it gives them the opportunity to be able to measure up.

Samantha, a youth support worker, provides further detail on how they determine who the low-income students are:

> Our students have to have a particular postal code. So, we have a list of postal codes from our community housing.

The youth program is also characterised by a high population of immigrants (particularly Somali students) as Henriette and Samantha explain:

> Henriette: The low income – that's what gets them in the program, but a lot of them are immigrants.
>
> Samantha: Demographically they [the students] tend to be a lot of Muslims, either

> newcomers or first generation, they can be French second language or English second language. We have about 75% English and the rest is the French as second language. A lot of Somalis.

Recruitment – Students

On receipt of ethical approval, I began looking for research participants. The advertisements that I prepared (see Appendix K and L) were distributed by the youth support workers (my contacts) at the senior residents' home and the after-school youth programs. Participants in the seniors' residence (site 1) and the youth program located in the downtown (site 2) core were recruited during the summer of 2015. Recruitment of youth program participants in the West End had to wait until the fall of that year. The delay was in response to a low response rate during the summer vacation period. The sample consisted of 27 youth participants. Of these 27, eight were students working in the seniors' residence, three were in the downtown youth program and 16 were in the West End youth program. Three participants had to be dropped from the study because they did not fulfill the criteria. Two of the participants dropped were from the seniors' residence home (bringing the number of participants from that site down to six) and one participant was from the youth program (which brought the number of participants from that site down to 15). Therefore, the final number of student participants was 24.

Recruitment – Youth Support Workers

Youth support workers were initially identified through personal contacts I had developed as a graduate student. Originally I wanted to choose at least one person from each program with a different background and level of experience. When I approached the youth support worker from the Senior's residence to discuss the program and he explained his roles and responsibilities, we decided

that his duties as a volunteer and coop coordinator did not lend themselves to the study. I understood that due to the nature of the program, his responsibilities relied mostly on the coordination of schedules.

The next section provides an overview of the student participant profiles by site as well as the youth support worker profiles. It is to be noted that the participants themselves chose the pseudonyms. Also, the term 'official language spoken' refers to the official language of Canada spoken outside the home.

Profile – Students

Table 2 provides an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants for each of the three different after-school programs: the seniors' residence (ASP 1), the downtown site (ASP 2) and the West End site (ASP 3). Overall, the study comprised 24 students.

Table 2 reveals the following about ASP 1: 50% of these participants were born in Canada; 33.3% of the participants had resided in Canada for more than five years, and 16.6% of the participants had been in Canada for less than 3 years. Participants were between the ages of

Table 2

Student Profiles (All Sites)

Partici-pant No.	Pseudonym	Years in Canada	Gender	Age	Grade	Official Language Spoken	Other Language Spoken	Heritage Country	Racializ-ed as
Site 1: Seniors' Residence									
1	Jeanne	5+ years	F	16–18	12	French	Goun/Fon	Benin/ France	Black
2	Alibaba	8 years	F	14–15	9	French	Creole	Haiti	Black
3	Mariam	Born	F	16–18	12	Both	N/A	Djibouti	Black
4	Imane	3 years	F	14–15	11	French	Somali	Djibouti	Black
5	Michelle	Born	F	16–18	11	French	Creole	Haiti	Black
6	Ella	Born	F	14–15	11	French	N/A	Canada	Black
Site 2: Downtown									
7	Jane	1-5 Years	F	14–15	10	English	Kinyamulengue, Swahili, Kinyarwanda	Congo	Black
8	James	Less than 1 year	M	14–15	10	English	Swahili, kinyarwanda	Congo	Black
9	Sandra	5 months	F	14–16	11	English	Swahili, Lingala	Congo	Black
Site 3: West End									
10	Joel	1-5 Years	M	16–18	12	Both	Creole	Haiti	Black
11	Abduran	Born	M	16–18	11	French	Arabic	Djibouti	Black
12	Ibaka	More than 5 years	M	16–18	11	French	Sango	Central African Republic	Black
13	John	Born	M	16–18	11	French	N/A	Togo	Black
14	Drake	8 years	M	16–18	11	French	Creole	Haiti	Black
15	Jack	1-5 Years	M	16–18	12	French	Creole	Haiti	Black
16	Naruto Uzumaki	9 years	M	14–15	11	French	N/A	Congo	Black
17	Amina	Born	F	14–15	10	French	Somali	Somalia	Black
18	Dagan	Born	F	14–15	10	French	N/A	Djibouti	Black
19	Uzumaki Sasuke	Born	F	14–15	10	French	N/A	Barbados	Black
20	Sara	Born	F	14–15	9	French	N/A	Djibouti	Black
21	Issa	Born	F	16–18	12	French	Somali	Djibouti	Black
22	Dio	Born	F	14–15	10	French	N/A	Morroco	No answe r
23	Sara	Born	F	14–15	10	French	Somali	Somalia	Black
24	Lella	Born	F	16–18	11	French	N/A	Djibouti	Black

14 and 18 at the time of the study; one was in grade 9, two were in grade 10 and three were in grade 11. 100% of the participants were girls racialized as Black females, 100% spoke French as an official language. Other languages spoken included: Goun/Fon, creole and Somali. Their regions of origin ranged from the Caribbean to Africa.

ASP 2: Participants were between the ages of 14 and 16 at the time of the study; two of the participants were in grade 10 and one was in grade 11. The group consisted of two girls racialized as Black females and one boy racialized as Black, 100% of the participants spoke English as an official language, 100% were from the Congo. Other languages spoken included: Swahili, Lingala and Kinyarwanda.

At ASP 3, out of 15 participants 10 were born in Canada, three had been in Canada for more than three years and one had been in Canada for less than five years. Seven of 15 participants were male and 8 of 15 participants were female. They were all French speaking. I gave the option to conduct the focus group in either French or English, but given that there were some English-only speaking students and that the French students all spoke English, the interviews mainly took place in English. The centre was Anglophone so the French students were used to accommodating their non-French speaking friends. Six of seven male participants were between the ages of 16 and 18 with only one being between 14 and 15. In contrast, the female participants were all between the ages of 14 and 15. Similar to the first group, the participants' countries of origin were either in the Caribbean or Africa. Other languages spoken included: Arabic, Creole and Somali. Most of the participants born in Canada opted to put N/A as another language spoken. Some of the participants from ASP 1 were born in Canada, as Québecois, as a result they are in fact immigrants to Ontario, even if not legally so. That is they emigrated from French speaking province and immigrated to an English speaking province.

Profile – Youth Support Workers

Table 3 presents information about the four youth support workers who participated in the study, including the number of years they had been working with the program, and racial information. Three of the youth support workers were female and one was male. All had been with their respective community centres for fewer than five years. Two were youth support workers from the community centre downtown and two were from the West End. Samantha, self-identified as a White Canadian, this was indicated as such in the table.

Methods

In order to collect the data, various methods were used. The methods used for this study included: a demographic questionnaire, observation, focus group sessions and interviews. Bloomberg and Volpe (2012) explain that varying the sources of data and data collection methods allows the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Originally, I wanted to use the same data collection methods for all three sites. Unfortunately, the data collection methods varied as a result of the varying access given me to the students by the youth support workers. As a result of the sensitivity of the research subject, it was my understanding that I had to go through the youth support workers, who acted as 'gatekeepers' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The level of youth support workers' involvement in the study varied from site to site. The youth coordinator at ASP 1 and the youth support worker at ASP 2 simply sent students my way, whereas the youth support worker at ASP 3 told me which activities were taking place and when I would be able to conduct data collection. Table 4 shows a summary of the data collection methods for all the three sites.

Table 3

Youth Support Worker Profiles

Participant no.	Pseudonym	Gender	Years of experience	Location	Self-Identified Race / Ethnicity
25	Ivy	F	4 years	Downtown	Somali
26	Jameson	M	2.5 years	Downtown	Indian
27	Henriette	F	1 year	West End	Somali
28	Samantha	F	1 year	West End	Canadian

Participant observation. This method of data collection allowed me to perceive first-hand the dynamics of the after-school program, to identify instances of racial microaggressions and to note students' responses. Due to the restrictions placed on me in ASPs 1 and 2, I was able to gather observations for site 3 only. Given that the staff often rely on the help of volunteers to keep the program running, it was required of me to actively participate in various activities.

Creswell (2012), defines participant observation as "an observational role adopted by researchers when they take part in activities in the setting they observe" (p. 214). In other words, I actively took part in classroom activities or any of the activities conducted in the drop-in program of ASP3 during the observation period. Participant observation took place on two separate occasions. The first was on a Tuesday evening during the homework program. The homework club is usually held in the community centre and runs for two hours. The second observation session took place on a Thursday evening, during the drop-in session activities. These usually take place in the gym of the neighbourhood high school once a week (every Thursday) and last around 75 minutes. I could not take notes during the observation period since I was participating in the activities. However, as soon as the homework club and the drop-in session respectively ended, I took time to record my impressions and reactions, and the students' interactions with their peers and their youth support workers.

Table 4

Summary of Methods used by Location (All Participants)

	ASP 1	ASP 2	ASP 3
Observation	No	No	Yes
Focus groups	Yes	Yes	Yes
Interviews	Yes	Yes	Yes

I used an observational protocol (Appendix B) to record my observation data for each of the planned activities (Creswell, 2018; Patton, 2015). It consists of two columns. The first is for descriptive notes. This is where I recorded my observations about the activity, context, participants, and instances of racial microaggressions and took notes on the language being used by students. The main purpose of this section was to capture the chronological flow of the activities. The second column is for reflective notes about the process and activities, and summary conclusions about activities for later theme development.

Demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire was used to get an idea of the demographics and to eliminate students who did not meet the identification characteristics. Before each focus group and interview, participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C) consisting of closed- and open-ended biographical questions. The closed-ended questions, which consisted of multiple choice questions with the option 'other' as required, allowed participants to respond to pre-set response options, whereas the open-ended questions allowed participants to provide their own responses (Creswell, 2012). Closed-ended questions included age range and grade level. Open-ended questions included self-identifying years in Canada, race, heritage country, language spoken at home and how often they spoke their mother tongue. The questionnaire also allowed them to select their pseudonym. The demographic questions were discussed as the students responded in writing to make sure they all

understood the questions. The questionnaires were only provided to the student participants. The four youth support workers were not asked to complete the questionnaire because the information about their background and years of experience were asked during their interviews.

The information collected was uploaded into NVIVO, a qualitative data analysis software package, which facilitated the categorization of the information and allowed me to develop an overall picture of my student population (Creswell, 2018). Questionnaires took, on average, 15 minutes to complete; immediately following the questionnaire I proceeded to the focus group discussions.

Focus groups. The main reason for using focus groups was to allow participants to interact with each other, to foster discussions, face social oppression through “collective testimony” and “multivocal conversations” all while validating their own and others’ experiences. It also allows for the researcher to gain simultaneous insight into many different stories and experiences (Madriz, 2003).

Two focus groups took place at the seniors’ residence in summer 2015. The focus group discussions took on average 30 minutes and took place in French. Participants were easily separated into two groups of four (as a reminder, two participants were subsequently eliminated), each of which was composed of students who worked the same shift.

The focus group with participants from the after-school program downtown comprised three students, two female and one male. If you will recall, this focus group also took place during the summer months of 2015, which accounted for the low number of participants. This focus group session was held at an educational institution, in English, and lasted 20 minutes.

The final focus group session took place in the main boardroom of the community centre located in the West End. It was a large group, consisting of 15 participants, seven male and eight

female, and exceeded the recommended number of four to six participants (Creswell, 2012). The focus group discussion took approximately 42 minutes and was conducted in English.

The focus group protocol (see Appendix D) was developed based on a review of literature on second language education, CRT and microaggression. It included eight open-ended questions on stereotyping, microaggression and colour-blindness. The questions were used to start the discussion and I often reverted back to them when the discussion went off on tangents. The focus group protocol was reviewed by my supervisor and one of the members of my thesis committee. Each focus group was audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim.

Semi-structured interviews. In order to gain further insights, semi-structured interviews were also used. This approach allowed for the opportunity to explore unexpected issues and new ideas that developed from answers given by participants during the focus group discussions (Bryman, 2012).

Interview protocols, similar to the focus group protocols, were developed for the students (see Appendix E) and youth support workers (see Appendix F). Both protocols were developed using the literature on second language education, CRT and microaggression. They included the same topics but different questions. The questions were designed to allow the participants to describe a variety of examples of microaggression, explore the effect that each had had on them, construct meaning from the interaction, and outline how each participant had responded to the microaggressions. Interviews are useful for gaining more in-depth, and hence potentially more meaningful, insight and context one participant at a time.

For this study, I conducted six individual face-to-face semi-structured interviews with students from the seniors' residence, three one-on-one interviews with the students from the after-school program downtown and two face-to-face interviews with the students in the West

End (one of which was subsequently eliminated). Interviews were an average of 22 minutes in length and for the most part were scheduled to take place immediately after the focus groups.

The interviews with the youth support workers were used to provide extra context to some of the issues that came out of the focus group discussions and interviews with the student participants. I conducted three face-to-face interviews and one phone interview because of a scheduling conflict with one of the youth support workers. Although the phone interview does not offer visual cues, these were not necessary for youth support workers as their interviews were purely being used to provide extra context and ensure validity of the research (discussed later in this chapter).

All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed to avoid taking notes during the interview. This also allowed for a complete account of the exchanges in the interviews and, consequently, more thorough examination of the answers (Bryman, 2012). All participants were given the option to read and amend the transcripts of their interview.

Data Analysis

The data collected comprised answers to a demographic questionnaire; my own observations of activities such as the homework club; information shared during focus group sessions and face-to-face interviews.

Additionally, the concept of racial microaggression was used as an analytic tool to better understand the experiences Black ELL study participants had of racial microaggression and, ultimately, to tell their stories. This tool was key to the analysis phase of my research. As a reminder, racial microaggression is analysed based on the following four variables:

1. Types. How one is targeted by microaggressions, which can e.g. be based on race, gender, class, language, sexuality, immigrant status, phenotype, accent, or surname.
2. Context. How and where the microaggressions occur.
3. Effects. The physical, emotional, and psychological consequences of microaggressions.
4. Responses. How the individual responds to interpersonal and institutional racist acts and behaviours.

Observation analysis. I organized my observations using the four racial microaggression variables (type, context, effect and response). I then read through my field notes and began coding for instances of racial microaggression. Using the observation protocol (Appendix A), whenever I observed instances of racial microaggression, I proceeded to describe the incidence, the context in which it occurred, and the victim's response. As Table 5 illustrates, following this step, each entry was coded. Creswell (2012) defines codes as "labels used to describe a segment of text or an image" (p. 244).

It was difficult to isolate emotions; I was not the one experiencing the offensive act and I worried about misinterpreting a person's reaction. For example, someone may react to an uncomfortable situation by laughing, which could be interpreted as an instance of good humour when in reality it is a sign of nervousness. As a result, the emotional effects of the racial microaggression were not captured during the observation phase. I only documented what could be observed and not what could be inferred. However, during the focus group discussions and face-to-face interview sessions I made sure to ask how they felt after they had provided examples of racial microaggressions they had experienced.

Table 5

Observation Analysis using Racial Microaggression (RM) Variables

RM Variables	Description	Code
Type	During music session hip hop is played. No other genre of music is presented to the students.	Assumption of music preference
Context	Music workshop, all racialized Black male students, racialized White instructor.	After-school program
Effect	N/A	N/A
Response	A few of the young men seemed interested; two boys walked out, one boy walked in mid-class, some spoke as the teacher was talking.	Quiet form of resistance

Focus group and interview analysis. All focus groups and interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. I transcribed the audio recording verbatim immediately after to ensure I could recognize each voice. This last point was of particular importance for focus group sessions containing more than three participants. Additionally, I noted any aspects of nonverbal communication, such as pauses or laughter (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The richness of the participants' counter-stories implied that little time could lapse between data collection and data transcription (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012).

The next stage was the development and categorization of type, context, effects and responses using the racial microaggression analytic tool. During the focus groups and one on one interviews, when the participants provided an example of a type of racial microaggression they had experienced, I asked how it made them feel. This allowed me to document the effect of the racial microaggression on the victim. To analyze the data that came out of the focus group discussion and the interviews, I read through my transcripts and began coding for instances of

racial microaggression. When an instance was identified as a type of racial microaggression it was categorized and coded as such. I followed the same steps for the remaining three component of the racial microaggression tool. Table 6 shows the analysis of the data gleaned from the focus group discussions and interviews using the racial microaggression variables.

In addition to following the racial microaggression tool as a guide to structure my focus group and interview analyses, I also examined the data for emergent themes. This allowed me to identify important themes that I would have otherwise missed had I just used the racial microaggression approach. These themes, presented in the findings chapter, provide possible answers to how Black ELL students respond to racial microaggression. In order to identify emergent themes, I reviewed my transcripts, identified and grouped together excerpts that possessed similar content. I reviewed and refined the data, comparing and contrasting similarities and differences in the excerpts (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). I did this several times to ensure I had identified the right themes. This in turn allowed for the development of a consistent coding system. This approach is like that of Miles and Huberman (2014) who recommend sorting and sifting through interviews to "identify similar phrases, relationships between variables, patterns, themes, categories, distinct differences between subgroups, and common sequences" (p. 10). Table 7 shows an example of an emergent themes.

This data analysis approach helped me to provide more comprehensive responses to my research questions, and to begin to tell a more detailed story of Black ELL students, as illustrated in Table 8. I conclude this chapter by considering the ethical dilemmas and the validity of the findings.

Table 6

Focus Group and Interview Analysis using Racial Microaggression (RM) Variables

RM Variable	Description	Code
Type	“They believe we are drug dealers”	Assumption of criminal status
Context	At school they say we…	School
Effect	“Embarrassed…it hurts my feelings”	Negative emotion (embarrassed)
Response	“What do you want us to do?”	Do not know how to respond

Transcription conventions. As mentioned, focus group and interviews were audio-recorded and translated verbatim. The French data extracts were then translated for the benefit of the English-speaking reader. Please note that the translations provided are paraphrases and as such do not appear in quotation marks. Instead, they have been italicized and appear after the interview data (APA style, 2016).

Ethical Considerations

Any study, either qualitative or quantitative, must follow the ethical guidelines necessary to protect and safeguard the anonymity and safety of the study participants. Qualitative research is designed to allow the researcher to work in close collaboration with human subjects. This can be highly personal since in instances it may lead participants to share sensitive information (Patton, 2015). As such, ethical clearance was sought from the University of Ottawa's Office of Research Ethics and Integrity (Appendix M). An ethics application form was completed, submitted and subsequently approved by the University of Ottawa. The form outlined the steps to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants (Appendices H, I and J). In addition, consent

Table 7

Focus Group and Interview Analysis using Emergent Themes

Data excerpt	Code
"Yeah we use nigger, 'g'"… it's the same as nigger and homie" (referring to 'g')	BSE

forms were distributed to students, parents or guardians (in the case of the underage participants) and youth support workers. On receipt of participant consent and ethical approval from the university I proceeded to data collection, starting with participant observation (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Validity of Findings

According to Creswell (2012), "The accuracy or credibility of the findings is of the upmost importance" (p. 259). In order to determine the validity of the findings, I employed the following strategies: triangulation, audit trail, peer review and pilot testing. First, my observations were triangulated. This was done by corroborating the data collected from the different participants—students and youth support workers—and the different types of collection method—observation, focus group discussions and interviews (Creswell, 2012). Drawing from multiple data points allowed me to broaden my understanding of the phenomenon, determine whether views from different perspectives on a particular theme converged, and ensure the accuracy of the data (Creswell, 2012; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Table 8

Summary of Data Collection and Analyses

Research questions	**Participants**	**Type of information / What do I want to know?**	**Method used**	**Analysis**
1. What type of racial microaggression is it?	Students	*Perceptual.* Participants' explanation of their experiences with stereotyping, microaggression and colour-blindness.	Participant observation, focus groups, interviews	Racial microaggressions tool
2. How and when does the racial microaggression occur?	Students	Location, time, who they are with at the time of the incident	Participant observation, focus groups, interviews	Racial microaggressions tool
3. What is the effect of the racial microaggression on ELL students?	Students	Participant's emotion	Focus groups, interviews	Racial microaggression tool
4. What is the response to the racial microaggression?	Students	*Perceptual*. Participants' explanation of their experiences in terms of language learning and being a minority.	Participant observation, focus groups, interviews	Racial microaggression tool Content / Thematic analysis
5. Do after-school programs have the necessary tools to help Black ELL students deal with racial microaggression?	Youth support workers	*Perceptual.* Do participants speak differently when addressing authority figures?	Interviews	Content / Thematic analysis

Second, to ensure a sound research process, I maintained an audit trail of the data collection (Creswell, 2013). This was done by: a) documenting every step of the process (i.e., procedures, designs, strategies, rationales); b) keeping records of the scheduling details of meetings (i.e. time, location, whom I was meeting); and c) keeping all raw data (ex. written field notes, data analysis brainstorming sessions, category structure and development process (themes, definitions and relationships). All instruments developed have been kept on file and in a safe and secure location. Savin-Badin and Major (2013) explain that although time consuming, keeping an audit trail helps the researcher to remember important events and retrace steps if needed.

