DISCOURSES OF INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN ONTARIO FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE CURRICULA

TESSA MARIE LOFTHOUSE

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the discursive underpinnings of the 2013/2014 Ontario French as a Second Language (FSL) curriculum and associated documents. The primary aim of the study was to understand the orientation of the curriculum text to culture through the lens of an anti-racist and anti-colonial critical framework. This study employed critical discourse analysis that balanced structural and poststructural approaches to analysis to examine the sociopolitical and historical contexts of the documents, the material construction of discourses, and the ordering of discourses. The key findings of the study include the tendency of the FSL documents to perpetuate myths that glorify Canadian nationalism, reinforce established racial hierarchies that treat Indigenous nations as inferior to Francophones, encourage cultural generalizations and tokenism, and sanitize the violence of settler-colonialism. These findings suggest the importance for educators to engage with critical stances like culturally sustaining pedagogies to critique and question dominant power structures in FSL programming.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my students, past and future, who deserve an education that is relevant to their needs and desires, which challenges normative understandings that perpetuate harm, and honours their desire for fairness. Thank you for taking risks with me and providing me with opportunities to grow as an educator. My hope is that this project encourages anyone with access to decision-making power to make changes, and that those changes move the curriculum closer to that vision.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAL – Critical Applied Linguistics

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for languages

CMEC – Council of Ministers of Education, Canada

FSL – French as a Second Language

ELL – English Language Learner

DELF – Diplôme d'études en langue française

ICC – Intercultural Communicative Competence

IOF/OIF – International Organisation of la Francophonie / Organisation internationale de la Francophonie

OME – Ontario Ministry of Education

RCBB – Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Course Descriptions

CF – Core French

EF – Extended French

FI – French Immersion

D – Academic stream

P – Applied stream

O – Open stream

UP – University Preparation stream

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Chapter 1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 Problem

The purpose of this study is to problematize the framings of culture and Intercultural Understanding and Intercultural Competence within the Ontario curriculum, French as a Second Language (OME, 2013a & 2014), hereafter referred to as “the FSL curriculum”. As a result, the framings can be explicitly addressed in future curriculum documents and teachers and educators working with the curriculum documents in anti-racist and anti-colonial ways can be informed about the underpinnings of the curriculum.

The FSL curriculum combines linguistic and intercultural competences and their elaboration within the documents provide insight into which conceptions of culture are given authority and legitimized by the OME and which concepts of culture are silenced. My hypothesis when I began this project was that the FSL curriculum expectations would conceptualize intercultural understanding and competence – and the underlying concept of culture – with an emphasis on comparison and difference, aesthetic products and visible/external aspects of culture such as customs, apolitical and ahistorical aspects of culture, and cultural difference as a problem to be solved.

1.2 Research Questions

I have chosen to explore the following questions by analyzing the FSL curriculum documents and supporting texts:

1. What subjectivities might the curriculum text envision for an intercultural learner?
2. Which discourses of culture are evident in government policy documents including curriculum text? and
3. Which political paradigm(s) might underpin the curriculum’s orientation to culture?

My decision to focus on these areas in my research are informed by my experiences as a former student of Core French in a predominantly White and monolingual school in rural Southern Ontario, by my parents' financial capacity to send me on an exchange to Burgundy in France as a high school student, by my experiences as a white woman on an educational exchange at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon for six months during my undergraduate degree, and by my experiences as an educational practitioner working to espouse anti-racist and decolonial pedagogies in FSL instructional contexts. Having observed that school does not work for every student the way that it did for me, I wanted to engage deeply with the constructions of culture in the FSL curriculum to better understand what might be leading to resistance from students and to use my findings as a starting place for imagining how I might later approach intercultural understanding expectations in anti-oppressive and emancipatory ways. The research questions do not explore pedagogy explicitly, but the findings of these questions have crucial implications for practitioners engaging with the curriculum through pedagogy. The research questions evolved as I engaged with the literature. My relationship to the concept of "culture" has been complicated by works like Dhamoon (2009) which question whether the concept is useful for making sense of intersecting social positions. Throughout this project, and especially in the crafting of these questions, I grappled with tensions between employing terms in common usage and adopting terms that would be less recognizable to educators, but more reflective of my personal philosophies. These terms extend beyond "culture" to include "Other", "center", "difference", and even "Canada". When referring to "Others", I adopt the perspective of dominant discourse in

circulation at the time of publication, recognizing the ways that legitimacy and power work together to maintain this insider/outsider dichotomy, where insiders in Ontario education are generally characterized as White, middle class, anglophone, heterosexual, cisgendered, Judeo-Christian, non-disabled, neurotypical, and male. This centering of normative perspectives is undertaken strategically to reflect the flow of discourse and power and to make sense of the text in the FSL curriculum documents. I do this so that, in the future, language education in Ontario may decentre this normative lens.

1.3 Rationale for the Significance of the Topic

My project addresses a gap in the literature where the OME's orientation to culture is explicitly analysed and understood as an influence on classroom practice. The FSL curriculum – and particularly its Intercultural Understanding and Competence strands – need to be examined critically. Sorrells (2023, p. 238) calls for researchers to

> challenge the dehistoricizing and depoliticizing of scholarship in the field of intercultural, which produces systemic distortions of the world. […] it is critical to contest concepts and frameworks that decontextualize intercultural interactions; we must re-imagine the study of intercultural communication to account for the ways historical and current conditions and relations of power are layered and stitched together amid multiple pandemics and the crises of neoliberalism.