Third, I used peer review by working closely with my supervisor as well as my contact at the community centre to ensure the interview protocol was carefully designed, with the research questions in mind. They flagged any ambiguous questions, which were subsequently changed or eliminated. I also kept my questions as short as possible, avoided double-barrelled questions (questions that touch on more than one issue but only allow for one answer) and overuse of any technical terms in order to prevent misunderstanding or miscommunication (Creswell, 2014). Lastly, I conducted a pilot study to field-test the data collection methods and get a better understanding of the context.

Summary

This chapter provided a detailed description of this study's methodology and methods. CRT methodology, storytelling and counter-storytelling are the key constituent approaches employed to illustrate the phenomenon of how ELL high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning. The participants of the study constitute a purposefully selected sample. The three data collection methods used comprised observation,

focus group discussions and interviews. The data was reviewed and analyzed against predetermined and emergent themes. Finally, the validity of findings was ensured through various strategies including triangulation and the leaving of an audit trail. In the next chapter, I present the findings.

Chapter 5

Findings

This chapter presents the main findings. The six major findings are listed in Table 9. As an alternative to Solórzano and Yosso (2001; 2002) who suggest creating a composite story to tell the racialized experiences of people of colour, I chose to create a context for the students' experiences of microaggressions based on my own experiences. These stories, including my experiences, are the counter-stories to the notion that Canada is a multicultural country free of racism.

What follows are data excerpts describing the study participants' experiences of incessant offensive acts and, in one case, a blatant act of racism. Their experiences with racial microaggressions are outlined using the racial microaggression tool. The first finding is of the **types** of racial microaggression the study participants experience. The second finding is the **context** in which these offensive acts occur. The third finding constitutes the **effects** these racial microaggressions have on the Black ELL study participants. The fourth finding consists of how students say they **respond** to these offensive acts. The **fifth** finding shows how the students respond indirectly to racial microaggressions with the use of BSE, which both allows them to create a safe space to cope with these offensive acts and acts as a form of resistance. The **sixth** and final finding identifies how after-school programs deal with these everyday subtle acts of racism. Table 9 shows a summary list of the findings.

Table 9

List of Common Themes

Findings	Common Themes
Finding 1.	The majority of student participants recognized that they were targets of racial microaggressions, especially microinsults and microinvalidation.
Finding 2.	The context element of racial microaggressions is complex.
Finding 3.	Many student participants reported that being a victim of racial microaggressions had an emotional effect.
Finding 4.	Most participants did not know how to respond to the racial microaggressions.
Finding 5.	Participants respond using BSE
Finding 6.	After-school programs operate under an authorized multicultural discourse.

Finding 1: The Majority of Participants Recognized Experiencing Different Types of Racial Microaggressions

Finding 1 represents the counter-story to the myth of multicultural education and Multicultural Policy based on the liberal value of colour-blindness, i.e. the attempt to eradicate racism by ignoring racial differences. As a result of this policy, acts of covert racism have taken over from overt racism. As will be illustrated, the Black ELL study participants experience offensive acts, called racial microaggressions, daily. Through focus group discussions and interviews, I collected the stories of the participants, those living on the margins. Although the participants could not name their particular experiences, not having the vocabulary to explain that they had experienced a racial microaggression, they nonetheless recognized being victims of everyday offensive acts of racism. The types of offensive acts experienced and described by the Black

ELL participants included: a) belittling the country of origin; b) ascription of low intelligence; c) pathologizing cultural values and communication style; d) mispronunciation of names; e) assumption of criminal status; f) being made to feel alien in their own land; and g) academic streaming into lower level educational programs.

Belittling the country of origin. Belittling the country of origin was a type of racial microaggression experienced and described both by the study participants who were born in Canada and those who had immigrated to Canada. It refers to the notion that Black students come from poor countries and, as such, they have had limited access to the amenities and comforts of Western society. During the focus group sessions conducted at ASP 1, the girls talked about some of the misconceptions their racialized White classmates had about their respective countries of origin based on media-constructed images.

Mariam : “Ils ont créé une image de nous. ”

They have created an image of us.

Jeanne : “Ils ont l'image que la télé renvoie de l’Afrique dans leurs tête ils se disent que sa s'applique à tous les pays [d’Afrique]… Quand je suis arrivée j’ai eu des élèves qui m’ont posé des questions, genre est-ce que tu viens t’as déjà vu de la neige? Avez l’eau courante?”

They (Canadian classmates and teachers) have an image that the television (the media) has provided of Africa…When I arrived (to Canada) I had classmates ask me questions like ‘have you ever seen snow’? ‘Do you have running water?’

The focus group participants explained that as a result of their classmates’ preconceived notions of their country of origin, they were being asked a lot of questions about their living conditions in their country of origin. These questions included ‘do you have running water?’ or

again ‘have you ever seen snow?’ In her explanation, Jeanne knows that her classmates’ idea of African countries is that of people living in mud huts or people walking long distances with buckets on their heads to access clean water, as the infomercials or fundraising campaigns illustrate on television. As a result, Jeanne found herself educating her classmates about the richness of her country of origin by giving them first-hand accounts of what it is like to live elsewhere.

> “Oui j'ai déjà vue la neige, oui on a l'électricité on a du courant aussi, on a des grandes maisons peut-être c’est moins développé mais on vie bien.”
>
> *Yes I have seen snow, we have electricity and big houses, maybe my country is less developed but we live well.*

It is important to note that it did not escape the girls that these misconceptions were created by the media. According to the above accounts, their classmates did not seem to possess a realistic understanding of the living realities in the developing world. The above incidents may seem like innocent interactions between Jeanne and her classmates; however, it was by virtue of being a member of a visible minority and having immigrated to Canada, that Jeanne was perceived as being different from her classmates. This feeling of otherness based on her country of origin was one of the contributing factors that led to her feeling of marginalization in the classroom.

However mildly offensive, these types of questions, based on erroneous, preconceived notions, help construct and perpetuate an image of people from other countries. This image focuses on what the perpetrators deem as an inaccessibility to modern education, comparable to what they have in Canada. The preconceived notion of the targets’ intellect is based on their

racialization as Black. This type of racial microaggression is referred to as ascription of low intelligence.

Ascription of low intelligence. Ascription of low intelligence occurs when Black ELL students are assigned a degree of intelligence based on the colour of their skin and, in this case, their country of origin (Sue, 2010). Jeanne, a female immigrant participant at ASP 1, is often left out of group work.

> "En fait, lors des projets de groupes, je me retrouve des fois la seule sans groupe si je n'ai pas d'amis dans cette classe. Comme, entre eux ils se disent, je ne sais pas, juste parce que tu ne parles pas en classe t'as des difficultés avec les cours ou quelque chose..."
> *When we do group activities or group projects I sometimes find myself without a group when I do not have a friend in that class. I believe amongst themselves they think that because I am quiet in class I have difficulty with courses…*

Jeanne is a shy and quiet individual. She explains that she most often keeps to herself. In the passage below she explains how her introversion may have led to some of her classmates believing that she did not understand the tasks, which in turn had an impact on her social interaction and participation in group activities on occasions when she does not have a friend in the class. She shares that she sometimes feels that Black people in general are often regarded as unintelligent.

> "Parfois je pense qu'ils pensent qu'on [Black people] est stupid."
> *I think that sometimes they think we are stupid.*

Jeanne's statement makes clear that she recognizes that because of the colour of her skin, her classmates assume that she does not have the necessary intellect to be academically successful. As was mentioned earlier, being Black is often linked to being disinterested in

schools (Andrews, 2014). Being left out of group work activities has led Jeanne to believe that the reasons that she is not chosen lie with her shyness or her Blackness. However, she seems to have attributed it more to her Blackness, given the statement: *sometimes I think they (classmates) think that we (Black people) are stupid.* In academic contexts, these incessant personal attacks leave Black students feeling that their intelligence has been called into question (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). Jeanne was not the only student to experience this type of rejection in class. Alibaba confirmed that this happens to her as well. In stating that she thinks the other classmates think that Black people are stupid, she assumes that a non-Black but similarly introverted person, would have been invited to participate in the group work. She thinks that her classmates believe that she is unintelligent because she is Black, and that she would not have the intellectual capacity to contribute to the project or that they would have to spend more time explaining the task to her than actually working on the project at hand.

The nonverbal act of excluding an individual from a group, based on the belief that the individual is intellectually inferior because of the colour of their skin, is a type of racial microaggression. It reinforces White students' perception that they are intellectually superior to Black students (Ispa-Landa, 2013). This, in turn, results in them believing that the Black students are intellectually inferior, like was the case for Jeanne and Alibaba. The quiet demeanour of new immigrants in this study is seen as abnormal and is not how Black girls are usually perceived or expected to act in an academic setting. Ascription of low intelligence also goes against the multiculturalism because as a result of being racialized as Black and unintelligent they are not included in all classroom activities. The perception of Black students as unintelligent does not only reside with the students. It can trickle up and make its way to the teacher corps, resulting in unfair academic streaming or tracking.

Academic streaming into lower level educational programs. Academic streaming is best defined as the practice of placing Black non-native speakers of English into lower level educational streams, such as non-university preparatory courses, remedial or vocational programs (Henry & Tator, 2006; Ibrahim, 2011; Schroeter & James, 2015). This is an example of institutional racism. Although, this is not a racial microaggression, there is still value in discussing this issue because it is an everyday occurrence. Samantha, youth support worker from ASP 3, had witnessed her students being placed in lower level academic streams. She stated that it was a regular occurrence; nevertheless she remained baffled as to how and when academic streaming occurred.

> I heard that you have to get the parents' permission, but I think it's more you have to get the parents' permission when they are already in academic and you want to drop them to applied, but I think grade 8 to grade 9, the administration decides based on grades.

It is clear from the above excerpt Samantha was unclear about the mechanics the academic streaming process. She was unsure of who was responsible for making the decision, how decisions were made (were decisions based on the student's grade?), or when the decisions were made (she thought students began to be streamed in grade 8 or 9). Despite often being in direct contact with the schools, she had trouble understanding why her students (who at the time of this study were mostly Black) were being streamed into lower educational programs. She did say that it was difficult for her and teachers to get in touch with parents, "often teachers say to me or the administration says, we tried to call (the parents) but you know, no answer. So they stop and the issue goes unaddressed", but she believes that schools could do more to reach out to parents - in her own words "I think that that should be one of their primary roles." Henry & Tator (2006) explain that schools tend to keep the community and parents away from their institution.

This unequal relationship between the school and the parents could be one of the reasons why Samantha's students are being unjustly streamed. She continues:

> Kids are not being told, OK grade 8 you have to be on your best behaviour and get 4s on all your tests otherwise you're going to college, nobody's telling them that, it's not realistic to tell them that, but it should be.

They did not know how to navigate the school system, in terms of understanding grading, differences in applied and academic, which streams leads to university vs. college. Henriette discusses:

> That is my role: student–parent support worker. Not only supporting the student, but supporting the parents and navigating through the curriculum, which is hard to understand for all parents, the amount of credits you need, the applied vs. university courses, applied vs. academic.

Henriette sympathises with parents as the education system can be quite difficult to understand for anyone who has not gone through it themselves. The complexity is glaringly evident in the report card system, where grades are given a number from one to four where four is the highest grade one can obtain and 1 the lowest. The scoring system does not use percentages or letters, which may be what some parents were accustomed to. Samantha also understands how this can lead to a lack of comprehension for parents.

> Certainly the grades, for them, the numbers it's arbitrary, a little bit, like they just don't [pause] a 4, I dunno, a 3 I dunno whatever [pause] so it doesn't mean as much I think to them or they're not seeing the grades.

Whenever the parents do eventually see grades or understand what grades mean, it is a surprise to them that their children have been doing poorly in school and as a result would likely will not be attending university:

Henriette: Sometimes it's devastating for parents: why aren't you going to university, that's kinda why I brought you here. A lot of parents are going through hardship in terms of travelling here, fleeing war-torn countries, we see a lot of immigrant backgrounds, like Afghani, Arab, Somali, Congo [sic] you name it, a lot of the parents are like we're starving to make sure you get an education and you're not going to university.

Samantha: Oh yeah, the parents get upset. The parents that got upset were the ones that weren't contacted when the teachers decided: when this kid is going into grade 9, to put them in applied. The parents that I heard, there were three of them, got upset because they were never contacted and brought into the consultation about what level their kids should be put in, and that goes again with the teachers not communicating with parents and not reaching out to them and involving them in the conversations that are so important.

Oftentimes when teachers try to contact parents to discuss their children's grade or academic path, the parents do not return phone calls or schedule meetings. This is often the case at ASP 3, where there are immigrant families who have been in Canada for a while, but who nevertheless do not speak either official languages. Samantha often deals with the aftermath of the miscommunication between parents and teachers. The students are often the ultimate victims of this lack of communication, getting placed in the applied rather than the academic stream,

with parents in turn feeling disappointment when they learn that their child will not be going to university:

> Every family wants their student to graduate high school, certainly. And even go off onto other school, definitely. And most of the parents on parent engagement night are very upset when their children have been put into applied when they want them to be academic or pre-college. They're like: no, it should be pre-u, but we say he shouldn't. He's not getting the grades to get into pre-u but never mind, the university is the only way. So they're very [pause] they say that and they're putting them in the program absolutely and they recognize the benefit of it, but at the same time there's a lot of what I said, the boy helping the grandma or like, a lot of like I didn't come to tutoring last night because I had to drive my mom to the grocery store because she doesn't drive. Those sorts of things, where it's like… The parents tell their children to ask their teachers to put them on the path of university.

As youth support workers, Samantha said they do their best to ensure the option remains open for these kids:

> There's a lot of teachers that write me and they say, 'the student he won't shut up about wanting to be in Pre-U or whatever, so help us out.
>
> I have a lot of students, who say my guidance counsellor wants to put me in applied math, but I really want to stick it out, I'll try harder, I swear I'll work harder, I'll study this time, this year, and it's like THIS YEAR! [laughter] you know we have a lot of those conversations. I'll write guidance counsellor and explain how much do you want him to be in applied, is there anything we can do, can we give him another shot and often they'll

suggest night school or summer school to up the credit, up the grade, that happens sometimes we do that.

As a result of a lack of comprehension about the school system, there seems to be a gap between parent expectation and the reality of their children's academic achievement. The parent assumed that by sending their children to school they would automatically graduate and go on to university. The parents do not consider or realize the importance of grades:

Researcher: Do they all want their kids to become doctors and how do you address that?

Samantha: Yeah, and even at the expense of the kid's interest and, you know, capabilities. Like one of my students wanted to be a pilot, and he was so excited about it and had all these dreams and aspirations about becoming a pilot and the parent was like no, no, you can't be a pilot if we go back to our country you can't be a pilot there you won't make any money, so it's that idea of interest or hobbies or kind of thing that isn't often considered.

Henriette: The expectation comes from parents expecting their youths or children to go into fields that are predominantly for example in the health field or engineering or nursing or, you know, just the professional, what are those skills that you can take everywhere...portable skills, jobs, but the reality is that the youth have different interests or the pressure might be on the youths to articulate that, so the gap is that youths can't articulate that due to cultural expectations, and how you talk to your parents or lack moderation of what their parents actually want them to do, so the gap lies

with parents expecting a certain career and the youths not being interested in it and not being able to voice that.

Researcher: Okay and what role do you play? Can you intervene?

Henriette: I sometimes do. I've done that on numerous occasions and I've said it's okay, what helps me is drawing on my own experience. I wanted to be a social worker, my mom wanted me to be a nurse and my mom didn't even know what social working was, she knew limited English, she said social work? You want to get a job to be more social, you're already so social. A lot of the time it's just parents not understanding the different fields and diverse fields out there.

Separating students into academic university-bound courses versus applied-level classes leads to 'inequitable outcomes'. Studies have shown that streaming disproportionately affects students who are Black and from low-income communities, such as the catchment area of ASP 3 (James, 2017a). The above accounts provide evidence that Black ELLs of this study were subject to many types of racial microaggressions including pathologizing cultural values and communication style.

Pathologizing cultural values and communication style. This is the notion that the values and communication style of Black students are abnormal (Sue, 2010). This was expressed by both female participants at ASP 2. Sandra explained that before her arrival to Canada she was quiet, "the time I come here I never spoke loudly, I use to speak quietly and they [classmates] would never understand what I would be saying." It was not clear whether her classmates would not understand because of a possible accent or because she was soft-spoken. With that said, one thing that stood out for her was the way Black students were treated in the classroom. She

explained: "like in a discussion, most of the Black people are the ones who usually talk (the loudest)." Jane seemed to think that Black girls were often associated with loud speaking and that this behaviour was assumed to be normal by her teachers. As a result, female students who were racialized as Black often began conducting themselves in a loud manner. Jane explained:

Jane: She [my teacher] knows Africans, they are usually loud.

The loudness of Black African girls appeared to also be something that was a learned behaviour and trait associated with being a Black Canadian. Sandra says she learned the culture and to enact what it means to be a Black Canadian:

Sandra: They [new immigrants] talk loudly, like most of them [Black Canadians] they learn the cultures of here and some of them they don't respect.

Researcher: When you're talking to one another in the hallways, are you guys louder than usual?

Sandra: Yeah, louder than usual.

It appears that these girls had assimilated the ascribed notion that African girls are loud speakers. Even though Sandra saw this as a lack of respect towards her teacher, she nonetheless conformed to the ascribed behaviour. Thus, this is a process both of racialization and of gendering where a behaviour expected from, in this case, girls from a certain racial group was, according to Sandra's perception, based on her teacher's expectations of Black girls from Africa being loud (Ispa-Landa, 2013). As Ibrahim (1999) explains, these girls are in the process of becoming Black. They were not Black in their home country, but when they arrived in Canada, they were racialized as Black. They learned Black behaviour by watching other Black Canadian girls acting and entered a performative category in which they in turn started to act the same way, in this case speaking loudly.

The teacher's expectation of her Black students being loud speakers is a racial microaggression in the sense that she is stereotyping a particular group as having certain characteristics. By having students repeat that they know how Africans are, they are projecting their racial assumptions of a certain group onto younger members, easily influenced by those they see as authority figures. In doing so, the teacher is racializing and marginalizing the students as Black and other. This goes against the multicultural notion of inclusiveness, as a divide based on race has been created as a result of the teacher's simple comment. The educational experiences and outcomes of these racialized Black ELLs are ones where the difference that they are ascribed works against them. This goes against Canada's official multicultural policy and its notion of multicultural education, where difference should not matter (James, 2017b). I now turn to another type of racial microaggression: the mispronunciation of names.

Mispronunciation of names. The mispronunciation of a name is the 'inability' of an individual to pronounce the name of a Black ELL student correctly despite having been corrected multiple times. Participants often found it difficult to feel included in class, especially when from the outset experienced rejection by teachers who mispronounced their names. In fairness, this happened most often with substitute teachers. The study participants frequently found themselves correcting the way the substitute teachers pronounced their names, but in the end gave in to the teachers' pronunciation due to feeling powerless to change the outcome of the situation despite their best efforts. Michelle talked about her experiences with substitute teachers and the mispronunciation of her name. (Note: in the excerpt below the students are referring to incidences regarding letters found in their real names and not in their pseudonyms.)
Michelle explains the struggles she has with the silent 'h' in her name:

Comme moi il pense que le H est silencieux (mais) quand je répète ils continuent à dire comme ils veulent, alors j'abandonne

They think the 'h' is silent, but even when I repeat the correct pronunciation (with the silent h), they say it how they want, so I just give up.

Michelle initially tries to correct how her substitute teacher pronounces her name, but in the end she abandons her efforts.

Michelle : Defois c'est juste comme : okay, je vais te laisser.

Sometimes, it's just like: okay, I'm gonna leave it.

Ella also found herself giving up when realizing her efforts were falling on deaf ears.

Après deux fois moi je laisse tomber parce que après-ça ils vont dire quoi et ils vont jamais comprendre donc je suis comme ok tu peux m'appeler comme tu veux.

After two attempts, I just leave it alone because after that they will say what want and they will never understand, so I'm like call me what you want.

These ELL students found themselves feeling unimportant and powerless when at the outset of the day their names were mispronounced. The students felt unheard by their substitute teachers after having repeatedly corrected them in vain. They felt that they were not being heard, despite their efforts, and that their name was insignificant.

Whether the supply teachers mispronunciation of Ella's name came from their inability to make particular sounds because culturally they may have never have had to roll an 'r', or whether it was due to laziness, it tells the students experiencing this type of racial microaggression that they belong on the margins (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). By not bothering to learn how to correctly pronounce Ella's name, the supply teacher effectively created two categories of students, those whose names were worth learning and pronouncing correctly and

those whose names they could not be bothered to learn (Stanley, 2014). According to Stanley (2014), these verbal acts can become racialized exclusions. Kohli and Solórzano (2012) explain that "because of their power and authority in a classroom space, when teachers disregard the names of immigrant children, it subtly reinforces a hierarchy of non-White inferiority" (p. 455). This type of racial microaggression can be damaging to students because it reinforces the message that they are invisible. This goes against the multicultural notion of colour-blindness advocating that people should be treated equally regardless of their race or skin colour.

Thus far, the examples of verbal and nonverbal acts of racial microaggression have taken place in the classroom. As the next type of racial microaggression will illustrate, these offences are not limited to educational institutions; they also go beyond the school walls.

Assumption of criminal status. Assumption of criminal status occurs when the perpetrator presumes that the target is a criminal, or an otherwise dangerous or deviant individual based on their race (Sue, 2010). Indeed, the student volunteers at ASP 1 felt that the residents viewed them as possible criminals because of the colour of their skin. They often witnessed, at work, some of their clients protecting their belongings when they were around. When asked to provide some of their stories, Vanessa began by explaining that it happened regularly with elderly women within her care. She explained, in the excerpt below, that she noticed that the female senior residents would often clutch their purses tighter in her presence:

> Ça oui! C'est plus les personnes âgées en fait, elles ont leur sac et elle tienne sa comme ça.
>
> *Yes it happens! It is most often the elderly. They (women) have their purses and they hold it like this* [gestures clutching a bag close to her chest for protection].

The message Vanessa is receiving from the women at the seniors' residence is that, by virtue of her skin colour, she is assumed to be a criminal deviant.

Assumption of criminal status also came up with the focus group from ASP 3. When asked to provide examples of racial microaggressions the first stories that came up were about people's assumption of their criminal status. The accounts flooded in. Drake was the first to speak up about how he felt the perpetrators viewed Black men: "They (perpetrators) believe we are drug dealers." Samod added: "They (the perpetrators) just look at you, like they are going to kill you or something." These excerpts show how these Black ELL participants interpret the non-verbal actions of the perpetrators. No one was explicitly saying these young men were criminals, but the perpetrators were acting like they were criminals. This is made even more evident in John's story. He recounts the time he tried to help an elderly lady at the mall. He saw an elderly woman struggling with her purchases. When he offered to help, she adamantly refused: One day I went to the mall, there was a lady that came [I began to] take her bag, I was trying to help her, and she said please stop! [Group bursts into laughter].

He did not explain why he thought she might have refused his help, because the group laughter had interrupted the story. However, judging from the group's reaction, they did not seem surprised by the fact that his attempts to help the lady were turned down. Instead of shock or disappointment, there was laughter and amusement. It is not entirely clear why the lady turned him away, granted he never asked if she needed help. When the lady refused, Samod said that he was a little hurt because he meant well. He interpreted her refusal of his attempt to help as having happened because she saw him as a potential criminal.

Both stories serve as examples of how youth racialized as Black are perceived as criminals.

Alien in one's own land. This racial microaggression occurs when the perpetrator assumes that Black students are foreigners because of the colour of their skin and do not even consider the possibility that they are born in Canada. Thirteen of the 24 students included in this study were born in Canada to immigrant parents, a fact that categorizes them as second generation. Even those born in Canada mentioned feeling like outsiders in their own home country. Mariam told her story:

> J'suis née ici. J'suis québécoise juste comme toi. Je dis ça et puis après ils n'arrêtent pas de dire est-ce que vous venez du Congo? Est-ce que vous venez d'Éthiopie, on me demande plusieurs pays. Je dis je viens du Djibouti mais on ne m'a jamais touché la peau. *I was born here. I am a Quebecer, just like you (perpetrator). I say this but they continue asking where I'm from. Am I from the Congo? Are you from Ethiopia? They mention several countries. I tell them I come from Djibouti, but they have never touched my skin*.

When Mariam gets asked where she is from, this implies that because of the colour of her skin there is no way that she could be Canadian born. This stirs up feelings of frustration, exclusion and rejection, well expressed when she reinforces the fact that she is a Quebecer just like the person who was asking her the questions. By owning her Quebecer nationality she reasserts the fact that she belongs in Canada. This is further cemented when she says that Djibouti has never touched her skin. In a multicultural society people should be expected to come from all over, but the reality is that anyone who looks different from what is considered to be Canadian (European White) is assumed to be a non-Canadian. This is yet again evidence that Canada or Canadian society is not colour-blind. 'Canadian' is almost always associated with White Europeans and anyone who looks different is considered an 'other'. Stanley (2014) articulates this point clearly when he says "in English Canada discourse, the term 'Canadian' is

almost always racialized, but never marked as such" (p. 10). In other words, history books juxtapose Canadians to 'immigrant' and 'minority' groups despite them also being Canadians. Canadian is never juxtaposed to people who are racialized as White (Stanley, 2014).

As mentioned, the multicultural policy has given rise to covert acts of racism. These offensive acts only serve to further marginalize Black youth and to maintain the status quo under the guise that programs and services support harmonious living and educational success regardless of race or linguistic differences (James, 2017b). The above examples illustrated types of racial microaggression experienced by the study participants. The simple fact that they experienced racial microaggressions demonstrates that the multiculturalism has given place to covert offensive acts. This was demonstrated in the examples, which showed that both within and outside the classroom students were being othered and marginalized as a result of being racialized as Black. The next finding looks at the context of the racial microaggressions.

Finding 2: The Context Element of the Racial Micraggression Is Complex

The context element of racial microaggression is complex. It does not only refer to the where and how of racial microaggression occurrence, but also to the larger circumstances and conditions present that allow it to happen (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015). Context is important to consider, because it sets the scene to better understand both the emotional effect (Finding 3) and the response (Finding 4). In what follows, examples from Finding 1 will be examined within their individual contexts. It will be illustrated that a) different types of racial microaggression can occur within a context; b) similar types of racial microaggression can occur in different contexts; and c) some types of racial microaggression are context specific.

Classroom. Different types of racial microaggression took place in the classroom. In the first example provided, the girls from the seniors' residence said that they had experienced

microaggressions in the classroom. The questioning about their country of origin was perceived to be driven by the notion that their country was in some way inferior to Canada. ELL students, as a result, felt that this demeaning notion of 'difference' had to be challenged. In addition, the misconception of their country being poor also led to the perception that the ELL students were less intelligent than their counterparts.

The second type of racial microaggression that occurred in the classroom was the pathologizing of cultural values. The ELL girls who had always been quiet and soft-spoken than their louder-speaking native counterparts felt pressured to speak more loudly and aggressively in order to fit into the group and ultimately fit into what they understood to be a Black Canadian.

The third type of racial microaggression that occurred in the classroom was the mispronunciation of names. Here, the racial microaggressions were perpetrated by substitute teachers.

The fourth type of racial microaggression that took place in the classroom was making someone feel like an alien in their own land. Mariam recounted that because of the colour of her skin, people found it difficult to view her as a Canadian citizen. This conveyed to her the message that she was an alien in her homeland.

In the above examples, all of the racial microaggressions took place in the classroom, but the types of racial microaggressions varied. This illustrates that within the classroom context, different types or racial microaggressions can occur. Although Goldberg (1993) does not talk about racial microaggressions he outlines an idea that can be paralleled to what has been illustrated above, namely that there are "different racist expressions – different that is, in the conditions of their expression, their forms of expression, the objects of their expression, their effects – amongst different people at the same space-time conjuncture" (p. 91). I parallel his

notion with the concept of racial microaggressions. In the examples discussed, there are multiple types of racial microaggression at play within the classroom. It is possible for an ELL student to be the victim of a type of racial microaggression in one context, and in the next moment to be the target of another type of racial microaggression in the same context. Next, I will show how a specific type of racial microaggression can take place in different contexts.

Seniors' residence. Assumption of criminal status occurred in the seniors' residence with the elderly women clutching their purses in the presence of a Black student. In this instance, the student participant was outside of the academic institution and in a work environment. She was surrounded by individuals who may not have known her well, some of whom may have interacted with her often enough to garner trust while others may not have. The study participants were also aware that the individuals they were working with were from a different generation and may not have come into contact with many Black individuals; as such, some of the participants may have realized that certain non-verbal actions may not have been ill-intentioned, but rather arose out of ignorance.

Grocery store. Ascription of criminal status was also evident in John's story, about the time when he tried to help a lady with her groceries. In this instance, the racial microaggression took place between the target and a complete stranger in a context outside of school. Unlike the classroom context where multiple types of racial microaggressions occurred within the same context, it appears that some racial microaggressions are context-specific. Ascription of criminal status seemed to occur outside of the classroom where the student was not well known, or known at all. Although the context differed, the circumstances surrounding the microaggressions were the same.

After-school program observation. This next example also illustrates how racial microaggressions can be context-specific. During my participatory observation sessions, in the after-school program, I observed the interactions between: a) the youths; and b) the youths and their support workers. The first evening, when I volunteered in the after-school activities club, I documented one instance of a racial microaggression. The second night, when I volunteered in the homework club, I did not have the opportunity to document instances of racial microaggression. This may have been due to the fact that I was only interacting with one student. For this reason I will only present the activities club.

It took place at one of the high schools located closest to the community centre. This allowed all participants to walk to the school and avoid having to try to find alternate modes of transportation. The after-school activities club ran from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. More specifically, basketball ran from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. and arts, crafts and cooking activities from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. On my night of observation, I jumped from one activity to the next while taking note of the interactions in each activity and the overall ambience. The night began with a game of basketball, which I just watched. The game was very informal with no referees involved. There was simply a youth support worker checking in on the players from time to time. There was a total of 10 youths on the court that evening, and they played three different basketball games. Despite the fact that the students were only allowed to use half the gym, all the youths seemed to get along. I did not document any instances of racial microaggression.

I next moved on to the hip-hop workshop where youths had access to music education. A local musician volunteered his time at the community centre. He brought the equipment necessary to allow the youths to learn to read, play and record music. Examples of skills, which they learnt included: making sample tracks, playing studio tracks with beats and recording

music. The volunteer tried to get students engaged, but they were shy. Some students left during the session; others were playing around. However, a few were genuinely interested and wanted the opportunity to record in the studio and present their work at a year-end event. Some students seemed motivated while others did not. The assumption that all would be interested in hip-hop was a racial microaggression. However, this is a difficult microaggression to discern because I am not sure whether or not he was asked to conduct hip hop only workshops.

The next workshop I attended was the arts and crafts. It was attended to exclusively by Black girls. What was interesting about this workshop was the dynamic of the girls; some of the girls were shy while others were not. All the participants gave each other positive reinforcement and positive feedback. There was great camaraderie amongst the girls, unlike the mood amongst the boys in the hip-hop workshop, who were either shy or not paying attention. They were all there to learn new forms of crafts; all were open and excited about taking part in the activity. The volunteer facilitator attended to each station, running around getting things done, providing all the tools necessary to complete the activity all the while creating a safe space for the students. No incidence of racial microaggression occurred; everyone was jovial.

The last activity of the night was a cake competition. The purpose was to follow the instructions on how to bake a cake and decorate it. All items were provided to the youths. Again, this workshop was only attended by girls. These girls seemed to break off into groups of friends and again there was great camaraderie amongst the different group of friends in addition to a high level of respect for the volunteer facilitator. Again, no incidence of racial microaggression was documented.

In summary, the context in which a racial microaggression can occur is quite complex. Not only were the study participants the target of different types of racial microaggression in one

context, but in some cases they were also victims of the same type of racial microaggression in different contexts, as was the case with ascription of criminal status. Lastly, some racial microaggressions are context-specific, meaning they are unlikely to be experienced other than in a specific context because some specific conditions are required for it to happen (Stanley, 2014). The emotional effects of these racial microaggressions will be examined in Finding 3.

Finding 3: Many Students Reported that Being a Victim of Racial Microaggressions Had an Emotional Effect.

This section examines the emotional effects that racial microaggressions can have on its victim. The gamut of emotions experienced by the study participants ranged from a) positive, including increased motivation to prove society wrong; b) forced acceptance, such as resignation and dismissiveness; and c) negative, such as anger, fear, embarrassment and frustration. I begin with the positive.

Positive emotions. During the focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews, participants were asked to explain how experiencing racial microaggressions made them feel. It was interesting to note that although all the other participants experienced negative emotions or the feeling of forced acceptance when faced with racial microaggressions, Ibaka, a male participant from ASP 3, seemed to have been motivated by these offensive acts. For Ibaka, experiencing microaggression motivated him to overcome the negative perceptions. He explains:

> When this [racial microaggressions] happens in my head, I find myself wanting to become the president [we clarified during the focus group that he meant Prime Minister], I try to be like something, to make the Black people equal [group bursts into laughter].

Ibaka who appeared unphased by the group's laughter in response to his comment continued "well, dreams can come true." Ibaka hopes to overcome adversity related to racial microaggressions by aspiring to become a prominent societal figure who may instigate bigger changes. Somewhere along the way, Ibaka learned or felt that Black people were perceived to be inferior to their White counterparts. This is why he proposed to make Black people equal. For him, this would prove society wrong and solve the colour gap.

Forced acceptance. Unlike Ibaka, many participants did not seem interested in proving their perpetrators wrong. Instead they felt compassion for and empathized with their perpetrators, as was the case with Alibaba and Jeanne, two participants from the seniors' residence. Their perpetrators happened to be their teachers and classmates. If you recall in the section where the types of racial microaggressions were discussed, Alibaba and Jeanne confirmed having experienced the belittling of their country of origin. Both explained that the comments did not bother them. Alibaba attributed the microinsult to curiosity, whereas Jeanne assumed it was ignorance.

Alibaba: "Je vois qu'ils sont juste curieux. Comme je pense comme les enseignants ils sont juste curieux de toi quand ils veulent savoir d'où tu viens."
I think they (the perpetrators) are just curious. I think teachers are just curious about you and want to know where you come from.

Jeanne: "Personnellement je ne pense pas que c'est le racisme. Ils ne savent pas en fait."
Personally, I don't think it's racism. They just don't know.

Alibaba and Jeanne did not make much of the racial slights they experienced. They both seemed to be nonchalant ('no big deal') about these incidents and attributed them to curiosity

and ignorance respectively. When Alibaba says 'they are just curious' and Jeanne adds 'they just don't know', it shows that as victims of racial microaggressions, their experiences differ from those of their perpetrators. They both understand that the encounters between themselves and their perpetrators, despite having made them feel othered, might not have been the intention of the perpetrator. Sue (2010) explains that the experiences of perpetrators and victims differ from one another and this may lead to a clash of realities. The possibility that Jeanne and Alibaba's encounter could have been an act of covert racism was probably far removed from the consciousness of their perpetrators, as was stated by Jeanne when she says 'I don't think it's racism'. However, race is a constant factor in Jeanne and Alibaba's experiences and touches on nearly all aspects of their lives, as such they may not have understood that what they experienced was covert racism, but the fact that they both recalled an incident that made them feel different shows that they recognize that their experience made them feel different. However, this one incident is one of many and the remarks are often made out of curiosity rather than malicious intent, as Alibaba explains. The fact that the girls were able to explain why they felt indifferent shows that they spent time figuring out the meaning behind their perpetrators actions.

This is evident when Alibaba says "I think they (the perpetrators) are just curious" and in response they let the experience go and move on. The ambiguity of the offensive act provoked an internal thought process, on the part of the victims, aimed at determining the meaning behind the act. Sue (2010) explains, "the greater the ambiguity the more difficult it is for the target to determine the meaning of the conflicting messages" (p. 100). In other words, the greater the vagueness and uncertainty of the act, the more time the victim needs to try to make sense of what happened. Hence why both girls may have felt indifferent about the act, because by the time they were to make sense of it, the act would have long ago happened. However, it is not every day

that the victim of a racial microaggression will say that being the victim of these offensive acts only evoked feelings of forced acceptance. Some feel embarrassed or even frightened.

Negative emotions. With respect to the negative emotional effects of racial microaggressions the first excerpt relates to feelings of embarrassment and the second to feelings of fear. When discussing occurrences of racial microaggressions, Mariam, a participant from ASP 1, piped up and said she felt insulted.

The example she was providing was often finding herself sitting alone on the city's public bus while the seats around her get filled:

> Je me sens insulter parfois, je me dis pourquoi je suis la seule qui n'a personne à côté de moi.
>
> *I feel insulted sometimes, I ask myself why I am the only person on the bus with no one sitting beside me.*

The nonverbal racial microaggression experienced by Mariam on the bus reinforces her feeling of being racialized as different and being othered. She described becoming consumed by wondering whether she was somehow at fault for the racialized seating arrangement:

> Il y avait une personne à côté de moi qui avait le siège vide aussi et c'est juste nous deux après il y a une madame qui est monte et ensuite elle a regardé le siège à côté du mien et celui de la madame et après elle est juste assise (à côté de l'autre madame).
>
> *There was a person beside me with an empty seat and a woman got on the bus, she looked at the seat next to mine and the seat next to the other girl and sat next to her.*

While on the bus Mariam saw the moment when the lady who boarded the bus made the split-second decision not to sit beside her. In that moment when Mariam saw the lady contemplating which seat to take ultimately choosing the seat next to the other girl Mariam felt

marginalized and excluded; it was also in that instance that she felt her Blackness (Ibrahim, 1999).

Jeanne, another participant from ASP 1, experienced a similar microaggression, hers however having taken place on the school bus instead of the public bus with people with whom she interacts every day. While she rarely pays attention to racial microaggressions the experience on the school bus annoyed her.

> "Ça m'énerve! Mais je ne porte pas vraiment attention à ces geste la parce que defois je vais m'asseoir tout seule, même dans le bus jaune, donc que ça m'affecte pas vraiment c'est évènement là."
>
> *It annoys me!* B*ut I do not pay attention to it, sometimes I just sit by myself even on the school bus, so these types of situations do not affect me.*

In the above, Jeanne initially says that having the seat beside hers chosen last annoyed her, but then she quickly changes her mind and says that it did not affect her. However, being annoyed is being affected. It is clear that this seemingly innocent act affected her although she did not want to admit to it. The empty seat next to hers, a person of colour, is the last to be occupied, and this upsets her. Again, this act may not have been done intentionally by the perpetrator, which is something she understood. However, this banal act, which was probably a regular occurrence, was painfully felt by Jeanne and contributed to her feeling annoyed.

While on their way to school or work, both Mariam and Jeanne experienced a negative emotion when faced with the racialized seating arrangement on the public transit and school bus respectively. The above examples illustrate how such minute acts on the part of the perpetrator can have a major impact on the victim. There are many unknowns in both situations, which could have contributed to the choice of seat from the perpetrator. For instance, it could be that in the

case of Mariam, her seat was facing sideways and that the woman preferred seats facing forwards. On city buses, passengers have the option of choosing which seat best suits their needs. Some people may be more affected by motion sickness, e.g. In Jeanne's case, it could have also been that the students were choosing seats beside their friends. In both cases the perpetrators may have preferred seats closer to the front or to the back, depending on where the participants were sitting. These examples explain what is fundamentally wrong with racial microggressions – their subtleness. The victims can never be certain that a racial microaggression occured. In the case where a covert act of racism did occur, the perpetrator can always say that there was no malicious intent or the victim is being overly sensitive. No matter what the perpetrators response, the participants remembered these specific acts. Most importantly, they remembered how it made them feel, even if they occurred during the school year and we were now in summer. This shows that the effect of these racial microaggressions had a lasting impact on their emotions.

Participants from ASP 3 were also asked how beings victims of racial microaggressions made them feel. Samod was quick to say that he felt embarrassed when he was at the receiving end of stereotypes. When asked why, he explained that it was because, as a Black person, he was not seen as being capable of accomplishing anything more than playing basketball:

Dagan: Because we're Black that we should like basketball or watermelon.

Drake: Because we are Black we like chicken.

John: They think that we can't swim.

Ibaka: We're all good at basketball or good at every sport.