The research problem of this project examines an issue that touches most students in Ontario. According to the OME, "Students in Ontario's publicly funded English-language schools are required to: study French as a second language (FSL) from Grade 4 to 8; earn at least one credit in FSL in secondary school to obtain the Ontario Secondary School Diploma (OSSD)" (OME, 2022). Elementary students – barring limited exceptions – should acquire a minimum of 600 hours of French instruction by the end of

Grade 8 (OME, 2022) for Core French (CF), the least intensive option for FSL programming (compared with Extended French [EF] and French Immersion [FI] programs).

In a research synthesis of 181 peer-reviewed articles about FSL education in so-called Canada, Arnott et al. (2019) identified nine articles about multiculturalism and one article about interculturality between 2000-2017. Some research in this field has begun to emerge since 2017, including an analysis of French Immersion curriculum and policy in Ontario (Kunnas, 2019).

The instruction of culture in these courses have far-reaching consequences for the understanding of cultural contact and intercultural awareness for children of monolingual families and have the potential to create disconnect between the school and the social positions/identities of children of plurilingual families. Students that experience schooling as a borderland (Barrett, 2022) that does not match their home culture may be alienated by practices framing the school culture as neutral, essentializing ethnic and linguistic groups, silencing intersectionality of difference, and failing to include the role of power in intercultural communication.

FSL programs in Ontario are for anglophone and allophone[1] students and acquisition of an understanding of French “culture” (as defined by the OME) is not necessary for most students to navigate systems as an adult in Ontario (e.g., government administration) as

[1] “Allophone” is a designation specific to Canada that denotes a person whose “mother tongue” is neither English nor French (Corbeil & Blaser, 2007). Some sources exclude native speakers of Indigenous languages from this linguistic group (Noakes, 2020). The term was likely popularized during the Quiet Revolution when the survival of a French-speaking Québec depended on immigrants learning the French language through attendance in French-language schools (Dollinger, 2017).

it would be in other former French colonies who comprise *la francophonie* (Salhi, 2013). Beyond understanding the political landscape of Canada, the instruction of French culture through FSL programs is unrelated to lived experiences of culture for most students.

The findings of my research project are designed to create a bridge between the formal curriculum text and the research projects that are exploring the practices of teachers and students that relate to Intercultural Competence and Intercultural Understanding. News articles (Bascaramurty & Alphonso, 2023) and scholars have demonstrated equity-related impacts of FI programs related to various forms of difference including class and ability (see Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2021; Kunnas, 2023; Mady & Black, 2012; Makropoulos, 2009; Marshall & Bokhorst-Heng, 2020).

Masson (2021) explores inequitable outcomes for racialized students in FSL programming and calls for culturally responsive approaches to FSL instruction.

These projects might benefit from an explicit naming of the ideological underpinnings in the curriculum. I will create a space for researchers to continue qualitative work about the ways teachers and students disrupt dominant discourse about culture through lived experiences of schooling in FSL.

Finally, *A Framework for French as a Second Language in Ontario Schools, Kindergarten to Grade 12* (referred to as *A Framework for FSL, K-12*, OME, 2013b) was set to expire in 2023 and the most recent Government of Canada Action Plan for Official Languages has also expired (Government of Canada, 2018). The process of consultation for curricular review is imminent, so this research is timely.

Chapter 2. CRITICAL FRAME

Most of the existing research surrounding intercultural understanding and competence is situated in the field of applied linguistics and focuses on determining best practices for its instruction and measurement in a positivist paradigm. The focus on technical-rational (or methods-based) approaches to intercultural understanding and competence come at the expense of well-defined theories of culture and engage in conceptual transfer, oversimplification of processes, and confirmation bias (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009). Positivist, technical-rational research approaches appear to influence educational policy design in second language education and curriculum standards in Ontario FSL programming.

To understand how culture is framed in the curriculum documents from an anti-racist and anti-colonial perspective, it is important for me to bring a critical lens to the field of applied linguistics and to concepts of culture. Pennycook proposes that “We might say that *critical* here means taking social inequality and social transformation as central to one’s work” (emphasis in original, Pennycook, 2021, p. 26). This conception of critical resonates strongly with my hopes for this project. Chapter 3 charts the existing relationship between language education and culture as a concept and proposes critical perspectives.

Applied linguistics is also concerned with multiculturalism. The concept of multiculturalism and its manifestation in political orientations also influences curriculum construction, especially in its framing of what is normative and what is “other”. Chapter 4 explores the relationship between multiculturalisms and policy.

I was informed by Pennycook's (2021) reconceptualization of applied linguistics towards a critical approach which draws from both neo-Marxist and poststructural approaches to applied linguistics. This conceptual framework encompasses structural and poststructural approaches to research and emphasize situated understandings, while supporting the use of anti-racist and anti-colonial perspectives as a critical frame.

My project focuses on the power of the text/policy to direct ways that teachers and students learn, but I am mindful of the social life of the text in classrooms when drawing conclusions about the power of ideologies. I write with the assumption that teachers and students can resist dominant discourses in the text/policy.

2.1 Characteristics of Critical Applied Linguistics (CAL)

Pennycook proposes Critical Applied Linguistics as an approach to research that will "engage with the interrelations between domination (contingent and contextual effects of power), disparity (inequitable access to material and cultural goods), discrimination (ideological and discursive frames of exclusion), difference (social and cultural distinctions), and desire (operations of ideology, agency, identity, and transformation)" (Pennycook, 2021, p. 26).