Samod: They say you can't do that, stick to basketball.

Researcher: How do you feel when you guys get stereotyped?

Samod: Embarrassed.

Researcher: Embarrassed?

Samod: Sometimes.

Researcher: Why?

Samod: Because sometimes that not true, it hurts my feelings.

Researcher: It hurts your feelings, okay, what else do you guys get mad about?

Fatima: It depends.

Samod: It depends on what [we are being stereotyped about] if it comes to things like arts, they say you can't do that, stick to basketball.

The perception that he would not be good at other activities, like art, made him feel embarrassed. Frustration, embarrassment and hurt feelings were not the only types of negative emotions felt by these students. Some reported feeling fear as a result of the police shootings and the racial tension in the U.S.A. which made them more aware of their own situation in Canada. This brings me to the fourth finding, which looks at how students respond to instances of microaggression.

Finding 4: Most Participants Did not Know how to Respond to the Racial Microaggressions.

The majority of the study participants reported not knowing how to respond when confronted with racial microaggressions. Although most participants expressed having had an emotional reaction, the effects of the racial microaggression were never communicated to the perpetrator(s). In fact, Sue (2010) points out that the most common reaction when faced with a racial microaggression seems to be to do nothing. This finding focuses on how the students say they respond to the racial microaggressions.

The excerpt below was taken from the focus group sessions with the study participants at ASP 3. One of the female participants had just finished telling the group that her brother and a group of friends had been stopped by the police and handcuffed and it was unclear to her why. She insisted that her brother was innocent of any crime he was being accused of. At that point the other boys chimed in and said that they would have ran if it had been them in the same situation. Ibaka and Abduran explain why their reaction would have been to run:

Ibaka: It's not really our fault, the reason why we run is because we're scared, and we fear that we might get shot, it happens every day.

Abduran: Yes, it happens every day and you put that in your head.

The example provided above is outright racism. Although this was an act of racism, the discussion that ensued is still of value in a study where the focus is on racial microaggression. It highlights the fact that the boy participants did not know how to respond to police racism, an act which they can understand and name – so they say they would have ran. Running out of fear was the response that came up, especially amongst the participants from ASP 3. As Ibaka and Abduran explain, their reaction was out of fear of being shot and killed by the police. Ibaka and Abduran have learned, through the media, that as Black males they are more likely to get shot by the police. They have also learned that most encounters with the police lead to negative outcomes (ex: jail, shot or death). They have learned that police will most likely shoot first and ask questions later. As such, inexplicably their response becomes flight. However, what they had not learned is how to respond if they are ever approached by the police. Their only frame of reference for how they respond is what they see in the media. Logically, they know they cannot outrun a bullet, they know running makes them look more suspicious as outlined in the excerpt below:

Drake: Not everybody runs away, stop acting suspicious, if an officer comes in front of you and tells you to stop moving and stop resisting, why in the world would you not stop resisting?

Ibaka: Can I tell you something?

Drake: Wait, wait, I'm not done, I'm not done!

Ibaka: OMG!

Drake: Why wouldn't you just listen to the cop and not run away, why would you do that, why can't you just stop and listen, sure when you stop and listen it doesn't change anything, but most of the time people do not listen, Black people do not listen, if they just listened…

Drake, a participant at ASP 3, understood that running out of fear was not the answer. In fact, he explains to his peers that running made them look more suspicious. Instead, he offered his peers two alternatives to running: the first was to stop resisting and the second was to listen to what the police had to say. He realizes that employing these approach may still result in a negative outcome, for example being jailed, but he explains that it was better than running because running just reinforces the negative stereotypes associated to Black people. He continued:

> I am not trying to say that it's not awful, I am trying to say that it became (stuck) in our head that when we see cops we should start running for no reason, I am trying to say it's called stereotype.

In the above excerpt, Drake is articulating the fact that he understands that being stopped by the police is not a pleasant experience. However, by stopping and listening to the police they are not buying into the negative stereotype associated to Black men. In fact, they are disrupting

stereotypes. He encourages his peers to not buy into the stereotypes themselves. Running is the assumed stereotypical response whereas stopping and listening is the antithesis of the expected response. On the issue of running Drake is well aware of the dynamics between the police and the students. He shows this by asking his peers if they would run from a racialized Black police officer:

Drake: If you see two Black officers will you run away from them?

Ibaka: Only if they're White.

Drake and Ibaka are in agreement about the fact that it does not make any sense to run away from a racialized Black police officer, because they are Black. They are also the 'other' and living in the margins, but most importantly, they look like them. As such, there is a mutual sense of understanding. Their experiences in terms of blackness does not need to be explained or feared, it is simply understood. In addition, it is not often they hear that a racialized Black police officer has shot a racialized Black man. Whereas media reports about Black males being shot by racialized White police officers occur more often. This sends these young Black student the message that as a Black male you may get shot by a racialized White police officer. They know it's the wrong thing to do or not the ideal way to act, but fear of being harmed makes running their exit strategy. When discussing further the implication of running despite having suggested response of stopping and listening, the participants seemed to look for more answers. This is evident when Samod turned to me and asked "so what do you want us to do?" This was the dreaded question, and the one that sparked the study. I did not have an answer, so I said nothing.

These students have not been given any alternative responses (more on this in Finding 5). Some, like Drake, turn to their family for answers or for ways to understand the situation "when you go home, you talk about it with your family and with your friends" but it's not always easy

for this discussion to happen, especially if the parents have not experienced racism in their home country and as such have not developed the tools to help their child. That is probably why in some cases they turn to their friends to discuss their experiences.

The important take away from the above is the following, when confronted with police racism, the boy participants did not know to respond. If they don't know how to respond to overt racism, it is even more the case that they don't know how to respond to racial microagressions, which often are more subtle. Most also did not know who to turn to, to discuss their experiences. Some turned to families, others to friends. In some cases, the youth support workers reach out to their students to address events they have seen in the news and discuss how they feel. However, Jameson, youth support worker from ASP 2, found it hard to get boys to talk about their emotions or how they felt about the situation. He explains responses from boys are hard to get because they are unlikely to articulate how they feel.

> It's always hard, especially with the boys, (when) you talk about serious issues, (when you ask them) "tell me how you feel about this?" And they go "I don't know?".

Shifting to the analysis of how the girls who were volunteering in the seniors' residence responded to racial microaggressions, their explanation of how they felt also provided a good indication of how they responded. Alibaba and Jeanne, participants from ASP1, both rationalized the racial microaggressions brought forth by their perpetrators. Sue (2010) calls this "denying experiential reality" (p. 56). He explains that occasionally victims will deny the hidden and demeaning intent behind a racial microaggression due to: a) their close relationship with the perpetrator; and b) their desire to fit in (Sue, 2010). Realizing their teacher, classmates or a friend could be unconsciously biased towards them may be devastating (Sue, 2010). Second, as Black adolescents they want to fit in and be accepted by their peers and it would be disturbing

for them to entertain the possibility that they are perceived negatively because of their race. As a result, they engage in self-deception telling themselves that the offensive act did not occur. Although most participants expressed having experienced an emotional reaction, the effects of the racial microaggression were never communicated to the perpetrator(s).

Jeanne and Mariam, participants from ASP1, both register negative emotions but neither responds to the offensive acts. In both cases, the study participants dropped the matter and chose to do nothing. Sue (2010) explains that this is because there is dissonance between the emotional effect and the response – called attributional ambiguity (Sue, 2010). He defines attributional ambiguity as "the inability to determine whether a microaggression has occurred" (p. 55). However, Jeanne and Mariam did not appear to have the said dissonance between their emotion and their responses. Jeanne attributes the subtle acts of racism to the way Canadians are educated:

> "Moi je me dis que c'est peut-être pas du racisme mais les personnes qui agissent comme ça, sont éduqués comme le Canada veule qu'elle soit."
>
> *I tell myself that maybe it is not racism, but that the people who act this way are educated like Canada would like them to be.*

Jeanne's comment is insightful. She is aware that what she experienced was not racism as she understood it – in its overt form when she stated that she did not believe Canadians were racist, but she did not have the words to identify or express the every subtle assault she experienced. Instead, she explains, they have just been taught to act this way. This shows her understanding of the bigger powers at play. She understands the endemic and systemic nature of racism that is being produced and reproduced every day through discourse whether it be the negative images in the media or Canadian policies and practices. Her statement shows her acute

awareness of the stereotypical portrayal of racial minorities. Not responding to racial microaggressions is to show an understanding that racism (whether overt or covert) is endemic in society. This in depth perspective of racism could be attributed to experience, where she was born in Benin and raised in France before moving to Canada, and she has seen different levels of racism throughout her travels, but she is well aware of the structures in place that misrepresent racial groups.

Although it was not as clearly articulated, Mariam at ASP 1, also understood that she was not being victim of overt acts of racism, but that she was experiencing subtle acts of racism. She too, however, did not have the vocabulary to express herself. She also turned to me and asked me what could she do, how should she respond to these offensive acts?

> Mais qu'est-ce que je pourrais faire, je ne pourrais pas dire, pourquoi tu tiens ton sac, je ne vais pas voler ton 'wallet'! Je ne vais pas prendre ton argent! Je ne vais pas dire ça c'est toujours ceux qui sont plus vieux alors je ne vais pas les confronter pour dire pourquoi tu fais ça? [Donc,] je dis ok, j'accepte, je ne vais pas changer quelque chose a maintenant et leur opinion envers moi alors j'accepte.
> *But what can I do? I can't ask why are you clutching your bag, I won't steal your wallet, I won't take your money. Those who are older than me, I won't confront them, so I say ok and I accept. I can't change them now (they are too old) so I accept their opinion of me.*

Mariam is specifically talking about the context in which she experienced racial microaggression and where she felt the most frustrated and the most powerless. What is interesting to note is the neutralizing of her emotions as she realized that she could not do anything about the situation. The powerlessness she feels in the face of this racial microaggression, the inability to have the appropriate vocabulary to name her experience also

makes her feel powerless. Jeanne and Mariam's inability to name their experiences have rendered them voiceless and powerless in the face of racial microaggression. This in turn led them to do nothing about their experiences but just accept the situation in which they find themselves, and in Mariam's case, continue to work as if nothing has happened.

What to do when faced with racial microaggressions is the dreaded question that started this study. As shown in the example provided from my own experience, I did not know what to do. I was still unable to provide Samod or Mariam with an answer to this question. Most of the participants were unsure of how to respond when faced with racial microaggression.

In the case of the girls, when unsure of whether of not racism had occurred there was no response. However, in the cases of the boys, they reacted. Like many of his peers, Drake had learned that being a victim of racial microaggression was part of the everyday struggle of being Black. He had learned to do nothing about these offensive acts and just accept them as part of everyday life: that it doesn't really matter because life goes on.

Finding 5: Participants Respond Using BSE

Generally speaking, the participants are uncertain what to do and how to respond when it comes to racial microaggressions. Further analysis, however, reveals that on a subconscious level these students are responding to the racial microaggressions by expressing themselves through language, more specifically BSE (Ibrahim, 2014). In this section, I explore the participants' acquisition of BSE and the different reasons why it is used. I begin by looking at the how male and female participants acquired BSE. As illustrated below, the means used to acquire BSE differs by gender. I look at the acquisition because it appears to be correlated to the style of BSE

spoken by male and female participants respectively. This in turn becomes a factor in how and when they use BSE as a political stance—as a mode of resistance.

When describing how students talk to one another, Henriette, one of the youth support workers at ASP 3, defines BSE:

> They'll be like, and they'll be throwing in the Ebonics [BSE], "oh no you're boosting!", boosting means you're exaggerating almost lying, um so it's a combination of Ebonics [BSE], their mother tongue and regular English.

In the excerpt above she breaks down the components of BSE as she hears it in the after-school program. As she explains, within the context of after-school programs, it is not simply composed of what Ibrahim (1999, 2008 and 2014) calls ritual expressions like "oh no you're boosting!", [exaggerating, lying] which are performed in trap, rap and hip hop (Ibrahim, 2014) and which shall be demonstrated below, but it is also composed of their mother tongue. As such, BSE is a cornucopia of language, ritual expressions and performance. I now turn to an exploration of how the Black male and female study participants acquired BSE.

BSE acquisition by male participants. The literature shows that Black students often acquire BSE through hip-hop (Ibrahim, 2008). As mentioned in this study's introduction, unlike BE, BSE does not have a grammatical structure or syntax but rather it uses ritual expressions usually performed in rap (Ibrahim, 2014). Henriette, a youth support worker at ASP 3, confirmed her student's use of BSE which, she explains, was acquired through hip hop and popular culture:

> I do find that a lot of youths are using Ebonics [BSE] and words that are in popular pop culture or whatever is going on now and a lot of that has to do with role modelling from TV, media, celebrities, um hip hop artists, people that they look up to, listen to.

During my interview with James, participant at ASP 2, the conversation turned to

learning. I wanted to know how he had acquired BSE. With the current literature in mind, I started the interview with a discussion about his favourite artists as an icebreaker. James told me that his favourite type of music was hip-hop and his favourite artists, in order of preference, were Lil Durk (African American), the Weeknd (Black Canadian) and Chris Brown (African American). The order matters because the level of BE used by each artist differs. Lil Durk, is a drill rapper (dark, grim, violent lyrical content). He uses BE with a focus on racially charged language. I include an excerpt from Lil Durk's track titled "Street Nigga" from his 2015 album *300 days 300 nights*:

[Hook]
For my kids, I'll shoot a nigga
Can't name a nigga realer
Man in the system they'll lose them niggas
You a 2015 killer
Man I told you I'm a street nigga
Get money with my street niggas
I ain't never been a leech nigga
Pick up my gun I'm in these streets nigga

In the hook alone, Lil Durk used the term 'nigga' a total of seven times. In addition, expressions like 'can't name a nigga realer' (more real) which means can't find anyone more authentic than this Black person, or 'them nigga' (those Black people) and again 'you a 2015 killer' instead of you are, are all expressions that are commonly used in BSE. In contrast, The Weeknd and Chris Brown are R&B hip hop artists who use the term nigga less often in their lyrics. I have included an excerpt from The Weeknd's track entitled "Starboy" (featuring Daft Punk) from his 2016 *Starboy*:

[Hook]

House so empty, need a centerpiece
Twenty racks a table cut from ebony
Cut that ivory into skinny pieces
Then she clean it with her face man I love my baby
You talking money, need a hearing aid
You talking 'bout me, I don't see a shade
Switch up my style, I take any lane

I switch up my cup, I kill any pain
Look what you've done
I'm a motherfuckin' starboy
Look what you've done
I'm a motherfuckin' starboy

The count of racially charged language through the use of the term nigga is significantly lower than Lil Durk's. In fact The Weeknd does not use it at all in his hook. However, the Weeknd does use expressions that omit the use of the auxiliary 'Be' (Labov, 1972). This is a common feature of BE and BSE. For example, the artist says 'House so empty' instead of 'House is so empty' or 'You talking 'bout me' instead of 'You are talking' and he uses 'bout' which is the short form for 'about'. It is noteworthy that although the Weeknd uses BE, he uses less racially charged terms than Lil Durk. This is not to say that The Weeknd does not use any derogatory terms; it is just that he does so to a lesser extent than Lil Durk. However, Lil Durk seemed to be the artist of choice for the male study participants. When I asked James if he learned English by listening to this type of music, he responded "Yeah." I then asked if he took on Lil Durk's style, he proceeded to nod his head. He explained that his cousin spoke and dressed like Lil Durk and because he often hung out with his cousin this rubbed off on him:

My cousin, Lil Durk is his favourite, he loves Durk so much… I stay with him (the

cousin) all the time, you know I have to be like him sometimes because I do not have any option, because I don't have friends and he has friends but he's so, I can't go my own way, because if I go on my own way people will say I am old fashion.

Researcher: So you imitate a little bit?

James: Yeah, it's kinda to be cool, you know...yeah.

James believed that 'going his own way' would set him apart from the others, so he stuck with the group to fit in. For him, 'going his own way' means not acting black (Andrews, 2014; Ibrahim, 2014). In other words, being able to be himself without having to identify as Black. However, doing so would make him uncool and leave him with little friends, so he chooses to act Black and in doing so, he also acquired the language of hip hop. I asked if he used the term nigger or its derivatives. At first he said no, but then he continued and said "yeah, especially my cousins friends." He explained they used it to greet each other: "if we meet each other we say, hey what's up my nigger?" James provided examples of how he used other terms "yeah, we use nigger, 'g'." I had no idea what 'g' meant so I asked. "It's the same as nigger and homie." He explained that he and his friends picked it up while watching Black people in movies "because we use to watch movies and the Black people were using those words in the movies." Joel, one of the study participants at ASP 3, also said he tried to imitate Lil Durk by rapping—"yeah, I do that"—and he found it helpful as it helped him acquire the language. "The music, I listen to music more often…some songs I have memorized."

The use of racially charged language, acquired through the hip hop culture, can be understood as follows: first, listening to hip hop contributes to the learning process (Ibrahim, 2008). It is through the memorisation and repetition of dialogue that these male participants have acquired their vernacular. This was demonstrated again by Joel who said he picked up on it

watching Black actors in movies and James who picked up on the lingo by hanging around his cousin and picking up the culture and genre by dressing and speaking like the artists. This differs from the acquisition of BSE by the female participants.

BSE acquisition by female participants. Unlike the male participants, who listened to trap, rap and hip hop, the female participants seemed to learn English through various modes, which included a) being immersed in popular culture by watching teen dramas, b) listening to boy bands, and c) through play. During the interview with Sandra, one of the study participants at ASP 2, informed me that she watched countless hours of a supernatural television drama called *Vampire Diaries*. When I told her I was somewhat familiar with the show her eyes widened with excitement and she began expressing how much everyone around her, including herself, loved the show. She told me that she had binge-watched (the practice of watching multiple episodes or seasons of a show in one sitting) every season of the show:

Sandra: Most of my cousins, they watched all of them. They've finished it.

Researcher: How many seasons?

Sandra: There are six seasons.

Researcher: How many episodes in each season?

Sandra: 23.

Researcher: Oh my god, so you sit and watch episode after episode?

Sandra: Yeah!

I was surprised she had the patience to sit through a 23-episode season. She shared that she found that she learned English by watching the series. I then asked if she found she learned a lot; again she responded 'Yeah'. I proceeded to ask if she listened to music and she told me how much she enjoyed listening to a particular boy band: "One Direction, really love them, really

love them!" One Direction was an English-Irish pop band based in London. When asked if she knew the words to their songs, she said "some of them." She continued to say that learning the songs was a way to practice her English. She went on to tell me that even during sleepovers with her friends, the group listened to One Direction. "Yeah, when we have a sleepover we usually watch movies and after movies we usually listen to One Direction and we sleep listening to One Direction."

The genre of music listened to by the male participants of this study differed greatly from the one listened to by the female participants. As a result of the difference in music genre, the style of language which they were exposed to also differed. Where the young men mostly listened to trap and hip hop, mainly sung by African American and Black Canadian male artists, who used a lot of profanity and racially charged language, the female participants appeared to be drawn to pop music, sung by mainly White artists. Thus, they had significantly less exposure to BE and BSE than the boys. Also, music was not their only point of entry to English.

In addition to learning English by watching television and listening to music, the female participants shared that most of their English was learned through play and activities, and while sharing stories about their home country. Jane, a study participant at ASP 2, expressed that most of her learning was done outside of school:

> Actually outside, because outside you have more time with your friends chatting and doing everything, but when you are in class you just listen to the teacher, you don't have time to chat with your friends when the teacher is teaching. When your teacher is talking sometimes you ask questions but you don't talk much, but outside you exchange with your friends.

The female participants learned English through television, music and play. The majority

of time was spent listening to media that represented what they perceived to be White or native speaker accents. As a reminder, Amin (2005) identified native speakers of English as being from the Anglosphere such as U.S., Canada or the U.K. She categorises these speakers as having a White accents (Amin, 2005). The female participants modeled their speech after the native-speaker accents they heard on television and other forms of media. As will be demonstrated in the interview excerpt below, the female participants were particularly motivated to lose their accents.

Another interesting comment made by Henriette is that she speaks with no accent. By 'no accent' she means that when she speaks English there is no trace of her otherness, or her mother tongue. She can seamlessly switch from English to Somali, without being betrayed by an accent. Her level of English is what her students aspire to. The fact that she has acquired a White accent is described as her having no accent.

The majority of the female study participants appeared to be concerned with their accents, which they felt held them back. Sandra and I were talking about Beyoncé, a popular American R&B singer. Sandra remarked that Beyoncé's accent did not quite sound like the Americans she was used to hearing: "she's different from the other Americans; her accent is little bit different." I was curious to know what she thought was different about Beyoncé's accent "Beyoncé's accent [pause] let me see she's like mixed umm British and the Americans." Beyoncé is from Texas, U.S.A., and has a strong Southern accent when she speaks, but what's important to note is that for Sandra, Beyoncé's American status automatically excluded her from being capable of having any other accent than the 'White accent'. Sandra did not view the accent as being a Southern American accent. Instead she heard the variations and characterised the accent as British and American, globally White accents. As an immigrant,

Sandra assumes her accent is subpar to those of people born in the Anglosphere. In turn, those born in Western countries already have nice accents. Jane, one of the participants at ASP 2, notes that native-born Canadian English students spoke 'nice', as opposed to the ELLs whose language skills she described as "not that perfect."

Researcher: Do you find there is a difference between the ESL and the non-ESL learners?

Janet: Yeah!

Researcher: Can you tell me a little more about that?

Janet: Because ESL their English is not that perfect. I like the others, I think they speak nice…You know my accent, especially Somalis when they speak… do you have friends from Somalia?

Researcher: Yes.

Jane: How they speak is not like Canadians.

Researcher: Are you saying there is a right way of speaking and a wrong way of speaking?

Jane: Yeah, sometimes when they speak, some Whites you can't hear [understand] unless you are from one country so you can get the words. If you are from their country, you just say, what? What? You can't understand what they say.

Researcher: Who is saying 'what'? Are you saying 'what'? Or are they saying 'what'?

Jane: They say "What? What?"

Researcher: To you? So they ask you to repeat?

Jane: Yeah.

Researcher: How does that make you feel?

Jane: I feel bad because I am still learning.

Above, Jane expressed frustration with her accent, which she felt prevented her from being understood by her Canadian classmates whom she, in turn, found difficult to understand. Although her English is quite good, she articulated that she was still learning English. Learning for her meant acquiring a 'White accent' in order to speak like her Canadian-born counterparts. When I asked her when she thought she would have mastered the English language, she exclaimed, in a serious tone, "in like two years." Jane was not the only female participant to express frustration with her accent. The girls at the seniors' residence also found themselves in similar situations. Vanessa explained that she, too, felt that when she spoke English, she had a more difficult time being understood than when she spoke French.

> En ce sens en anglais et en français c'est pas pareille et tu as l'impression de ne pas te faire comprendre par les autres quand tu parles [anglais].
>
> *It is not the same in English and French and you have the feeling of not making yourself understood when you speak (English).*

The female participants appear to want to conform to standard ways of speaking by getting rid of their perceived accents. They view these accents as exclusionary. It's not all accents that signify exclusions only those who are not White and who are from Third World countries (Amin, 2005). The power to decide what good English is continues to lie with those who speak with Canadian, British or American accents. This positioning makes those from non-White countries who speak with accents deviant from the norm. This is what the girls appear to want to stay away from.

As a result of being often asked to repeat themselves, they knew they were perceived as,

and also perceived themselves as, deviant from the norm. When asked how often they found themselves being asked to repeat themselves, Vanessa said that it happened only sometimes, whereas Alibaba said it happened all the time. The desire to want to sound like a Canadian native English speaker led some of the girls to feel envious of the Canadian native English speakers. Jeanne expressed the desire to be able to speak English so that native speakers would not be able to detect that English is not her primary language.

> Defois je me sens intimidé par ces personnes, parce que, eux, ils ont été élevé dans un différent environnement donc, eux, ils ont pu apprendre l'anglais et ils peuvent parler naturellement, donc j'imagine que je ressente l'envi pis je suis un peu intimider par eux. *Sometimes I feel intimidated by these people (native English speakers), because they were raised in a different environment so they had the opportunity to learn English and they can speak naturally. So I imagine I am envious, I want to speak like them so I am a bit intimidated.*

There is a motivation to speak with a 'White' accent so that their otherness is not detected through their accents. Mariam chimed in by recounting her language interactions with one of her clients at the seniors' residence:

> Mariam : Il y a une madame qui est British et à chaque fois que je lui parle anglais, et elle voit que ma première (langue) est français elle me dit que la façon que je dis des mots, elle peut voir que je ne suis pas… que l'anglais n'est pas ma première langue. Je voudrais que mon anglais… si je parle anglais t'as pas besoin savoir si c'est ma première langue ou c'est ma deuxième langue.

There is a British woman (at the residence) and every time I speak to her in English, she sees that my first language is French and she tells me that the way I pronounce the words, she says she knows that English is not my first language.

Jeanne : Oui c'est vrai!

Yes, it's true!

Mariam : Que c'est naturel.

So that it is natural (fluent).

Vanessa : Oui, on me demande souvent de répéter parce que des fois je n'arrive pas à prononcer certain mots.

Yes, I am often ask to repeat because I have trouble pronouncing some words.

The idea that the native speaker can lay more claim to being fully proficient in English than the non-native speaker is reinforced when the client corrects her wording. Native speakers maintain the hegemony by constructing First World accents as the standard for which the ELLs should strive. This is made even more evident by Sandra when she says that in order to pick up the Canadian accent some of her friends did not speak to her in her mother tongue: "Some of them they are from my country, but they try to not speak to me in our language so that I can catch the English."

These female students are being 'othered' through their accents. Despite having studied English in their home country it has been made clear to them that native speakers are the real and true speakers of English. They have come to believe that only Canadian-born students are true native speakers. They view accents associated to First World countries as having higher

linguistic capital than accents associated with non-White countries such as India, Kenya or Singapore. It's therefore viewed as a better investment to learn the standard version of English spoken by native speakers in their region (Amin, 2005).

Henriette, a youth support worker at ASP 3, explained that she sounded like a Canadian and she found her students to have difficulty with adults who had accents other than the Canadian accent:

> When I say speaks like them, a lot of our youths that are born here if an adult has an accent they have a difficult time understanding them whereas someone like myself who has been raised here from a young age, I can speak English like them without an accent, and I find a lot of the young people, when someone has an accent that they say, "what did you say?, what did she say?" They don't really understand. And to go further, the younger mentors have the same jargon…youths are using these days, they'll be more familiar with that so once you are using the Ebonics [BSE], the language the youths are using, they become more receptive.

Earlier, when female participants' focus on accents was discussed, it was demonstrated that the girls did not appreciate when native English speakers asked them to repeat their comments. But now, Henriette mentioned that when these students were addressing adults who had more difficulty speaking than they did, they in turn asked them to repeat because they had trouble understanding them. Despite her students mainly being born in Canada, unlike those from ASP 1 and 2, this can still be understood as a way for them to assert their 'Canadianess' through the acquisition and performance of a 'White' accent. It is also important to note that regardless of the fact that they were motivated to acquire the Canadian accent, the girls still used BSE. By flipping the script onto less fluent speakers, they assert their superiority in language

skills. It's a way to project all of the negative experiences related to their accent unto a racialized other.

BSE in Response to Racial Microaggressions

Defence mechanism. One of the reasons male participants were motivated to learn BSE, with an emphasis on stereotypical language, was because they used it as a coping mechanism in response to racial microaggressions. Henriette explained:

> They use very stereotypical discourse, yes, they also use defence mechanisms so putting it on others sometimes what they may be feeling, but they make it seem like it's about someone else. If you really have rapport with that student, you can sometimes detect that they're talking a lot about themselves and deflecting on someone else, almost like putting it on someone else. It's very jokey…um…I don't think they mean harm…um…a lot of it is directed like I told you through Ebonics [BSE].

Henriette explained that Black ELLs used BSE as a 'defence mechanism'. They did so in order to avoid getting hurt, and they put each other down to diffuse their own feelings. This constant teasing or joking also takes away the shame of being racialized as Black; it introduces humour and builds a community of safe space. By teasing each other they build or develop an understanding of, and name, their racialized experiences, thus validating their encounters with racial microaggressions. It is only in that instance that they can retaliate against one another without any fear of reprisal. In teasing and joking they develop strategies and coping mechanisms to deal with the offensive acts.

To better explain how students used stereotypical language to deflect the shame of being Black or a minority Henriette used the 2014 Parliament Hill incident. On 22 October 2014,

Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, a Muslim Canadian-born man, shot and killed Corporal Nathan Cirillo, a Canadian soldier on ceremonial duty at the Canadian War Memorial. He then made his way inside Centre Block, one of the parliament buildings, where he was fatally shot by security personnel. Henriette described the impact the event had had on her Muslim students and how they had projected their shame and guilt onto other Muslim participants in the after-school program.

> They're all joking, like even with some topics like Islamophobia, I remember when the shooting happened on the Hill (Parliament Hill) last year, going into the schools a little bit after [the incident], some of the Muslim students were almost ashamed of who they were. By directing [their shame] at other Muslim students -your parents are more practicing than mine, so you're a terrorist - so putting the whole terrorist taboo on others and taking it away from themselves and almost having an identity issue, I don't know how to articulate that, but last year some of that happened.

Henriette observed that her students reacted to the event by teasing one another through the use of stereotypical language. As such, in response, the youths had developed defence mechanisms as ways of releasing their anger and frustration, while diluting the shame and guilt of being Muslim and living on the margins.

Jameson, one of the youth support workers at ASP 2, confirmed that use of racial slurs or stereotypical language was a common occurrence in his program. However, given that the after-school programs which he manages mainly focuses on new immigrants and refugees recently arrived in Canada, his interpretation of these racially charged exchanges differed from that of Henriette whose students were likely to have been born and raised in Canada. Jameson understood these exchanges to be residual feelings of conflict from the home country:

> Oh yeah, I mean that happens for sure [the use of racial slurs], especially in bigger groups, like summer programs is a good example, because at the beginning of the program, some of the youths will know each other but some of them won't, but once they start to know each other they start to mingle with others from other cultures…we have had instances where, comments have been made which are racist, different kinds of discriminatory kind of things which led to teaching moments, there is definitely that element.
>
> I mean that's a complicated issue in terms of, you know, maybe that is something that is carried over from their own culture, because we'll have people who are from neighbouring countries and there might be some kind of historical issues or narratives, whatever they might play into so those things do come up.

Ibaka and Drake, two of the male participants from ASP 3, also confirmed that amongst friends they sometimes resorted to name calling based on their different shades of brown skin. Drake and Ibaka explained that because they were surrounded by stereotypes and assumptions, at some point they just began to assume them. Ibaka confirmed: "we call each other names like: dark skins and light skins, so yeah we use it amongst ourselves. When you are super dark we call them coffee." Just for fun I asked what they called each other when they were light skinned, he replied "caramel, milk, midnight" [they appropriated the terms well]. Then I asked why they used the terms and he responded "…lots of people say that and at one point we just let it go" [we just do it, too]. Although the students realize that reinforcing the stereotypes is not healthy, it has now become part of their everyday lives. Drake said: "we have got to stop living the stereotypes; most of my friends live stereotypes" [it becomes a way of life].

Students find a way to cope with racial microaggessions by engaging in negative

practices with their racial and cultural group. The practice of stereotyping each other not only prepares them to confront racial microaggressions, but creates a safe counter-space that also allows them to retaliate and rebel against the dominant group, without actually confronting them. They put each other down under the guise of pleasantries. They use humour and stereotypical language to practice responding to racial microaggressions by projecting their pain of being victims of racial microaggressions onto others.

Henriette pointed out that the language can be dark in nature: "very dark pessimistic interaction, that's going on lately." I asked her to clarify:

> Some lingo just as an example, is used very lightly but I think they are very heavy words, like 'go kill yourself'. Like 'dead' when they're laughing meaning they're so funny. Things like that very dark in nature, reference to suicide and egging someone on to do that, when you were actually to dissect it, it comes across as very nonchalant ('no big deal') with youths, very disturbing to me.

Henriette also notes that using dark pessimistic language during daily interactions can create mental stress especially for someone who already has mental health issues:

> I don't know if, because I take youth and intervention very seriously, so I don't know if someone is depressed clinically or going through issues, and someone says go kill yourself, basically you don't deserve to live, if they're going to take that seriously, so that's alarming to me as a youth worker. I talk a lot about it, but they just do it as a joking mechanism.

Jameson, youth support worker at ASP 2, reiterated what Henriette had mentioned, that it was very hard to tell the youths to stop because they are aware that the acts are not done with malicious intent:

> It's hard because it's like, it's so hard because it's sometimes it's not like we can say it's malicious… I think it looks differently when it's happening in a public school where it's like a White Canadian kid saying it to a racialized youth, it has a different connotation.

During his interview, Joel (a male participant at ASP 3) provided examples of some of the slang terms he uses when speaking with his friends. I asked him to explain what he said when something is funny and he replied "sometimes we say like, 'don't kill me', sometimes I say 'I'm dead', too. Those are the two I use, 'I'm dead', 'don't just kill me'. I asked Joel why he would use such words given they are racist and derogatory and have heavy historical implications and he was not sure. He said, "Maybe it's a habit, I don't know. We just say it for fun."

In summary, male participants acquired BSE English through hip hop and had a tendency to use racial slurs such as 'nigger' or 'nigga' without understanding what truly motivated them to use such language. Discussions with Henriette and Jameson, youth support workers, suggested that these youths used such language, with their peers, as coping mechanism when faced with racial microaggressions. They did so without intending to cause harm, which made it difficult for youth support workers to address. In the next section I discuss code crossing.

Code crossing explained. As a reminder, code crossing is the practice of slipping in and out of BSE and SE (Ibrahim, 2014). Henriette, a youth support worker from ASP 3, described it thus:

> What I find funny is that there are certain words that these youths always use, to describe parents, for example in Somali, mom mother is Hooyo and even I'll find other children who are from Canadian backgrounds using the words that these kids are using as well to describe, my Hooyo means mom, my Aaba it means dad, in English.

In this section I focus on how Black ELL participants code crossed between BSE and SE as a way to resist against the racial microaggressions.

Code switching between SE and BSE. Henriette, a youth support worker at ASP 3, stated that she often heard the students mixing their heritage language with English: "All the time, all the time, all the time, yes." But that the students chose their moments in which they slipped in and out of language: "I find that they can identify when to use it [BSE] and when not." This shows that the students choose their moments in which to switch from conventional to non-conventional language. This was also confirmed by students. They understood that there was a time and a place to use BSE. Jane, one of the participants at ASP2, explained that she only used BSE amongst her friends:

Jane: I feel that it's [BSE] for young people, people you are familiar with… I think 'what's up?' you can just tell to the people in your age group.

Researcher: People you are familiar with, that you know?

Jane: Yeah, the same age group, but if you are bigger than me, I will have to say 'how are you?' 'How have you been?' but if you are like me, I can say 'what's up?'

Researcher: But you know it's not correct language?

Jane: Yeah.

Here Jane illustrates that she only uses BSE when she is surrounded by people of her age group. She does not use it around parents or other adults because it is inappropriate language. This was also the case for the female participants from ASP 1 who mainly used BSE while texting or talking to friends:

Ella : Slang par texte à tes amis, mais quand tu parles aux enseignants tu dois utiliser le bon anglais.

We use slang when texting between friends, but when you speak to teachers you must use good English.

Researcher : Pourquoi parler le slang à vos amis?

Why do you use slang with your friends?

Groupe : Parce que c'est plus facile!

Because it's easier!

Jeanne : C'est un peu une sorte de mode.

It's a bit of a trend thing.

Ella feels that when speaking to authority figures, appropriate English must be used. However, when texting or speaking with friends, BSE or more colloquial language can be used because it makes the conversation easier. I posed the same question to Jane, one of the participants at ASP 2, who at first was unsure by what I meant.

Researcher: When you're with your group of friends, do people usually speak slang or ghetto English to practice?

Jane: What is slang?

Researcher: When they say 'what's up?' or 'true that' or 'yeah' instead of 'yes'.

Jane: Yeah, they do.

Researcher: Have you picked up on that, too? Are you starting to use it, too? Are you saying 'hey' instead of 'hi' or 'what's up'?

Jane: Sometimes I do, like 'what's up', 'hey' because I am learning from them. So anything they do I can see is going to help me I do copy them.

Researcher: Why do you think this is going to help you to speak?

Jane: It will help me because if I go somewhere, and I meet people who speak to me like that I will have to respond to them. I will not have to just keep quiet.

Here, Jane explains that she has picked up on BSE by copying others as a way to fit in with her friends. She felt that by using BSE it would make it easier for her to be understood by her peers. Anything she could do to fit in she does. Including speaking loudly, the way it was perceived African females do (previously discussed in finding 1).

Researcher: Who do you hear say what's up more?

Jane: ESL students in my school.

What was interesting was that while she attends a school where there were students of different racial backgrounds, she most often hears BSE and speaks BSE with students from her ESL class. As demonstrated earlier, code crossing occurred also between Black ELL students and students who were racialized as White, but most often it occurred between Black ELL students. For BSE to be spoken between different groups there has to be an agreement (Rampton, 2001).

In James' case, at first he was shy responding. He most likely denied the use of BSE given the context at the time of the interview. The interview took place at a University where he was being interviewed for graduate study. He knew the stakes and probably did not want to appear in a poor light. Also, he was aware that he was speaking to a graduate student, which may also have restricted him in terms of the examples provided. But once I started using the terms myself, it put him at ease and he began feeling more comfortable sharing. This could also mean, that the term is so ingrained in his context that he failed to recognize them, it is an automatic context-dependent switch on–switch off, that they do not even think about anymore.

Joel, one of the participants at ASP 3, also understood the difference in authority when I

asked him to provide me with some examples of words that he would use in the absence of teachers or an authority figure when speaking with friends. Joel was hesitant to say the words in front of me, an authority figure, because of their inappropriateness. Like with James, I had to reassure Joel that it was ok, and he proceeded to say "like I can say 'shit' to Jack, [Jack was one of his friends and also a study participant at site 3], but I can't say that to the teacher. Um (laughter), well I can say Nigga to him...yeah." I asked if he used the term often; he said "Sometimes." When I asked if he and his friends used the N-word in school he was quick to correct me "No no no [serious expression] they don't say nigga in the school." I asked why and he said "Because they are not allowed to say." Again I asked why they were not allowed to use the N-word in school "and the short answer he gave me was "It's bad!"

James, a participant at ASP 2, also felt uneasy when we first began talking about his everyday jargon. Initially, he told me that he did not speak any differently to his friends than he did to his parents, but when questioned a little further he admitted that sometimes he and his friends acted like Lil Durk, "sometimes, sometimes, they behave like him (Lil Durk)." I asked if they could behave like that with parents around and he was quick to say "they can't act like that when they are with their parents." I took this to mean that sometimes Lil Durk acted badly and he said "yes."

It is clear that Jane, Joel and James understood that using BSE was 'bad'. In other words, that if heard by teachers it could have negative repercussions. I asked if they still used it amongst friends. "Yeah, we can say it. Because friends is different, you can't be disrespectful to your teacher." Joel is aware that the term is disrespectful, yet still uses it amongst friends.

Henriette said that in their day-to-day interactions, youths were more likely to use BSE amongst their peers and to avoid using it with authority figures. Sometimes, however, she caught

students using both varieties of English interchangeably: "…but a lot of the time because they use it so much it just trickles down to speaking to professionals or teachers or administration at schools and I've heard that before, too."

Jameson, a youth support worker at ASP 2, provided a possible reason as to why it was not uncommon to hear BSE and SE mixed by students even when speaking with an authority figure. He explains that the more comfortable the teens would get with their mentors the more likely it was that they would use BSE:

> I guess it depends on the youth and the rapport that we have because a lot of the youths find us more as peers rather than as teachers or anything like that so once they get comfortable around us I think it turns a little bit more [pause], more into like slang and conversational.

Jameson, however, worried about the amount of slang that one of his students, who had recently arrived to Canada, was using:

> He's kind of struggling with school but his English has gotten much better since I met him last year and it's interesting to see that the language he's developing is conversational but a lot of slang, um yeah and that's kind of concerning in terms of, you know, where's the support? It's not to say that one [variety of English] should be valued over the other, but it's to say that academically how is that affecting…I don't know, I don't see his work, but I can imagine there might be some negotiating, you know some misunderstanding between the slang and academic kind of language.

Black Canadian youths find themselves navigating two different linguistic worlds: BSE and SE. In every interaction, the students know when to use slang versus proper English. However, although their spoken English is good, BSE has become ingrained in their vocabulary

and is often used, accidently, in the presence of authority figures.