Pennycook calls for situated analysis that combines macro- and micro-level analysis, acknowledging the tendency of the former to reify and fix power in the dominant class through modernist narratives, while the latter often erases the effect of systemic constraints on individual agency. A situated analysis accounts for material circumstances of individuals wielding agency, generating social performances, and resisting oppression (Pennycook, 2021), which I think are necessary for making sense

of text in its social and historical context.

Overall, critical applied linguistics has five characteristics, which serve as a critical frame for this study. First, CAL offer ways to challenge dominant assumptions of the neutrality of language and culture and their connectivity. That is, for CAL the language used to express experiences of culture and to instruct about the teaching of culture, is political. This characteristic insists on the use of Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology because the dominant assumptions of the curriculum document and its use of language must be analysed.

Second, CAL focuses on unpacking how knowledge is the tool through which power is exercised. Knowledges can naturalize assumptions so that they remain unquestioned. Take, for example, the assertion in research that language and culture are inseparable. This assertion serves as the basis for further research (Galante, 2022) that entrenches the idea because it is unquestioned. It then appears as a common-sense declaration in educational policy documents. The models for Intercultural Communicative Competence are largely based on untested assumptions about proficiency in intercultural communication (Perry & Southwell, 2011), yet they are the basis for entire strands of the curriculum document.

Third, CAL is concerned with approaches to managing cultural difference through language education. It examines constructions of the ‘other’ and the positions of ‘others’ in relation to legitimacy. Colonialism and capitalism impact language and culture education by defining ‘others’ and establishing hierarchies. General applied linguistics critiques standard language ideologies that accord legitimacy to some language

varieties despite their assumed inherent equality; critical applied linguistics critiques the belief that language varieties are inherently equal. Instead, the perceived legitimacy of language varieties is based in historical, social, and political processes that are mitigated by domination, disparity, difference, and desire. This characteristic informs the analysis of standard language varieties used in the writing of the curriculum documents and the way it communicates about language within its expectations.

Fourth, CAL focuses on the location of difference, how it is constructed, and how society engages with it. These elements are political.

Some approaches to difference locate it in the mind as cognitive constructions. Gebhard (1999) argues that cognition is the result of daily social and cultural practice (cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 88). Schools “play a role in the distribution of discourse practices and the production and reproduction of social orders” (Gebhard, 1999, p. 544 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 88) which are filtered through the lived experiences of individuals acting in these spaces. Categorization is a cognitive construction for organizing people into categories to simplify processes of meaning-making. Essentializing assumes that individuals possess predetermined beliefs and behaviours based on social positions. Analyzing essentialized representations by exploring their provenance “open[s] the category as a site of permanent political contest” (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 60).

CAL suggests that situated engagements with difference are preferable to liberal inclusivity and critical awareness. Liberal inclusivity argues for a pedagogy of inclusion and tolerance of diversity based on liberal egalitarian beliefs. Critical awareness engages with harms caused by hegemonic constructions of difference. Situated

engagements understand that emancipation from structural domination and discrimination through increased awareness of difference is limited; disparity must also be addressed through reallocation of wealth and symbolic capital.

CAL has greater capacity to engage with recognition but can challenge dominant discourses about social participation through a focus on status, rather than respect. This view necessitates an examination of “institutionalized patterns of cultural value for their effects on the relative standing of social actors” (Fraser, 2000, p. 113 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 102).

Finally, CAL considers the interaction between structure and agency in language pedagogy. Embodied understandings of difference leave space to consider Foucault’s discipline in the regulation of discourse through surveillance and assessment. Classrooms are influenced by ideologies circulating in wider society but are sites of struggle where discourses about language and culture compete for legitimacy. Canagarajah purports that “forms of resistance [are] often disorganized and disruptive acts that may change little” (Pennycook, 2021, p. 141). Student agency is not enough to overcome sociocultural structures that reproduce inequality. Performances of difference are dependent on competing needs and desires operating in “complex social environments that consist of overwhelmingly asymmetrical power relations and subject the learners to multiple discourses” (McKay and Wong, 1996, p. 603 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 87-88). Ahearn (2012) suggests it is better to think of agency as “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn, 2012, p. 278 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 134).

2.2 Nation, state, and nation-state

Research that discusses culture is often related to geopolitical concepts such as nation, state, and nation-state. Gilmartin (in Gallaher et al., 2009) explains that “Nations are usually described as groups of people who believe themselves to be linked together in some way, based on a shared history, language, religion, other cultural practices or links to a particular place.” Nations are distinguished through aspects of culture. Gilmartin then explains that “States are usually defined as legal and political entities, with power over the people living inside their borders. In this way, states are associated with territorial sovereignty” (Gallaher et al., 2009). This division reflects the literature review for this project, divided into chapter 3, concerned with culture in relation to language education, and chapter 4, concerned with political paradigms in relation to language education and policy.

When nation and state are perceived to overlap or, in other words, when cultural groups are perceived to align with legal and political entities, the concept of nation-state “fuses together the nation – the community – and the state – the territory” (Gallaher, 2009). These terms reflect a structural understanding of cultures as bounded entities and appear frequently in the literature.

Chapter 3. LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE EDUCATION & CULTURE

The OME FSL curriculum documents indicate the role of Intercultural Competence models in the “Front Matter”[2] and in the curriculum expectations. In this chapter, I explore research related to intercultural competence and conceptions of culture. First, I articulate the relationship between language education and culture which shifts from using culture as a form of elite knowledge to an understanding of culture as a foundational skill for language use in context. This shift resulted in the development of models and frameworks for Intercultural Communicative Competence. These frameworks, including the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for languages, influence educational policies and curriculum development. However, the theorization of culture in foreign language education is oversimplified. Concepts of culture understood through the lens of domination, disparity, difference, discrimination, and desire reveal the ways that culture can be viewed as an ideology revealing its role in power dynamics and societal structures or that culture can become a dynamic process of identity negotiation across dimensions like gender, race, and class, shaping social mobility and perpetuating inequities. The chapter concludes with a discussion of recognized shortcomings of ICC, especially related to validity of associated components and the tendency of ICC models to neglect emotional and embodied aspects of intercultural communication.

[2] “Front Matter” is an official term employed by the OME to denote content associated with the curriculum outside of the curriculum expectations themselves. Front Matter content includes relevant educational policies, information about assessment and evaluation, and content that introduces the relevance of the subject that is being explained in the document, and specific models or structures that support the instruction of the subject (e.g., the Enduring Ideas in FSL).

3.1 Language Education and Culture

Culture is a term that is at risk of being a catch all descriptor for all human activity and is often used as a euphemism for race or religion in educational contexts (Dervin, 2016). In 1997 there were over one hundred and sixty-four definitions of culture identified by the Encyclopedia of the Sociology of Education (Lussier, 2011) and it can be understood differently across disciplines.

Culture plays an important role in language education. Communication has historically been conceived from a rationalist orientation which idealized “monolingual native speakers as the role model for language development” (Chomsky, 1965 referenced in Álvarez Valencia & Michelson, 2023, p. 400). During this period, language teaching emphasized knowledge of a target culture in terms of its intellectual production (or big ‘C’ culture) and was viewed as an elitist subject (Fenner, 2008).

In the 1970s there was a shift from behaviourist, audio-lingual teaching to communicative language teaching which introduced sociocultural factors to language education (Viebrock, 2018, p. 73). Language education shifted from an understanding of culture as “information conveyed” to one that became “a feature of language itself” (Kramsch, 1993 cited in Fenner, 2008, p. 276). Intercultural learning involved an orientation that teaches language learners about culture *and* through culture, to develop understanding of themselves and ‘others’ in the target language. This shift involved introducing language learners to ‘authentic’ texts that represented the voice of a ‘foreign’ culture (Fenner, 2008). Many statements or ideas about language learning and its relationship to culture emerged at this time and are now treated as given, forcing

theorists to prove claims that language learning depends on cultural knowledge by generating models and measuring them. Culture is often conceived of in terms of humanist, sociological/subjective, and anthropological/social aspects of culture. European approaches to teaching regarding cultural awareness in language education were divided into two traditions: one focusing on holistic education and philosophical exploration of cultural relationships, while the other prioritized skills and competences with an instrumental view of language learning (Fenner, 2008). Scholars in the field of Foreign Language Acquisition tend to engage with the 'culture-as-knowledge' and 'culture-as-skills' orientation. This conceptualization is subject to concerns that emerge when competence is equated with a set of ability or skills: "The same behavior or skill may be perceived as competent in one context but not another or one perceiver but not another, and thus no particular skill or ability is likely to ever be universally 'competent'" (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 6).

3.1.1 Models of ICC in language education policy

Intercultural competence "is generally related to four dimensions: knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviours" (Perry & Southwell, 2011, p. 455). This meaning of intercultural competence is reflected in the Council of Europe's (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for languages* ("CEFR"), which in turn influenced the writing of the Ontario FSL curriculum documents (Vandergrift, 2006).

The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) (2010, p.13) *Working with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in the Canadian context* document notes that:

> Canadian research has developed a conceptual framework for building intercultural communicative competence (Lussier, Auger, Clément & Lebrun-Brossard, 2004), which includes the learning of culture and interculturality in a logical coherence […] This framework [...] provided avenues for developing and assessing intercultural communicative competence (Lussier et al., 2007), and included descriptors and competence levels for developing intercultural communicative competence, as well as prototypes of assessment tasks for the three areas involved: knowledge, skills and know-how, and existential competence.

Within intercultural cognitive knowledge (savoirs), there are three dimensions (see Figure 1): a humanistic approach; a sociological approach; and an anthropological approach (Lussier, 2011, p. 61). Effectively, every human activity is cultural.

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS
Intercultural cognitive knowledge (Savoirs)	*The humanistic approach* Knowledge of the world linked to: **- collective memory** *The sociological approach* Knowledge linked to: **- sociocultural context** *The anthropological approach* Knowledge linked to: **- diversity in ways of living**	*Formal knowledge – Culture «C»* • History and geography of other cultures • Civilization (arts, literature, music, painting, etc.) *Facts on:* • Interpersonal relations • The target society, culture and identity (values, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) *Daily life – Culture - «c»* • Similarities and differences (habits, customs, institutions, etc.) • Stereotypes, artefacts, folklore, etc. • Paralinguistic features (gestures, facial expressions, stance and movement, etc.) • Products, etc.

Figure 1 Intercultural competence knowledge (savoirs) (Lussier, 2011, p. 61)

Following or through acquisition of cultural ‘savoirs’, language learners are expected to demonstrate ICC. Intercultural competence considers the ways that Intercultural knowledge and attitudes are acted on in context.

Lussier (2011, p. 61) proposes language behaviours related to culture in Figure 2 which relate to the discussion of ‘adaptability’, which this model calls ‘adjusting’ and ‘integrating’.