There are several reasons why male participants were motivated to speak BSE. The first was as a coping mechanism, to deal with being a victim of racial microaggression. Second, as Heller (1992) explains, code switching is a political choice often used as a form of resistance. I say that language crossing is a political choice used as a site of resistance. In this case, it is used in response to being racialized. Male students were motivated to speak BSE to create a counter space, a safe space, through language, to which their oppressors are not invited and where they can resist and rebel. Finally, it can be argued that hip hop, with its racially charged language, helps young Black males develop a sense of masculinity and racial identity, and serves as a counter space or site of resistance. The racially charged language (as exemplified in hip hop) acts as a coping mechanism.

Henriette, a youth support worker at ASP 3, was concerned about the possibility that her Black and White students were not able to understand the potential impact that learning and using BSE, with its focus on derogatory terms or racially charged language, could have on their peers. She explained that they have become outright racial slurs:

> It's just almost like they just don't understand from both sides what they're saying, because they are too young. But I know what it's about, but I don't think they do and it turns out to be just racial slurs at the end. It's all again very jokingly. It's not like blatant racism, it's like, no you can't say that, so it's like White students will say that and the Black students will correct each other.

In the above excerpt, Henriette highlights the fact that her students are aware that the use of racially charged language, such as the term 'nigga', was inappropriate, whether it came from racialized White or Black students. She also pointed to the fact that students were using racial

slurs, which she suggests have been normalized through social media, music and pop culture and as such have become part of her students' everyday BSE vocabulary. She continues:

Henriette: Like certain words that would otherwise be inappropriate but because of pop culture using it they're using it. You want an example?

Researcher: Sure, go ahead.

Henriette: There could be a group of mixed kids, White, Black, where somebody will say to another Black child, 'you feel me my nigga?' and it's like the White kid will feel like that's racist, I can't say that, but do you know what I mean, they're saying it to each other. But it is nevertheless unacceptable if it is used by a White person. It's become normalized, but as soon as the White student says… then you're racist, so yeah that's basically what I try to teach youths, is it's not normal about that dialogue [pause] I try to depict, other derogatory terms in other languages, if you [students] understand different languages, that aren't acceptable too.

The expression 'you feel me my nigga?' means 'do you understand?' or 'do you agree?' Henriette tried to make students understand that these racial slurs are not appropriate by translating them to other languages, such as French. In French, there does not seem to be any colloquial equivalent to the term 'nigga'. The only term used is *nègre* which only roughly translates to nigger. These students, most of whom spoke French, understood that 'nigga' or 'g' was an acceptable colloquial form for nigger, in English, whereas 'nègre' although used amongst friends for greeting purposes, was more offensive. Despite 'nigger' being used as a term of endearment in French, it remains offensive even when it is used as a term of endearment. As Henriette explained above, these students had some understanding of the subtlety of the term

nègre. Furthermore, the students understood that when it came from Black students, it was acceptable, but if it came from a racialized White student, the term, whether it be 'nigger' or 'nigga', was offensive and inappropriate. What they had more difficulty understanding was why they were using the term, aside from the fact that it was cool and normalized.

This discussion on code crossing is important because it illustrates that students constantly negotiate two linguistic worlds, BSE and SE. They understand that there is a time and place to use BSE. The study participant mostly only code crossed with their friends, being aware that it was inappropriate to do so with teachers, parents or other authority figures, but on occasion the two linguistic worlds were found to collide.

Finding 6: After-school Programs Do not Provide the Tools to Help Students Name Their Experiences

Youth support workers as role models. I now return to the concept of youth support workers as role models. James (2012) explains that role models are "meant to provide evidence that despite any limitations and barriers Black youth may face, it is still possible for them to achieve what they want to achieve" (p. 77). Henriette, youth support worker ASP 3, was aware that students mainly used artists from popular culture as role models. As such she stressed the importance of her role as a youth support worker, giving the youths an alternative role model to look up to:

> I find the students very much more receptive because they see that what we're telling in terms of what we define as success has already been completed by somebody that looks like hem. So what that does is it enables the youths to believe that they can achieve this form of success and I think for me those are the most successful types of mentorship

relationships that I've been able to build.

Despite the fact that Henriette sees the value in her work as a mentor and youth support worker, she is faced with many challenges, the main one being addressing issues of race. One of the possible reasons why race issues go unaddressed may be because youth support workers simply do not have the know-how to approach these issues. Henriette explains that they are not equipped with the proper tools or resources:

> There's a lack of resources to be able to tackle these things [race issues]. A lot of education is needed and mentorship to handle this stuff…but what resources we have is barely minimum I think.

This was also confirmed by Samantha, youth support worker at ASP 3, who said "we don't really talk a lot about race issues." According to Henriette and Samatha, youth support workers are not equipped to deal with issues of race. They do not have the training, the resources or the tools to deal with issues of racial microaggressions or teach the students how to respond. They also do not have the time to deal with additional issues of race as Jameson, male youth support worker at ASP 2, explained:

> What ends up happening, we're oriented to the school year, summer time comes around and we lose all contact with the youths unless they're in our summer programs, which is usually not the case because the summer programs are for newly arrived youths, so there's that lapse of communication.

This makes conversations of race difficult to have if a racist incident happened close to the end of the school year and has been dropped because there was not been enough time to address it at the time. In the following example, Henriette, youth support worker at ASP 3, described an incident she was dealing with. A racialized White student was wearing clothing that was

offensive to the Black students. However, the issue had not been addressed immediately because the youth support worker did not know how to navigate the issue. As such, the youth support worker consulted with their colleague:

> Just the other day, a race issue came up. One of my colleagues came to me to help him navigate through this, so we're having a meeting soon, but one Caucasian girl was wearing some clothing that's offensive to the Black students in her school.

The above provides an explanation as to why issues of race or racial microaggressions may not be readily discussed. The youth support workers may simply not know how to approach the issue. In the above excerpt the youth support worker who witnessed the occurrence or who received the complaint was unsure how to deal with the issue, so the best recourse was a discussion with another colleague. The lack of guidance or process around how to deal with issues of race results in a gap between the occurrence and its resolution. This was also made evident by Jameson's addressing of race issues in the aftermath of the Michael Brown incident. As a reminder the focus group sessions took place in 2015, a little over a year after the fatal shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, a northern suburb of St. Louis, in Missouri, U.S.A. Brown was a suspect in a "strong-arm" robbery of a convenience store. The young man was shot by a White police officer and subsequently died. When I met with the study participants, the highly mediatized news stories of White police officers shooting Black men, such as the case of Michael Brown, were at the forefront of their thoughts and brought on a bigger discussion about race and policing. Jameson asked a couple of the students playing basketball if their teachers had talked about the situation in which they replied they did not.

> (They responded) not really like we talked about it a little bit and I'm like oh what did you guys talk about? He (one of the guys) said his teacher had brought it up or it had

> come up in a discussion or something and he just said, we're not really sure what was going on and the teacher told us he held up a liquor store and got shot.
>
> We (Jameson and student) had our own side conversation about it, and unfortunately it was one of the last days of the program, close to the end of the program, so I didn't get to, like, really get into [sic] depth with many of them about it.

Jameson had tried to address race issues with his students but also found it difficult. Time constraints, lack of resources and lack of training all impeded his ability to address the issue.

The youth support workers are concerned about the lack of understanding around issues of race amongst their students. Henriette explains:

> And also "All Lives Matter" and "Black Lives Matter" are something that's also been happening, the youths having limited understanding, but taking it from a racial standpoint, some of that dialogue is going on as well.

On the rare occasion when the youth support workers have had to deal with race issues, they have had to rely on themselves. In examining the roles and responsibilities of the youth support workers, no mechanism or set of guidelines was found to be in place to aid them in playing a leadership role in addressing racial issues.

As Canada's demographic have changed, policies have also changed to become more inclusive and welcoming to visible minorities. This in turn has had an impact on the programs and services provided, as well as on hiring policies. This has created a gap between current policy and youth program reality. This is largely due to the fact that these centres are taking a 'colourblind' approach to their work. However, critical race theorists advise against adopting such an approach. James (2012) argues "liberal notions of colour-blindness and individualism voiced by media, educators, social services, and government institutions would have us believe

everyone has access to the same quality of life and opportunity in society. The evidence suggests otherwise" (p. 92).

Ladson-Billings argues that "by ignoring race issues we are resigned to maintaining a White supremacist master narrative" (p. 18).

> I think it's an issue that's going to be there: the resources, what resources do we have to deal with that. There's a lack of resources to be able to tackle these things. A lot of education is needed and mentorship to handle this stuff but what resources do we have, which is barely minimum I think.

The result is a vicious circle with visible minority youths continuing to be unable to discuss racial issues with support workers who, in turn, have nowhere to turn to learn how to play a constructive role.

Although after-school programs have taken on the challenge of creating a safe space for students, as Ivy, youth support worker at ASP 2, explained:

> For youth programs, we do leadership/life skill development weekly, so each session will take, let's say, 12 weeks with only one school, and when we finish we go to another school. So it's basically focusing really, again creating safe supportive inclusive spaces for newcomer youths so they have their own space to go to actually develop skills together with the facilitators, so different things. The focus, first of all, is community engagement, to support youths not to be isolated from the larger society.

The after-school programs are operating under a multicultural discourse where race issues are allowed to persist and where students as a result are put at a disadvantage.

While some of the programs have focused on leadership and life skill development, they omit to address issues of race as part of this. Some youth support workers, like Jameson, have

gone above and beyond their responsibilities to close the gap between what's currently in place and what his students needed. Jameson created a Facebook page for his students in case they needed to discuss any issues including race:

> I created a Facebook page which works, we use to have like a Facebook user which you add (the youth group) as a friend and you can communicate that way but I felt that wasn't as public as I wanted it to be, I wanted more sharing of information and having it be available to everybody and still allowing a way for communication to be there so I created like a (youth group) page so people can 'like it' and follow what we're posting and opportunities like that, but there's, you know, they can reach out and send messages to us and we can message back.
>
> I've added some youths on a limited profile on my own account but I try not to make that a thing, but I try to respect the boundaries again, but I've had one youth reach out and say, this is what school is like now for me and it's really difficult and can you help me and I said yes, I can put you in touch with certain people, with him I don't think this is the reason why he wanted to get support but he's one of those people who I heard people using racial slurs against, again not in a menacing malicious way, but not understanding the implication of the words they are using and what the connotations are.

Despite the fact that these students have examples of success in their youth support workers, like Henriette, Jameson, Ivy and Samantha, it is not enough to help them deal with racial microaggressions.

James (2012) echoes this sentiment by stating that young Black males and, I argue, females as well, need to be provided with the "critical skills and tools to understand and assess how the cultural forces in school and other socializing environments might help to shape their

race and gender identities, school performance, and marginalization" (p. 92). Therefore, the work of youth support workers becomes not only helping these students navigate school, but also helping them navigate race, gender and language acquisition.

Summary

This chapter discussed the six research findings. The first finding related to the types of racial microaggression experienced by the study participants at the three community centres. The second finding had to do with the different contexts in which the racial microaggressions took place. The third finding bore on the emotional effect of racial microaggressions on the study participants. The fourth finding pertained to how these youths said they responded to the microaggressions. The fifth finding covered how BSE was used as a defence mechanism in response to the racial microaggressions. The sixth finding pointed to how after-school programs operate under an authorized multicultural discourse and how, the youth support workers therefore lacked the tools, training, time and resources to help the youth respond to racial microaggressions or other issues of race.

Chapter 6

Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings by revisiting the CRT tenets, which were discussed in Chapter 3. Using CRT as the lens through which to understand Black ELL youths use of BSE in after-school programs, I have demonstrated that Black ELL high school students from immigrant families at three after-school programs are navigating race and second language education while being racialized through racial microaggressions. As a dynamic framework in education, CRT challenges us to name racist experiences and identify their origins.

CRT has several main tenets, the first one being that racism is a normal, not aberrant, phenomenon in society (Delgado et al., 2017). It permeates all parts of society. The normalcy was illustrated in Finding 1, where the different types of racial microaggressions were presented. These covert acts of racism were a regular occurrence for the study participants. Whether it's being the last person on the bus whose seat was to be filled or assuming that Black girls were generally loud speakers, illustrated the non-aberrant nature of these everyday subtle acts of racism.

Finding 2, illustrated where and when these acts occurred. It was shown that the study participants were faced with instances of racial microaggressions in every aspect of their lives whether it be in school, in a grocery store, or their after-school program. I observed a music session at ASP3. I noted that the volunteer only introduced hip hop to the students. It could be argued that any genre of music introduced to the students by the volunteer could have been a racial microggression. For instance, if the volunteer had introduced classical music to the students, then one could argue that he did so because he thought that the students were not cultured. All this to say the way the music is taught is important. If the intention was to introduce

the students to different genres of music from hip hop to classical, then it would not have been construed as a racial microaggression. However, it was my understanding that the purpose of the session was to get the students ready for an event and the focus was to be on hip hop. I will never know the reason behind the musical choice. The important take away is that only one session was observed and maybe observing more music sessions would have led to different conclusions. However, many of the students walked out of the class. I interpreted this action as resistance, taking a stance against what was expected of them: in this case listening and learning about the hip hop genre.

The second tenet of CRT is its stance towards liberalism, with its veneer of colour-blindness and multicultural discourse. As a result of associated policies and discourses, youth support workers are not provided with the training to deal with racial microaggressions. As finding 6 shows, the youth support workers wanted to help the students address issues of race, but had no resources or tools. On the rare occasion when they have had to deal with race issues, the youth support workers had to rely only on themselves. When examining the roles and responsibilities of the youth support workers, no evidence was found of any mechanism or set of guidelines in place to help them play a leadership role in addressing racial issues. Canada's demographics have changed, resulting in policies that become more inclusive and welcoming. This in turn has had an impact on programs and services, especially in terms of hiring policies. This has created a gap between current policy and youth program reality. This is largely due to the fact that these centres are taking a "colourblind" approach to their work, something critical race theorists advise against. Ladson-Billings (2006) argues that "by ignoring race issues we are resigned to maintaining a White supremacist master narrative" (p. 18). As a result, issues of race as pertaining to my participants were either dealt with in passing or not dealt with at all. Youth

support workers have nowhere to turn to for tools, resources or programming to help these youths.

After-school programs should become proactive instead of reactive. That is, they should prepare youth support workers and the students to discuss incidences before they occur instead of trying to discuss them after the fact. Preparation and practice responding to racial microaggressions or other attacks should be part of the mandate. Not only do these youths need to be trained to respond to them, but so also do the youth support workers. Just like we have fire drills in case of a fire, youths should have how-to-act drills, in case they fall victim of racial microaggressions or, e.g., an arrest. There should be guidance around what is the best method of teaching. Not providing training or discussions or necessary programs contributes to the "culture of silence" (Freire, 1997, p. 12).

As a point of clarification, I am not saying that students need after-school programs to equip them with the tools to respond to racism. Instead, I am highlighting the importance of ensuring that students know the context of existing unequal structures.

The third tenet of CRT, the method of storytelling and counter-story telling, privileges the voices of marginalized youths. In this case, Black ELL youths do not have the vocabulary to name their experiences with racial microaggressions and, hence, cannot effectively tell their stories or validate their experiences. With that said, these youths are not voiceless. In the absence of a vocabulary with which to name their experiences, the use of BSE can begin to make sense of the offensive acts they are experiencing. BSE allows them to re-define themselves around Blackness (in the subcultural sense of the term) and to belong to a club to which only they and those they trust have access. In this way, through code crossing, they can use BSE both as a way to retaliate against authority and as a defence mechanism.

Code crossing between BSE and SE was seen as a political choice and as a way to disrupt the dominant narrative. They did so by creating a language community in BSE, study participants found a way to name and validate their experiences. This language community served both as a site of resistance and as a safe space: a space where members could resist the use of the officially condoned variety of language; and where they could show solidarity with those on the margins while projecting their anger onto another member, as a coping mechanism, without fear of reprisal. (However, using one's own oppression to invalidate members of other socially devalued groups is a form of microaggression as well.)

Furthermore, my participants often had sophisticated understandings of what was happening. For instance, although they did not know the term racial microaggressions, they understood that what they were regularly experiencing was not racism as they know it to be. As mentioned earlier, some of the girls said that they did not think the perpetrators were racist. Instead, the students attributed actions and insensitive comments to ignorance. Their experiences made them feel uncomfortable, experiences vividly recalled specific situations.

The fourth CRT tenet, namely the intersectionality of race and gender, was made evident in the different modes of BSE acquisition of female and male Black ELL participants respectively. While males acquired BSE through hip-hop and rap (Ibrahim, 2008), female participants acquired their language skills through pop music mainly sung by racialized White artists. The males would search for underground music while the females would listen to readily available music on the radio. This in turn influenced the style of BSE spoken. Males used a BSE that utilized dark and pessimistic language and girls mixed common slang terms with the performative category of acting Black. They mostly, however, learned BSE as a performative category. The female participants had different racial experiences to their male counterparts, and

as a result used a more subdued form of BSE compared to the boys, whose more violent experiences with racial microaggression was reflected in their more violent language.

One of the most important findings of the thesis is that the young women who participated in the study use BSE differently than the boys. This is an issue whose significance could be expanded as it speaks to their awareness of the structural nature of the racisms they encounter. For example, the girls report listening to popular music with white performers as a way of learning English that in an English Canadian context is read as not accented. This contrasts to the boys who listen to rap and hip-hop and who consequently pick up what might be called street-styled English. The fact that this would appear to relate to their understandings of future job prospects is not discussed in the thesis. The girls, some of whom are already volunteering in nursing homes, appear to be preparing for jobs in the service industry in which they know that a non-standard English Canadian accent would be a barrier. That this is so speaks to a structural aspect of the permanence of racism as whiteness of a particular kind becomes the norm to which they are being forced to assimilate. This fits within the CRT framework of the ways in which micro instances of racism are produced by and reproduce larger and more permanent structure of oppression.

The fifth tenet of CRT, Black, especially male, youths maintain the habit of racializing each other through language without understanding the impact their actions may have on themselves and on others. Fanon (1952) explains that the process of racializing each other exhibits self-hatred, brought on by what he calls the collective unconsciousness.

> The collective unconsciousness is cultural, which means acquired. A Negro who has lived and breathed and eaten the myths and prejudices of the dominant group's narrative [racist Europe] will be able to express only his hatred of the Negro. (p. 188)

An example of this is when youths use racial slurs against one another. However, Fanon goes on to say that this is not a necessary outcome; hence, these youths can learn that they can define Blackness in a positive way.

When a language learner's identity is distorted and misrepresented by those around them, it can damage the individual's notion of their culture and their cultural self. This non-recognition or misrepresentation can be a form of oppression, in the sense that it imprisons someone in a false, distorted, or reduced state of being (Norton & Toohey, 2011; Taylor, 1994). Students recognize that oppressive interaction with dominant-group peers, and other people outside of school, may negatively impact identity construction.

Kohli and Solórzano (2012) argue that racialization "can result in students shifting [their] self-perceptions and worldviews and believing that their culture or aspects of their identity are an inconvenience or are inferior" (p. 455). This representation of the language learner's identity can cause real damage to the individual's notion of their cultural self. This cultural damage results in defence mechanisms being acted out in response.

It was demonstrated that these youths were being racialized through racial microaggressions both in school and outside of school. Aside from one incidence observed, the racialization that occurred in the after-school program was being done amongst the youths. This internal racialization manifested in their use of BSE. It was shown that Black male youth communicated amongst themselves using BSE. Whereas Black females' use of BSE contained less offensive language and stereotypical associations. It was noted that BSE was for the most part used when speaking with Black peers and SE was used when addressing authority figures. Lastly, BSE was used as a coping mechanism in response to racial microaggressions.

During the course of my journey, there has been a question about the difference between a racial microaggression and a blatant racist act. Through a careful examination of my findings, I have come to the conclusion that there is no clear division between the two. That is to say, I do not think the two can be separated or defined. The boundary between a racist act and a racial microaggression is unclear. I prefer to think about it as a continuum.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Summary of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how Black ELL youths negotiate racialization and second language learning in after-school programs. A review of the literature on motivation and second language education revealed that there was a gap in the research between the issues of being racialized and language learning. A review of the theoretical framework suggested that critical race theory would be the best epistemology, since it recognizes that race is part of society, ingrained in its institutions and most likely here to stay. The racial microaggression analytic tool used is based on Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015). Their work permits the drafting of an analytic tool to understand how an ELL experiences racialization. The tool focuses on the four elements of racial microaggressions: type, context, effect and response. Understanding how Black ELLs experience racial microaggressions should enable community centres to obtain the requisite tools to deal with racialization. The study's research methodology included discussions on: the rationale for choosing qualitative research; the rationale for choosing storytelling and counter-storytelling as methodology; the research sample and the recruitment of participants (students and youth support workers); the methods of data collection; the analysis of data; and, finally, ethics and issues of trustworthiness. The findings were subsequently recorded and analyzed. In the following, I will answer the guiding questions of the inquiry.