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS
Know-how Competence (Language Behaviours)	***FUNCTIONING*** *in the target language* ***ADJUSTING*** *language to social and cultural environment and* ***INTERACTING*** ***INTEGRATING*** *the target language and culture and* ***NEGOTIATING***	• Implementing knowledge and acquired language in different contexts as learned in the classroom • Experiencing plurilingual and pluricultural situations in the target language and culture • Taking into account other contexts of ways of living traditions, behaviors, customs and values • Merging language and (inter)culture competence as a natural process • Interpret language to negotiate situations with conflict or misunderstanding

Figure 2 Intercultural competence skills (savoirs) (Lussier, 2011, p. 61)

Finally, Lussier (2011, p. 61) lays out existential competences for ICC (Figure 3).

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS
Existential Competence (Affective and psychological factors)	*Cultural awareness* Understanding *Critical appropriation* Accepting Interpreting *Trans-cultural competence* Internalizing Being a cultural mediator	• Sensitivity to others and other cultures • Development of others and other cultures • Individual relations and collective relations • Self knowledge/self-identity • Respect of values from others and other cultures • Valorization of Otherness • Integration of new values in the respect of self-identity

Figure 3 Intercultural existential competence (savoir-être) (Lussier, 2011, p. 61)

Existential competence focuses on inner cultural representations. It is directly related to attitudes (e.g., openness, xenophobia). Openness is a characteristic of subject who holds “nonprejudiced attitudes in interacting with people with diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. These qualities encourage acceptance of unfamiliar beliefs as well as appreciation of foreign customs and artifacts” (Kubota, 2004, p. 30). “[Cultural awareness] carries the understanding that the opposite [of openness to others] – intolerance – ‘could bring violence and social instability’” (Lussier, 2007 cited in Lussier, 2011, p. 63); in this view, tolerance is a moral responsibility.

Chen & Starosta (1998) identify multiple models for intercultural awareness including culturalist models like those of Hall (1976) and Hofstede (1984) which consisted of

categorizing knowledge of cultures (i.e., high culture and low culture) and categorizing cultures (e.g., individualist vs collectivist) resulting in homogenizing binaries, stereotypes, and judgment values.

Humanist conceptions of culture, or grand ‘C’ culture (Holliday, 2011), refer to history, geography, and material traits as ‘culture’. Material traits are visible and include physical artifacts that a nation or group could point to as evidence of cultural distinction. These artifacts form the basis of stereotypical representations of many cultures where the people of an identified cultural group “are reduced to images of costumes, food, festivals, fairs, folklore and statistical facts” (Driscoll & Holliday, 2019, p. 69).

Alternatively, sociological or subjective aspects of culture involve “beliefs, norms, collective memories, attitudes, values, discourses and practices which group members commonly use as a frame of reference for thinking about, making sense of and relating to the world” (Barrett et al., 2014, p. 15).

Anthropological/social aspects of culture, or small ‘c’ culture, are related to daily life. They consist of social institutions including “language, religion, laws, rules of social conduct, folklore, cultural icons, etc.)” (Barrett et al., 2014, p. 15). These also include customs and paralinguistic features (Lussier, 2011, p. 61). Liberal egalitarians understand societal culture as “a set of institutions, covering both public and private life, with a common language, which has historically developed over time on a given territory, which provides people with a wide range of choices about how to lead their lives” (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 75 cited in Dhamoon, 2009, p. 22).

From structuralist philosophical orientations, cultures are conceived of as discrete and

relatively stable systems constructed and maintained through social interactions and internalized through cognition; these conceptions treat cultures as equal (all structures are equal; all cultures are equal) as they can all be (re)produced through the same mechanisms of social interaction.

In this view, the signifier ‘culture’ is linked to a material, symbolic, and knowable small ‘c’ culture – culture as mental object – where “culture is defined by its shared symbols [… which] function as organizing phenomena” (St. Clair, 2008, p. 172-173). Cultural psychology and the cognitive sciences use activity theory to position culture as mediating cognitive (internal, invisible) and behavioural (external, visible) tools for interacting with reality. Accepting culture as a “shared vocabulary of tradition and convention” according to Kymlicka or “shared modes of intelligibility” according to Taylor results in the conflation of “observable systems of behaviour and stated attitudes of individual members” of a social group with “core assumptions and values of any culture” (Halsall, 2008, p. 16). In other words, it is assumed that the values/systems of thought can be inferred based on observation of representative members of a group. This conception of culture requires stability, fixity, formal structures, and temporal longevity (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 24).

Constructions of culture require a point of reference and research has traditionally relied on cross-cultural analysis. To create objects of study, a researcher must establish boundaries of the groups who are represented by these descriptions of culture. In intercultural scholarship produced in the 1980s, Moon (2023) observed that ‘culture’ had become primarily defined as “nation-state” and assessed quantitatively.

3.1.2 Culture as ideology

To “contest the notion of ‘culture’ as unproblematically shared” (Moon, 1996, p. 75 cited in Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 14), culture must be situated in the very apparent relations of power – and with attention to the structures of power (including education) – between perceived cultural groups as they are played out in everyday contexts (Pennycook, 2021). These relations of power are understood in structural or ideological terms, while leaving space for the complexity of individuals within strategically bounded ‘groups’.

Positivists suggest that culture is a variable. Constructivists suggest that culture is “benignly socially constructed” (Martin & Nakayama, 1999, p. 8 cited in Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 14). Halualani & Nakayama (2023, p. 14) reject both characterizations and conceive cultures as “differentially positioned in relationship to one another within societal structures, material conditions, power relations and as such, culture becomes a field of forces where competing interests vie for dominance and control”. From this point of view, culture can be understood to function as a form of “hegemony, or domination through consent” (Sorrells, 2023, p. 234).