Summary of the Story

As a reminder, this study used CRT methodology focusing on storytelling and counter-storytelling. I began this thesis by storytelling the problem which centered around multicultural discourse. As it was shown, multicultural discourse is rooted in liberal values, which promote

notions of race neutrality, colour blindness and meritocracy. Multicultural discourse helps maintain the image of Canada as tolerant of cultural diversity and racial differences. Multicultural discourse comes the notion that racism no longer exists or is no longer relevant. However, it also allows racism to persist. The conflicting ideology of multicultural discourse is best captured by Henry and Tator (2006) who explain that "the ideology of democratic racism, which sustains two conflicting values – one that espouses fairness, equity, tolerance, and justice, another that maintains and reproduces racism – has been instrumental in disrupting and subverting efforts to eradicate racism" (p. 306).

The Counter-Story

Despite the fact that multicultural discourse detracts from overt and covert forms of racism, they continue to persist. Some examples of racial microaggressions provided by the study participants include: belittling the country of origin; ascription of low intelligence; academic streaming into lower level academic programs; pathologizing cultural values and communication styles; mispronounciation of names; assumption of criminal status and alien in one's own land. All of which serve to make these students feel like marginalized, excluded and othered (Schroeter & James, 2015).

Furthermore, it was shown that notions of liberalism permeate after-school programs. This was done through the organizations resistance to recognize the need to address issues of race. Henry and Tator (2006) explain that the "denial of racism operates as the unseen but ubiquitous force, which ensures that substantive change is deflected and deterred" (p. 306). That is, the status quo is maintained by ignoring the need for change or the need to redress policies and procedures to reflect the current environment. They list numerous barriers to change. Below I review only those that are relevant to this study.

First, the dominant ideology and discourse such as the multicultural discourse, which serves to maintain status quo and reinforce inequalities all of which are framed in normalcy. Second, the reluctance to create an anti-racist vision, the three after-school programs had not explicitly incorporated anything about racism or anti-racism in their vision statements. Henry and Tator (2006) state that this failure to address racism occurs in part because organizations do not view racism as an important part of their overall mandates. This is also true for the after-school programs of this study. Upon the revision of their mandates, I did not find any reference to race. Omitting racism puts the after-school programs in reactive mode when it comes to addressing issues of race and racism, as was shown in the findings. Avoiding the term racism circumvents the need to identify issues of overt and covert racism. Third, lack of commitment on the part of the decision makers to redress issues of racism despite the fact that youth support workers and the youths have reported instances of racial microaggressions. Fourth, inadequate training of youth support workers and their multiple challenges to effectively help their students. These examples are evidence that covert racism persists in after-school programs and in Canadian society.

In response to the lack of resources to help them name, understand and effectively respond when confronted with the racial microaggressions, the boy participants learned and used BSE as a defence mechanism. Whereas the girls focused on losing their accents. Next, I revisit and answer the research question.

Research Questions

Ibrahim (2008) argues that 'race is salient, if not absolutely pivotal, in the process of second language learning. As racialized Black students, the boy and girl participants of this study experienced racial microaggressions if not at times they even experienced blatant racism.

Unfortunately, when faced with racial microaggressions, they did not know what was happening or who to turn to. However they did understand and feel that they had been othered because of the colour of their skin. As Ibrahim (2014) states, ‘this is evident through the retelling of their racial experiences’ (p. 70). Using the findings from this study I will answer the research questions:

Main Research Question: How does experiencing racial microaggression impact Black Canadian ELL students’ acquisition and use of BESL?

The examination of the similarities and the dissimilarities, in terms of responses to racial microaggressions, between the boys and girls are interesting to examine. The two groups experienced many of the same situations but the similarities were far outweighed by the dissimilarities.

The similarities in response to racial microaggressions included the fact that the boy and the girl participants sought not to use BSE in the presence of adults since they deemed it to be inappropriate. However, the students who did not have full mastery of SE struggled between using BSE and SE. They constantly had to negotiate the two different linguistic worlds. Sometimes, as was mentioned by one of the youth support workers, these two worlds collided and they found themselves using BSE in the presence of authority. However, the similarities end here; for the most part, the acquisition and the use of BSE differed between the boys and the girls.

The boys were strong in the use of BSE which they acquired through hip-hop and rap. BSE banked on ritual expressions characterized by dark, pessimistic, stereotypical and racially charged language. They acquired BSE as a defense mechanism, enabling the youths to, in the company of their peers, create a safe space where they could use racially charged terms, such as

the n-word. The intent of the safe space was never malicious. In this safe space, which served to exclude those not able to use this racially-charged terminology, youths could codecross between BSE and SE, thereby keeping non-racialized Blacks out of their space. This is a mode of retaliation since the n-word is considered to be a racial slur against Blacks when used by Whites but is acceptable when used by a member of the Black community. Communication in general and codecrossing in particular was done in a joking fashion, thereby indicating its non-malicious character. The constant teasing or joking done through the use of dark and pessimistic stereotypical and racially-charged language allowed the boy participants to dilute the shame of being racialized as Black and to respond indirectly to racial microaggressions.

Unlike the boys who excluded the dominant racial group by using language that was only accessible to them, the girl participants of this study wanted to fit in. As such, they did not acquire the negative and pessimistic ritual expressions to the same extent that the boys did. Instead, they focused on sounding like Canadian native speakers to avoid standing out or being othered. Unfortunately, they did so at the risk of being excluded them from their Black peers. In response, they also acquired performative category of acting Black by banking on speaking loudly, as African girls are stereotyped to do so as to fit in with their racialized Black peers.

1. What type of racial microaggression do Black ELL youths experience?

The type of racial microaggression varied. They included:

a) belittling the country of origin (e.g. expression of the belief that the Black ELL participants came from poor countries with no running water, electricity or access to schools);
b) ascription of low intelligence (i.e. the belief that the students racialized as Black were less intelligent than those of their peers who were racialized as White);

c) academic streaming (i.e. the tracking of after-school program participants into lower educational tracks);

d) pathologizing cultural values (e.g. expecting or encouraging people who are racialized as Black to act a certain way);

e) mispronunciation of names (e.g., a substitute teacher's inability to pronounce a participant's name properly despite numerous attempts from the student to correct them);

f) assumption of criminal status (i.e. the belief that the students racialized as Black are criminals); and

g) being made to feel an alien in one's own land (this can manifest as constant questioning about the country of origin of a Canadian born student).

2. *What is the context of the racial microaggressions (how and where do they occur)?*

Some microaggressions (e.g. belittling country of origin, ascription of intelligence, academic streaming, pathologizing cultural value, the mispronunciation of names, and being made to feel like an alien in one's own land) took place within the classroom or educational institution. Other microaggressions (e.g. the assumption of criminal status) took place outside the classroom.

3. *What is the effect of the racial microaggressions on the Black ELL youths?*

The effects of the racial microaggressions varied from positive feelings of wanting to prove the perpetrator wrong to feelings of forced acceptance as a result of choosing not to ascribe ill intent to the perpetrator to negative feelings of embarrassment and humiliation.

4. *How do the Black ELL youths respond to interpersonal and institutional racist acts and behaviours?*

While the youths said they did not know how to respond to acts of racial microaggression, they had in fact hit on a way of doing just that, through the use of BSE. They used it to challenge

authority and the status quo and as a safe space within which to validate their experiences with racial microaggressions.

5. *Do after-school programs provide Black ELL youth with the necessary vocabulary and concepts to validate and name their experiences with racial microaggressions?*

The short answer is no. Youth support workers do not have the necessary resources to develop programs to address issues of race with their students or to give them the necessary tools to name and validate their experiences with racial microaggressions. On the rare occasions that they have to address race issues they have to rely on each other's guidance and experiences for support.

Study Implications

The following are some of the implications of this study's findings for youth support workers/teachers, students and research.

Youth support workers. First, youth support workers need to be aware of the types of racial microaggression their students are being confronted with, the context in which it happens and the effect it has on their students and work with them to develop appropriate responses. Youth support workers should be provided with resources to help them develop appropriate responses and support their youths when facing racial microaggressions. For instance, funding for community programs and teacher education should be increased to support training and professional development in order to better prepare educators to respond to help them respond to language and race issues. Some examples of training could include mandatory second language education courses for teachers and youth support workers. This would help to legitimize different varieties of English.

In addition to training on race issues should be provided. It is important for teachers who teach ESL to understand that acquiring BSE is done for more reasons than just to be cool. It has more implications for the students. It's a way for them to reaffirm their identity all while responding to the racial microaggressions. Through BSE the students create a language community where they feel empowered to re-appropriate the negative terms associated with Black people. In response to the daily barrage of racial microaggressions that they endure both in and outside of their classes, the students who participated in the focus groups indicated that they are creating "counter-spaces". This metaphysical counter-spaces serves as a site where deficit notions of people of color can be challenged and where a positive collegiate racial climate can be established and maintained.

Educators should develop an understanding of the multiple roles that students occupy in the school system and in society; how social hierarchies are established; and the ways in which male Eurocentric power structures function in schools and how this translates to models of language acquisition. They appear to be learning the English that best fits their roles, but they also speak the English that is appropriate to each role. The girls and boys occupy different gender identity roles and spaces, so they speak different Englishes. In addition, They are constantly having to negotiate two vastly different linguistic worlds. But sometimes these two worlds collide.

Lastly, educators should play a role in helping students understand their experiences. It is important for educators to have frank discussions with these Black students and talk about the racial climate, including their feelings and possible solutions. It is not enough to assume that teachers are taking the initiative for these conversations. It is also not enough to assume that parents are having frank discussions with their children. Someone has to be accountable for

teaching these youths how to act, especially in difficult situations. These discussions should be informed by critical awareness. Unless students understand power relations at play and the overall societal structures they will not be able to successfully deal with racism and racial microaggressions. Furthermore, educators should listen to all complaints from students, even when they seem trivial. They should pay attention to indicators of victimization.

Students. The students should be provided with tools to counter future microaggressions. They should develop strategies to address with racial microaggressions. These strategies would undoubtedly differ depending on whether they are facing the racial microaggression alone or if they are in a group. They need to understand that they are much more vulnerable when they are isolated. This is highlighted when one of the study participants suggested some the following strategies when alone and dealing with the police: a) listen, b) do what is being asked and c) not to run away.

In cases when the students are in a group, the strategies employed or developed do not have to be confrontational. Group discussions would allow the students to explore preventive strategies. Overall, students need to realize that in groups they can be empowered to make positive changes. This can be done, for example, by coming up with ways of educating themselves and others on what it means to be a Black youth in Canada. This allows them to talk to peers and validate their experiences. Furthermore, in group settings they can plan community activities that involve all children. Most importantly, the Black students need to recognize the power positions at play and understand that it is not their responsibility to respond, whether they be in a group setting or alone. Rather it is safer for them to do nothing. They need to be made aware of their main responsibility which is to stay alive!

Lastly, Black ELL students need to be proud of their use of BSE. They need a broader understanding of the intricate connection between one's language and their cultural experience, combined with insight into the political nature and social stratification of Canadian BSE. They need to see how language is not something decreed from on High but an evolutionary dynamic and always in flux. With that said, they must still be aware that the fact that this world is one in which standard English must be learned if they are to partake of socioeconomic mobility based on current power relations.

Theory. The connection between race and gender in second language education remains under-researched. Further research is necessary to increase our understanding of racism's multilayered effects on Black ELL high school students. With that said, this study shows that young male participants use BSE as a form of defense mechanism in response to their experiences with racism and racial microaggressions. Furthermore, it shows that the young male participants use BSE by banking on negative pessimistic ritual expressions and as a performative category. On the other hand, the young female participants of this study focus on losing their perceived accents in response to racial microaggressions. However, they also use BSE, as a performative category, for the purposes of fitting in with other Black girls in their schools. Next, I will discuss the study limitations.

Study Limitations

As with any research, had limitations. Bloomberg and Volpe (2012) explain that researchers should recognize that by its very nature qualitative research contains limitations and that no matter how much one plans, they will always be there. As the research was being conducted, the limitations were acknowledged and ways to minimize their impact were also considered.

This study focused on Black ELL youths' experiences of the racial climate at three community-based after-school programs. While gender differences surfaced, the original interview protocol did not include specific questions about racial microaggressions and gender differences. Developing the protocol to include an explicit gender analysis would enable researchers to account for the distinct ways in which Black female and male ELL students experience and respond to racial microaggressions.

One of the research methods employed was focus group sessions. This technique has several limitations, including the fact that some participants may have felt silenced by the presence of others they knew, by the realization that their point of view was in the minority or due to language differences (Patton, 2015). I addressed these limitations by: a) doing a roundtable and ensuring everyone had expressed their experiences; and b) directly asking the less vocal participants how they felt about the question or topic that was being discussed. In addition, at the beginning of each focus group I made sure to let everyone know that I was fluent in English and French and that they could express themselves in the language of their choice.

In addition, I had to be guided by the youth support workers in the recruitment process. As mentioned earlier, in the youth program in the West End, I was only provided with two student participants, one of which did not meet the study criteria. While I trust that students agreed to participate voluntarily, I need to recognize the fact that a youth support worker asking their students to participate may have swayed them. Had I recruited students on my own, had I been able to use the same methods at all three sites or had I chosen to conduct my study at one site instead of three, my findings may have been different.

By necessity, this study was conducted over a short period of time. It is possible that a longer period of study and observation could have resulted in me observing more instances of

racial microaggressions, both between peers and between students and YSW. As it was also mentioned, the data was collected at three different sites and the access was limited at two of the three sites where I was not allowed to conduct observations. By moving from one site to another, I risked 'superficiality' and by not conducting interviews at all three sites I also risked not getting an in-depth understanding of the seniors' residence and the downtown youth program (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Finally, Solórzano and Yosso (2002) state that "our own experiences with the multiplicity of racialized oppression and our responses to and resistance against such oppressions from our positions of multiple marginality inform and shape our research" (p. 39). Milner (2007) stresses that researchers must be conscious of their own racial categorizations and prejudices. As a Canadian Black woman, who has experienced racialization throughout my education, I remained aware of how my world view both enhanced and limited me in terms of the study being conducted. During the analysis of the student participant and the youth support workers, I analyzed comments using CRT and the microaggression tool through my interpretation of the participants' stories. As I conducted the data analysis, I consciously worked to avoid imposing my experience onto that of the participants. Following Milner's (2007) recommendations, I intentionally remained cognizant of my biases as a researcher and my impact on the research.

Future Studies

Second Language Education. The aim of this study was to examine how BSE was used in response to racial microaggressions. In doing so, I examined the different uses between Black ELL females and Black ELL males. Future studies could focus on the differences that exist within the study participants 'demographics. For instance, the study contained participants from

various backgrounds (ex: Caribbean, African, European) with different immigration experiences. It would be interesting to examine whether these differences play a role in the acquisition and use of BSE in response to racial microaggressions. This would examine if the racial aggressions are understood and experienced differently whether you are born in Canada, have immigrated voluntarily or are a refugee. In addition, some students had French background, while others were from Anglophone backgrounds. Future studies could look at the differences in the use of BSE by Francophones and allophones in response to racial microaggressions.

In the same vein of demographic differences, an action research focusing on the different strategies and tools used by Black students to address racial microaggressions would also be a good idea. New research could examine what different strategies are being used by the Black boys and Black girls? Do Black ELL French speaking boys/girls use different strategies than Black ELL boys/girls who are from English speaking countries? What are the results of these strategies? Which strategies work or do not work? What are some success factors?

Another idea for a future study would be to examine the evolution of BSE. Since Ibrahim’s work on BSE, the terminology used amongst the youths has understandably changed. Future studies could examine how BSE has changed over the years (i.e. what new words are being used) and how has technology and media changed and structured BSE? All these questions could add to the field of BSE.

Further research is needed in SLE using the CRT framework, storytelling and counter-storytelling. Scheurich and Young (1997) have argued that educational epistemologies, which are mostly Eurocentric in nature, offer a racially biased way of knowing. If researchers want to effectively examine issues of race, it would be more beneficial to use epistemologies that foreground race. Also, SLE scholars should consider examining microaggressions and its

intersection with other identity categories (gender, class, sexuality) in the field of second language education.

Lastly given my interest in the role of race in second language education and my positionality as a female researcher, it would be interesting to write a piece about the challenges around talking about blackness from a general perspective as well as by taking a feminist stance.

Contribution to Research

One of the most important findings of the thesis is that the young women who participated in the study use BSE differently than the boys. The boy participants used BSE as ritual expression and performative nature with their Black peers. They used BSE to develop defense mechanisms against the racial microaggressions they experienced. Unlike the boys who used BSE as a ritual expression and performatively, the girls focused on speaking with 'White' Canadian accents. This allowed them to hide their otherness, in terms of language. Despite the fact that they were motivated to acquire the 'White' Canadian accent, the girls used BSE as a performative category of identity for the purposes of fitting in with their Black peers. With that said, they did not use it as a ritual expressions as often as the boys. This is important because it illustrates that the young males and females of this study were aware of their gender role in the larger societal and racial context. As such they acquired BSE for different purposes.

Closing Thoughts

The purpose of this study was to examine Black ELL Canadian students' use of BSE in the context of after-school programs, specifically in relation to their experiences with racial microaggressions. These experiences have been shown to have an impact on the youths' motivation to learn different varieties of English—BSE as a form of solidarity and resistance for

the male participants and SE as a way to join the wider society for the female participants. The results and their implications point to the necessity of developing a more integrated curriculum and environment that focuses on race, thereby allowing these students to name and validate their experiences, and giving them the tools needed to better respond to the racial microaggressions—in short, giving them agency and voice. It is anticipated that by gaining a better understanding of the needs of these youth in light of their interactions outside of regular school hours, more informed decisions can be made by YSW regarding what resources they will need to help these youth face the issues and challenges they may have.

Pierce (1970) expressed hope that "every Black child will recognize and defend promptly and adequately against every offensive micro-aggression. In this way, the toll that is registered after accumulation of such insults should be markedly reduced" (p. 280). As an educator, I share this hope.

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Appendix A: Observation Protocol

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Date:
Location:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Descriptive of Racial Microaggressions – Observation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type of racial microaggressions</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Context of racial microaggression</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Effect of racial microaggression</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Response to racial microaggression</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Appendix B: Demographic Questionnaire Students

Date: ________________________________

Name: ________________________________

Pseudonym: ________________________

Participant number: _________________

1. Age range

- ○ 12-13
- ○ 14-16
- ○ 16-18

2. Gender

- ○ Female
- ○ Male
- ○ Other

3. What school do you attend?

- ○ Lester B. Pearson
- ○ Glebe Collegiate
- ○ Rideau High School
- ○ Woodroffe High School

4. Current Education Level

- ○ Grade 9
- ○ Grade 10
- ○ Grade 11
- ○ Grade 12

5. What is your ESL level

- ○ ESL Level 3
- ○ ESL Level 4
- ○ ESL Level 5

6. Are you an immigrant to Canada

○ Yes
○ No

7. If so, how old were you when you immigrated? ___________

8. How many years have you been living in Canada? _________

9. Race: ______________________________

10. Ethnicity: ______________________________

11. Besides English, do you know any other languages?

○Yes ○ No

12. If YES, please list the additional language(s) that you know

Language A	
Language B	
Language C	

13. How often do you use the additional language that you know best?

Rarely

Monthly

Weekly

Daily

Appendix C: Focus Group Protocol

Microaggressions

1. Can you explain if there is a difference between how you interact with friends in school and how you interact with friends in the program? Why do you think the difference exists?

Stereotype

2. How do you feel about the way people of your background are being portrayed in general?

3. Tell me about how your friends talk to you compared to how they talk to native English speakers?

4. Tell me about how you think the English speaking capabilities of people of your race are portrayed in your community?

Colour-blindness

5. Has a teacher or another student ever told you that they do not see colour?
   a. How did it make you feel?

6. Do you think race has anything to do with the challenges you face as English language learners? Would you explain further?

7. How do you interact with the youth support worker?
   a. Is it a comfortable / friendly relationship)?
   b. Do you feel they pay more attentions to others?
   c. Why?

8. Is there anything else you would like to add or share about your experience as a second language learner that you feel is important to mention?

Concluding statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask if they would like to see a copy of the results

Appendix D: Interview Protocol - Students

Microaggression

1. Tell me about a time when you were asked to articulate or speak clearer?
    a. How did it make you feel?

2. Tell me about a time when you were picked last for a project?
    a. How did it make you feel?

3. Do you think race plays a role with these pressures?

Stereotype

4. Tell me about a time when you felt different because of your ELL proficiency?

5. What are your academic expectations as an ELL?

6. How do you feel your teacher is supporting you in terms of those goals? What could they be doing more?

7. How does your family encourage you to meet your goals?
    a. Words of encouragement?
    b. Positive influence?
    c. Support?