A theoretical move from ‘culture’ to ‘ideology’ entails questioning the extent to which power moves “through the guise and front of ‘culture,’ ‘tradition,’ ‘cultural practices,’ ‘community,’ and ‘rituals’ (‘this is the way’)” (Halualani and Nakayama, 2023, p. 17). Constructions of culture are not neutral; they are “always and already implicated in power relations where differently positioned subjects and social entities (e.g. the nation-state) compete for advantage and control of the process of meaning production”

(Halualani et al. 2003 cited in Halualani and Nakayama, 2023, p. 14).

Modernity's obsession with order and ordering "created a myth of cultural homogeneity" that is "epitomised by the nation-state" (Tseelon, 2001, p. 5 cited in Dervin, 2016, p. 44). This orientation to intercultural scholarship led to the development of notions including individualistic versus collectivist cultures, high and low context cultures, and other sorts of generalizations about massive populations of peoples" (Moon, 2023, p. 58). Using the nation as a unit of analysis allows researchers to 'describe' whole populations with "unifying principles (i.e. individualism)" (Moon, 2023, p. 61). Ono strongly claims that the use of "blanket stereotypes of a society ... is a move toward controlling the people in that country" (Ono, 1998, p. 198 cited in Moon, 2023, p. 61).

A conception of culture based on homogenous and bounded groups encourages boundary-setting to define insiders/outsiders. It also ties 'cultural identity' to processes of exclusion. As Yon (2000, p. 150) notes, in practice, discourse of identity can be used to police identity and to discipline intercultural relationships. The process of maintaining stable and knowable group identities (authenticity) involves policing the use of signifiers that are "sanctioned by dominant discourses of cultural pluralism and [...] determining who can belong and who is made Other" (Yon, 2000, p. 154). To maintain a sense of bounded cultures, difference is emphasized over similarity and hybridity or internal differences between 'cultural groups' are deemed unworthy of recognition or attributed to 'subcultures'; generalizations about entire cultures are acceptable and are ascribed to all perceived (visible) group members based on dominant norms within a culture. These are essentialist discourses of culture.

Individuals and collectivities can use power to produce and circulate counter-hegemonic discourses of culture and identity, based on their desires. However, domination works with disparity to constrain the possibility of individual and collective agency.

3.1.3 Culture as symbolic and material resources

'Culture' is situated in the inequitable access that perceived cultural groups have to material and cultural goods; it is shaped by disparity. Culture is "inextricably linked to transnational, national, regional and community economies and politics" and can be conceived of as a resource for "economic and political exploitation, agency and power, which is mobilized and instrumentalized for a wide range of purposes and ends" (Sorrells, 2023, p. 234).

In international economic contexts, individuals and cultural groups are subsumed into cultural representations of the nation-state. Because culture as symbolic goods (primarily big 'C' culture) permits nation-states to access global trade and to stimulate economic growth, culture is also "targeted for exploitation by capital in the media, consumerism, and tourism" (Sorrells, 2023, p. 234).

Culture is valued for its use in developing brand recognition – nation-state or cultural symbolism can be used to market a country's cultural goods – which Sorrells (2023, p. 234) argues leads to the reification of "racial and cultural biases and stereotypes grounded in histories of colonialism". The state's nation branding leads to the "recycling [of] century-old representations or creating new ones" (Dervin, 2016, p. 46). The nation constructs from its own history, geography, and ethnic motifs, sanitized of the political struggle and ignoring the political role of the nation. The nation becomes concerned with

recognizing outward symbolism and efficient stereotypes and emphasis is placed on the "unique selling points" of the national identity (Halsall, 2008, p. 28).

One of the core mythologies in tourism discourse is "that travel promises a chance to 'get to know' the locals and therefore have a 'real' engagement with another culture" (Thurlow, 2023, p. 156). Thurlow (2023, p. 156) summarizes this line of thinking by saying that "[w]hat may appear to be little more than fun which is […] typical for tourism – emerges as a kind of Orientalizing of the local people, even while appearing to celebrate them" (Thurlow, 2023, p. 156). Traditionally, whites have had the power to represent 'others', while 'others' have had limited access to representing themselves (Hussain, 1995). Group-based differences become a site for capital exploitation and exaggerating those differences is a source of economic opportunity.

3.1.4 Culture as identity and agency

Sociological conceptions of culture relate to social constructions of difference and to the broadening of the meaning of culture to "include gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social class, and other identifications that affect and are affected by interaction" (Moon, 2023, p. 60). According to Hall (2008, p. 50) culture is in the "daily interactions occurring between individuals in particular sociocultural contexts at particular moments of time" and it is through our "participation in myriad, varied activities, we take on and negotiate multiple cultural identities" (Hall, 2008, p. 50). Thurlow (2023, p. 162) agrees that the "representation and production of difference occurs in any number of everyday, banal enactments of otherness as a subjectively and socially constituted phenomenon". Wikan (2002) proposes culture as individual agency

where “[i]ndividuals are provided a toolkit by social life from which they may select in the system and reject what they do not want to be part of their cultural consciousness. Individuals create their own cultural psychology” (St. Clair, 2008, p. 175). Further, Wikan suggests that culture refers to an ongoing, unconstrained creative process (Wikan, 2022, p. 77).