Colour-blindness

8. Tell me about a time you have felt ignored or misunderstood by your youth coordinator educator
    a. Does it happen often? Why do you think that is?

Additional Comments:

Is there anything else you would like to add or share about your experience?

Appendix E: Interview Protocol - Youth Support Workers

Microaggression

1. Tell me about a time when you witnessed tension between students?
    a. What happened?
    b. Why did it occur?
    c. How did you address the situation?

Stereotype

2. What are your expectations out of your ESL learners now? When they leave the program?

3. How realistic are your student's goals in terms of their language skills?

4. What gaps do you see between your expectations, your student's end goal and their language skills?

5. From your personal experience why do you think some individuals are more likely to speak a language other than English?

Colour-blindness

6. Explain your understanding of possible racial or linguistic divide between students are?

7. What languages do you most hear when the students are in the program? Do you encourage the use of English?

8. Are there tensions between program attendees, if so are they related to race? How are racial tensions, if any, addressed?

General

- What advice would you give your counterparts in schools?
- Is there anything else you would like to add or share about your experiences as an educator?

Concluding Statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask if they would like to see a copy of their transcripts
- Record any observations, feelings, thoughts and/or reactions about the interview

Appendix F: Code Book

Table A1

Sample Code Book

Theme	*Code*	*Description*
Types of Microaggression	Ascription of Intelligence	Assigning a degree of intelligence to a person of color based on their race.
	Assumption of Criminal Status	Presumed to be a criminal, dangerous, or deviant based on race.
	Country of origin	Assumption of dominant group on the country of origin of Black students
	Patholizing Communication Styles	Notion that the values and communication styles of people of color are abnormal.
	Alien in own land	Belief that visible racial/ethnic minority citizens are foreigners.
Response - Feelings towards macroaggressions	Negative	Fear, Anger
	Positive	Compassion, motivation
	Forced Acceptance	Sarcasm, laissez-faire, unsure what to do
Language appropriation	Accent	Reaction towards Canadian accents
	Classes	English level
	Learning	Ways they learned English outside academia
	BSE	slang, racial slurs,
	Code switching	Switching between languages and varieties of languages (BSE and SE)
School Teachers	Negative	Students do not feel supported by teachers
	Positive	Students feel supported by teachers

Appendix G: Consent Form Students

Title of Study: An Examination of how English Language Learning High School Youth from Immigrant Families Experience the Intersections of Race and Second Language Learning

Researcher:

Marie-Carène Pierre René, PhD Candidate
Second Language Education
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Supervisor:

Douglas Fleming, Associate Professor
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education
145 Rue Jean-Jacques Lussier
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5

Invitation to Participate: Hi, my name is Marie-Carène Pierre René; I am a PhD candidate at the University of Ottawa. I would like to invite you to participate in the above mentioned research project.

Purpose of the Study: The aim of this study is to examine how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning in informal (community programs) pedagogical settings.

Participation: Agreeing to participate in the study would be giving me the permission to:

- ask you to participate in a creative activity
- organize one on one interviews (up to 10 students)
- organize focus group discussions
- Audio record the interview and focus group discussions

Creative Activity - I will be asking you to illustrate 4 (four) different scenarios which best represent your experiences as an English language learner. I will also be asking you to write a short paragraph explaining each scenario.

Interview – The interview will be approximately one hour in length. It can take place at any time during the week before or after the day camp. It will be up to you to decide when would be the best time to conduct the interview and I will ensure that a place is set up that is private and mutually agreeable. Before the interview, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire so I can remember who you are. The interview will be transcribed, which means I will record and write down everything that was said. According to your preference, I will either deliver hard copies of the transcribed interview to you personally or send it by secure email so you can read it over and make corrections or add comments. Transcripts sent by email will be password protected. You will also be asked to provide a pseudonym (another name) on any transcript so as to protect your privacy.

If you would like to participate in the one on one interview, please contact me directly by email (above) as soon as possible and return the original signed consent form to your organization before July 10, 2015.

Focus Group Discussions - Depending on the number of participants, I will also be facilitating several focus group discussions, where you will have the opportunity to discuss issues in a group setting. Before the focus group, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire so I can remember who you are. The focus group discussions will be organized by me based on availability of participants and will take place somewhere that is private and mutually agreeable (i.e. nearest public library). Focus group

discussions will be audio recorded and will be transcribed, which means I will record and write down everything that was said. You will also be asked to provide a pseudonym (another name) as to protect your privacy.

Risks: Although this is not anticipated there is a chance that you may feel anxious or stressed during focus group discussions or the one on one interview. A list of agencies offering free and confidential services has been provided below and will be made available to all students throughout each phase of the data collection period (focus group and interview).

Benefits: The study gives you the opportunity to reflect on your experiences and provide tools needed to identify and address issues related to racialization.

Conservation of Data: Illustration, hard copies of interview transcripts and audio files, will be stored in locked cabinet in my house and a copy will be stored in a lock cabinet in my thesis supervisor's office, Douglas Fleming's office, Lamoureux Hall, 472 and will be accessible only by the researcher(s). No sooner than 5 years from the publication of the PhD thesis, all transcripts and field notes will be shredded and computer files deleted.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Your name and other identifying information will be removed from these documents. Computer files will be password protected and stored on a secure password protected computer. All information collected will be treated confidentially. I cannot guarantee the anonymity of participants in focus groups discussions and the confidentiality of the information shared in the groups. I invite and will remind participants to respect the anonymity of participants and confidentiality of information shared.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation is voluntary, that means you do not have to participate and can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. Please note if you choose to withdraw from the focus group discussions, I will be unable to remove the data gathered because a) I may not be able to identify what you said and b) that data is highly dependent on the overall group discussion.

If you have any questions relating to this study, you may contact me or my supervisor.

If you have any questions regarding 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
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

The following is a list of agencies offering free and confidential services to participants in the event that psychological or emotional discomfort should occur:

Kids Help Phone Line
1-800-668-6868
Bilingual, confidential, 24-hr. service
Offers counselling, information and referral services.
Anyone can call.

Distress Center of Ottawa and Region
Distress Line, 613-238-3311
Offers anonymous, confidential, 24-hr. service

English language service
Tel-Aide Outaouais
Offers anonymous, confidential, 24-hr. service 613-741-6433 or 1-800-567-9699
French language service

Youth Services Bureau 24/7 Crisis Line
The 24/7 Crisis Line makes sure that youth in crisis — or anyone concerned about them — can talk to someone who understands and wants to help. Offers supportive listening, crisis counselling, referrals and more, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year.
613-260-2360 (local)
1-877-377-7775 (toll-free)

Student Copy of Consent Form - To be signed and kept at home

I have read and understood the request to participate in the study entitled: *An examination of how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning*, and ...

○ I agree to participate

○ I agree to be audio recorded

This form is to be completed and returned to the school **ONLY** if you consent to participating in this research.

Name of Student (please print): Date:

Signature of Student:

Researcher's Signature:

- -

Researcher's Copy– Please sign and return to your community centre before Friday, July 10, 2015

I have read and understood the request to participate in the study entitled: *An examination of how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning*, and ...

○ I agree to participate

○ I agree to be audio recorded

This form is to be completed and returned to your community centre **ONLY** if you consent to participating in this research.

Name of Student (please print): Date:

Signature of Student:

Researcher's Signature:

Appendix H: Consent Form Parents/Guardians

Title of Study: An Examination of how English Language Learning High School Youth from Immigrant Families Experience the Intersections of Race and Second Language Learning

Researcher:	Supervisor:
Marie-Carène Pierre René, PhD Candidate Second Language Education University of Ottawa Faculty of Education	Douglas Fleming, Associate Professor University of Ottawa Faculty of Education 145 Rue Jean-Jacques Lussier Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5

Invitation to Participate: I, Marie-Carène Pierre René, am a PhD candidate in the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Education. I would like to invite your child to participate in the above mentioned research project which has been approved by your organization.

Purpose: The aim of this study is to examine how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning an informal (community programs) pedagogical settings.

Much research has been conducted on the impact of affective factors such as motivation (Gardner, 2010; Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and attitude (Dörnyei, 2003; Krashen 1988) on language learning. However, these studies do not address the importance that social context, let alone race issues, may have on language of learning, especially in concrete pedagogical settings (Pavlenko, 2012).

Participation: Participants will be asked to contribute to data collection in the following ways:

- participating in a creative activity;
- participating in one-on-one interview;
- participating in group discussions.

I have given a 30 minute presentation to explain the research projects to students and distribute information letters and consent forms addressed to students and parents/legal guardians.

Creative Activity – Students will be asked to illustrate 4 (four) scenarios which best represent their English learning experiences. Each scenario will be followed by a brief description of the scenarios.

Interview- Each interview will be approximately one hour in length and will be scheduled before or after the day camp or anytime during the week or on weekend (days and evenings).

Interviewees will be chosen on a first come/first serve basis and a maximum of ten students will be chosen. If saturation, or the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data, has been reached before all 10 students have been interviewed, I will excuse myself to the remaining participants, and will cease recruitment. If this happens, all remaining participants who have volunteered to take part in the one on one interview will be given the option of participating in focus group discussions if they have not already agreed to do so. *Please contact me directly, by telephone or email, to confirm interest in interview and complete and sign the consent form.*

All interviews will be audio recorded and data will be transcribed. Students will be offered the option to read and make changes to the interview transcript if necessary. As such, transcripts will be returned to participants, by email, in a word protected document. Passwords will be provided at the beginning of each interview.

Focus Group Discussions - Depending on the number of consenting participants, I will be conducting several focus groups 45 minutes to one hour in length. Participants will have the opportunity to discuss issues in a group setting. Focus groups will be scheduled and organized by me (the researcher) depending on students' availability. Prior to focus group discussions, all participants will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire will not be used for recruitment purposes or identify students. It will only be used to describe linguistic and racial characteristics of students. All focus group will be audio recorded and data will be transcribed. Please note that I cannot guarantee the anonymity of participants in focus groups discussions and the confidentiality of the information shared in the groups.

Risks: Although this is not anticipated there is a chance that students may feel anxious or stressed during the focus group discussion or the one on one interview. A list of agencies offering free and confidential services has been included the student consent form and will be available throughout each phase if the data collection (focus group and interview).

Benefits: The study will give the student participants the opportunity to reflect on their own experiences and provide tools needed to identify and address issues related to racialization.

Conservation of Data: All raw information will be locked in a cabinet in my house and a copy will be stored in a lock cabinet in my thesis supervisor's office, Douglas Fleming's office, Lamoureux Hall, 472 and will be accessible only by the researcher(s). No sooner than 5 years from the publication of the PhD thesis, all transcripts and field notes will be shredded and computer files deleted.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Pseudonyms will be used when referring to quotes from interview and focus group transcripts and in descriptions from creative activity. Computer files will be password protected and stored on a secure password protected computer. I cannot guarantee the anonymity of participants in focus groups discussions and the confidentiality of the information shared in the groups, but I will invite participants to respect the anonymity of participants and confidentiality of information shared.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in the research project is voluntary and individuals may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation or penalty. If your child chooses to withdraw from the focus group discussions, I will be unable to remove the data gathered because a) I may not be able to identify what the participant said and b) that data is highly dependent on the overall group discussion.

If you have any questions relating to this study, you may contact me or my supervisor.

If you have any questions regarding 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
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

Parent/Guardian Consent Form – To be signed and kept at home:

I have read and understood the request to participate in the study entitled: An examination of how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning, and ...

○ I give permission for him/her to participate.

○ I give permission for him/her to be audio recorded

This is your copy of the consent form. This form is to be completed and returned to the school **ONLY** if you give permission for your child to participate in the research project.

Name of Student (*please print*): Date:

Name of Parent/Guardian (*please print*):

Signature of Parent/Legal Guardian:

Researcher's Copy – To be signed and returned to your community centre **before Friday, July 10, 2015:**

I have read and understood the request to participate in the study entitled: An examination of how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning, and ...

○ I give permission for him/her to participate.

○ I give permission for him/her to be audio recorded

This form is to be completed and returned to the school **ONLY** if you give permission for your child to participate in the research project.

Name of Student (*please print*): Date:

Name of Parent/Guardian (*please print*):

Signature of Parent/Legal Guardian:

Appendix I: Consent Form Youth Support Workers

Title of Study: An Examination of how English Language Learning High School Youth from Immigrant Families Experience the Intersections of Race and Second Language Learning

Researcher:

Marie-Carène Pierre René, PhD Candidate
Second Language Education
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Supervisor:

Douglas Fleming, Associate Professor
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education
145 Rue Jean-Jacques Lussier
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5

Invitation to participate: I, Marie-Carène Pierre René, am a PhD candidate in the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Education. I would like to invite you to participate in the above mentioned research project, being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Douglas Fleming.

Purpose: The aim of this study is to examine how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning in formal (school) and informal (community programs) pedagogical settings.

Much research has been conducted on the impact of affective factors such as motivation (Gardner, 2010; Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and attitude (Dörnyei, 2003; Krashen 1988) on language learning. However, these studies do not address the importance that social context, let alone race issues, may have on language of learning, especially in concrete pedagogical settings (Pavlenko, 2012).

Participation: You have been selected to participate in this study because you are a youth support worker facilitator and have the experience to be able to talk about the challenges you face as an ESL educator.

If you consent to participate in this study you will be asked to contribute to data collection in the following ways:

- by having your afterschool drop-in program observed by the researcher;
- participating in one-on-one interview.

You will also be asked that prior to the observation period the researcher be allowed to enter one of the drop-in sessions and be given no more than 30 minutes to explain the research project to students and distribute information letters and consent forms addressed to students and parents/legal guardians.

Observation− The researcher will observe two (2) drop in sessions during a two week period while you and your class are engaging in usual activities. Observation will last the duration of the session. Data collected during the observation will be in the form of field notes that document student and youth facilitator's interactions as well as student interactions in general. At the end of the two week observation period, educators will be invited to participate in an interview with the researcher at a mutually convenient time.

Interview- Each interview will be approximately one hour in length and will be scheduled at your convenience. During the interview the researcher will invite you to respond to questions that arise from the following sources:

a) Observations of particular interactions that occurred during the evening's session;
b) General questions about your own identification and perception of significant interactions.

All interviews will be audio recorded and data will be transcribed. You will be offered the option to read and amend the transcripts of your own interview and according to your preference, I will either deliver a hard copy of the transcribed interview to you personally or send it to you by secure email so you can read it over and make corrections or comments. The document I send to you by email will be password protected.

Students will be given forms to give to their parents/legal guardian so that they will know the purpose of my study and to give their consent to their child's participation. This text of this form will read, in part:

> *Interview- Each interview will be approximately one hour in length and will be scheduled at during the student's spare period, lunch time or afterschool hours. Prior to the interview, all participants will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and complete and sign the consent form. The demographic questionnaire will not be used for recruitment purposes or identify students.*
>
> *Interviewees will be chosen on a first come/first serve basis and a maximum of ten (10) students will be chosen. If saturation, or the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data, has been reached before all ten (10) students have been interviewed, I will excuse myself to the remaining participants, and will cease recruitment.*

Risks of the Study: I appreciate that ESL students require your undivided attention. Participation in the study will not interfere with the usual activities conducted during drop in sessions. Data collection will occur at mutually agreed times and not around revision and examination periods. Scheduling will be at teacher's convenience to minimize interference with daily routines.

Benefits of the study:

- *Scholarship:* This study aims to provide a fresh perspective on how scholars can study second language education. It addresses the issue of 'race', a factor often ignored in the field of second language education.
- *Pedagogy:* The research project will encourage educators, administrators and policy makers to be more aware of the challenges facing linguistic minority students.
- *Community:* The data collected will help support programs that are responsive to the needs of linguistic minorities.

Conservation of Data: Hard copies of interview transcripts and audio files, will be stored in locked cabinet in my house and a copy will be stored in a lock cabinet in my thesis supervisor's office, Douglas Fleming's office, Lamoureux Hall, 472 and will be accessible only by the researcher(s). No sooner than 5 years from the publication of the PhD thesis, all transcripts and field notes will be shredded and computer files deleted.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Your name and other identifying information will be removed from these documents. Computer files will be password protected and stored on a secure password protected computer. All information collected by the researchers will be treated confidentially. We will remind all participants of the importance of confidentiality but cannot guarantee that other participants will maintain confidentiality.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation is voluntary, that means you do not have to participate and can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If you choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be deleted and/or shredded.

If you have any questions relating to this study, you may contact me or my supervisor.

If you have any questions regarding 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
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

Youth Support Worker Consent :

I have read and understood the request to participate in the study entitled: *An examination of how English language learning high school youth from immigrant families experience the intersections of race and second language learning*, and ...

○ I agree to participate

○ I agree to be audio recorded

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine. This form is to be completed and returned to the school **ONLY** if I consent to participating in this research.

Name of Youth Facilitator (*please print*): Date:

Youth Facilitator's Signature:

Researcher's Signature:

Appendix J: Information Brochure

Invitation to participate

You are invited to participate in a research study examining how youth from immigrant families experience the intersection of race and second language learning. This study will be conducted by Carène Pierre René, PhD Candidate, University of Ottawa. Your participation will involve spending up to 2 hours at your nearest public library location on 2 occasions.

Who is Eligible?

- English Language Learner
- Youth from immigrant families
- be in high school (grade 9, 10, 11 or 12)

What will you be asked to do?

- Session 1 - Participate in a creative drawing activity (45 minutes to 1 hour)
- Session 1 - Participate in a one on one interview (45 minutes to 1 hour)
- Session 2 - Participate in focus group discussions (45 minutes to 1 hour)
- Allow the researcher to audio record interview and focus group discussions

Compensation

Session 1 - Refreshments will be provided

Session 2 - Pizza lunch and/or dinner will be provided.

Additional Info

If you are 18 years of age or younger, and you would like to volunteer to participate, an information letter and a consent form will be sent to your parents/legal guardian . The consent form must be signed and returned to me prior to your participation in the study.

This study has been approved by, and received ethics clearance by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board.

Contact Information

For more information about this study or to receive the information and consent letters please contact me at:

Investigator: Carène Pierre Rene

PhD Candidate, Second Language Education
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Thank you!!!

uOttawa

PhD Candidate, Second Language Education
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa Research Study

Carène Pierre René
PhD Candidate, University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Appendix K: Information Flyer

uOttawa

Participants Needed For Research Study on language and racialization

WIN AN IPOD

Purpose

You are invited to participate in a study examining the experiences of immigrant English language learners in high school. This study will be conducted by Carène Pierre René, PhD Candidate, University of Ottawa. Your participation will involve spending two hours at your nearest public library location on two occcations

This study has been approved by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board.

Benefits

This study will give you the opportunity to reflect on your experiences and provide tools needed to identify and address issues related to racialization and help support programs that are responsive to the needs of linguistic minorities.

Who is Eligible?

- English Language Learner
- Youth from immigrant families
- High school students (grade 9, 10, 11 or 12)

What will you be asked to do?

- Session 1 - Participate in a creative drawing activity and one on one interview (refreshments will be provided)
- Session 2 - Participate in focus group discussions with other participants (Pizza lunch or dinner will be provided)
- Allow the researcher to audio record interview and focus group discussions

Compensation

Win a IPod and gift certificates

Hours towards your community service requirement (**Remember to always check with your guidance counselor or school principal before beginning a volunteer activity)**

If you are in high school and you would like to participate, an information letter and a consent form will be sent to your parents/legal guardian . The consent form must be signed and returned to me prior to your participation in the study.

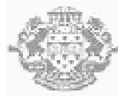
For more information about this study or to receive the information and consent letters please contact by e-mail:

I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU SOON!!!

Appendix L: Certificate of Ethics Approval

File Number: 03-15-30

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 04/27/2015



Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Certificate of Ethics Approval

Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

First Name	Last Name	Affiliation	Role
Douglas	Fleming	Education / Education	Supervisor
Marie-Carene	Pierre Rene	Education / Education	Student Researcher

File Number: 03-15-30

Type of Project: PhD Thesis

Title: An Examination of How English Language Learning High School Youth from Immigrant Families Experience the Intersections of Race and Second Language Learning

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
04/27/2015	04/26/2016	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:
This certificate is valid for the part of the research conducted at the Youth Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization (YOCISO). Approval from the Ottawa Carleton District School Board should be provided before final approval can be granted.

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http://www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie/
http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/index.html