‘Culture’ signifies nationality in many works about intercultural studies, but it is also conceptualized in terms of race, gender, and ethnicity (Moon, 2023, p. 60). When subcultures challenge dominant norms of the bounded cultural group as identified (e.g., the national culture), ‘culture’ is employed in discourse as a euphemism for race (or religion) when it is no longer possible to use racializing terms to organize difference (Scott, 2003 referenced in Dhamoon, 2009, p. 31).

Attention to intersectionality in identification processes means that scholars are “more likely to produce knowledge that is specific and local, rather than abstract and overly generalized” (Moon, 2023, p. 63). ‘Culture’ is no longer afforded exclusive primacy in analysis – various form of othering, various social positions, can be examined together to challenge simplification of complex interactions. By recognizing the “cultural meanings and practices of people whose lives are also distinguished by their age, (dis)ability, class status, sexual identity and so on”, and moving beyond a focus on isolated cultural groupings, Thurlow (2023, p. 162) claims “interculturality comes to be more about material inequalities, power relations and ideologies of difference, rather than simply skin color, geographical location, passport, clothing, food, nonverbal behavior, or language”. Some dimensions of identity are not emphasized “at the cost of

examining the *interdependency of multiple dimensions*" (my emphasis, Dhamoon, 2009, p. 35).

Social identities represent "group membership as part of one's self concept" (Meyer et al., 2006, p. 666 cited in Williams-Gualandi, 2020, p. 235). Identification is therefore a complex and fluid process for negotiating labels and categories to identify relationship between individuals "as well as relationships to the representations and representational practices through which self, identity and culture are imagined" (Yon, 2000, p. 154-155). Identifications are also relationships to "ideas, discourse and representations" (Yon, 2000, p. 154-155) and representations of competing desires for belonging which shift over time and space.

Spitzberg & Chagnon (2009, p. 6) note that competence in ICC is equated with adjustment, assimilation, or adaptation. Adjustment is related to clinical psychology (and acculturation) and relates to experiences of culture shock. Both are concerned with cultures as structures. Assimilation represents shifts to embodying a monocultural nativist understanding of the 'host' culture and may include attitudinal and cognitive shifts or may only require behavioural mimicking. Adaptability seems "implicitly or explicitly central to virtually all models of intercultural competence" (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 35), but it does not have a clear conceptualization within ICC models. Adaptability models are based on interaction of a cultural individual with a discrete cultural structure that differs from themselves. In these models, the subcomponents of adaptability – sensitivity, empathy, or perspective taking —– "have not been operationalized or conceptualized with much specificity or demonstrated validity"

(Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 35) resulting in a lack of valid measurement of adaptability. Additionally, Fuchs (2017) explains that empathy is subject to compartmentalization or dissociation when someone does not identify the 'other' as their equal in a relationship of reciprocal recognition; empathy tends to be extended "preferentially to members of their own group" (p. 349) and dissociated from 'out-groups'. Thus, models of ICC fail to propose how dominance, discrimination, desire, and disparity might function in processes of adaptability. Wide variability in learner experiences makes this concept difficult to validly measure and Spitzberg & Chagnon (2009) purport that most models use 'adaptability' as a trait rather than a process.

The area of intercultural understanding has produced teacher resource documents that "define cultural groups in terms of social categories" (Williams-Gualandi, 2020, p. 234). Characterizing some social identities as "cultural identities" invokes the concept of culture. Dhamoon (2009) notes that Taylor (1994) views culture as an institutional resource for "articulating and rediscovering authenticity" as a natural part of our selves; For Taylor, "The bond between the self and culture" suggests that markers of culture are naturally part of identity (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 27). These are culturalist discourses (Hall, 2008; Driscoll & Holliday, 2019) that are, then, necessarily ahistorical and timeless. Culture, from this point of view, exists outside of historical and political relations and questions of power differentials, and is a natural part of an individual's identity, regardless of their lived experiences. Barrett et al. (2014, p. 14) refutes these assertions, stating that culture "is a notoriously difficult term to define [...] because cultural groups are always internally heterogeneous groups that embrace a range of

diverse practices and norms that are often contested, change over time and are enacted by individuals in personalised ways". Yon (2000) characterizes these phenomena as "elusive culture".

The invocation of names and categories by individuals are not claims to becoming "the unproblematic embodiment of group cultural attributes" (Yon, 2000, p. 154). Instead, when individuals name themselves, they simultaneously "hold the name up as a question and make them problematic" (Yon, 2000, p. 155) by virtue of an individual's own complexity. Individual identity is a "unique constellation of affiliations" (Williams-Gualandi, 2020, p. 244) or a constellation of social subject positions, but "[t]he identities they invoke are always partial, capable of telling us something but unable to tell us all" (Yon, 2000, p. 155).

Postmodern theorists proposed several concepts of culture. Benhabib characterizes culture as a narrative or as "systems of articulating the material and the symbolic, embedded in experiential knowledge", and "shared by communities in conversation, allowing people and practices/ideas to move across and between cultures" (cited in Dhamoon, 2009, p. 41-42). It has also been conceived of as an ideological site of struggle, as the activity of continuously contesting and negotiating ideologies "among members and through interaction with members of other cultures" (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 44-45). This point of view reflects Appadurai (1996) and other anthropologists who have shown that "culture moves and mixes, flowing and hybridizing, such that any group and any locale contains heterogenous practices, ideas, and values (cited in Kim, 2020, p. 521). The activity of culture includes resistance and dissent, and therefore agency,

beyond the notion of agency as selecting from preexisting choices.

With no grand narratives or truths, and a move away from viewing power as something that is acted upon individuals only, culture is located in circulating discourses. This poststructural orientation to culture emerged primarily from an

> "interpersonal/microanalytic approach and generally did not attend to structural issues. This is problematic in that over-focusing on micro practices encourages us to ignore how structural constraints push and pull such practices, and conversely, how micro practices can reinscribe or even be used to oppose and change structural configurations" (Moon, 2023, p. 58).

The concept of hybridization as a continuous process makes space to reconceptualize cultural adaptation. Once viewed as a linear, power-neutral process where individual subjects (and particularly migrants) adopted behaviors, attitudes, and values of the dominant culture, Moon (2023, p. 62) proposed 'passing' as "an attempt to politicize the notion of cultural adaptation" as a "process of identity negotiation and as a dynamic process of resistance and acquiescence to dominant notions of who 'we' are (or should be), with all of this taking place within relations of power". Both hybridization and adaptation processes, then, can be considered as "potentially disruptive, contested, and transformative" (Moon, 2023, p. 62).

Processes of identification, then, are constrained by discrimination, by "hardened discourses of race and racism that alienate and make instability and change in political identity possible" (Yon, 2000, p. 155). Identities ascribed to individuals by others are often based on visible characteristics which can result in discrepancies between an individual's preferred identities and the perceptions of others (Barrett et al., 2014, p. 16). These ascribed identities can shape an individual's self-categorization and efforts to

make sense of themselves in the world, based on a web of factors including class, race, gender, language, and social relations (Pennycook, 2021). Thurlow (2023, p. 151) argues that language and identity “are predicated on the perception, organization, and expression of difference. We make sense of ourselves by defining ourselves in relation to different people”.

Culture is comprised of “recurring constellations of dispositions and expectations that are continually recreated in the myriad intellectual and practical communicative activities constituting our daily lives” (Hall, 2008, p. 50). This understanding of culture acknowledges that theories “live and move in the ‘flesh,’ in and around our ‘bodies,’ through our enacted meanings, routines, and stories, and in our everyday, private, and public lives and experiences” (Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 17).

Culture, then, is a performance where personal narratives “reverberate with or speak alongside or against the master narrative socially, culturally, politically, and culturally” (Calafell, 2020, p. 412 cited in Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 14). It is an:

> “assemblage of meanings and representations that are vested with or are reified and spoken via different power interests, most notably by dominant structures (nation-state and its arms, law and governance, institutions, the economy, and the media) and cultural groups themselves. Thus, to say that culture is “a site of struggle” is to point to the process whereby competing interests (dominant structures and cultural communities) shape different representations of culture from different positionalities of power” (Hall 1980, 1985 cited in Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 14).

3.1.5 Culture as a constraint on social mobility

‘Culture’ is situated in the evident and ongoing forms of discrimination that are embedded in language and discourse.

Wikan (2022) purports that “culture is a thought construct” that “refers to values, norms,

and knowledge that we associate with a collectivity of people" (p. 84). This view is open to criticisms of relativism. We might simply re-brand the nation-state or the collectivity to overcome any material consequences of othering. We might simply construct new imaginaries, but as Thurlow (2023, p. 152) states, "[j]ust because something is imagined does not mean that it's imaginary – a fabrication without substance", adding that "Socially constructed identities, hierarchies, and structures certainly feel very real; they also have material outcomes for people."

Creating awareness of cultural groups may lead to positive self-categorization and prejudicial attitudes towards 'others'; The risk is that for individuals with a self-image as being culture-free, becoming aware of a cultural affiliation may lead to stages of Helms' (1990) Racial Identity Development Theory in the classroom (referenced in Tatum, 1992) and the activation of tools of whiteness for resistance (Picower, 2009). Comparisons and differentiation in the classroom may lead to increased ethnocentrism contradicting the assumption that "the ability to understand intercultural encounters positively increase with further engagement and educational intervention" (Williams-Gualandi, 2020, p. 237).

Identification can lead to "dissociative behaviours in intercultural contexts" including stereotyping, ethnocentrism, exclusion, accentuation of differences, and de-individuation of perceived 'others' (Kim, 2009, p. 55). 'Us' vs 'them' discourses lead to the creation of imaginaries which "allows people to (re-)invent and make sense of the self through imagining the other" (Dervin, 2016, p. 48). These imaginaries have been used to generate guidebooks, influenced nation-branding, and may extend to

development of prejudices that have material consequences (e.g., an individual from a ‘collectivist’ country might experience prejudice based on assumed lack of assertiveness, independence). When moral and political judgments are applied to these discourses, they might result in the (re)creation of false binaries based on bounded groups which position one as superior.

‘Culture’ as contested terrain (Tully cited in Dhamoon, 2009) moves from “viewing culture as unproblematically shared and relatively stable to one that acknowledges culture as a contested zone and thus in flux [...], allowing us to understand that rather than being comprised of ‘a reality,’ culture is a space of competing realities embedded in power relations with all but the dominant or hegemonic version getting short shrift” (Moon, 2023, p. 60). Yon (2000, p. 149) focuses on the “processes of hybridization” identified by Canclini (1995, p. 207): “the fragmentation and mixing of social collectives that are used to organize cultural systems; the deterritorialization of cultural symbols and symbolic processes; the expansion of impure cultural genre.” Elevating the imaginaries of the culture of the self or elevating the imaginaries of the culture of the ‘other’ are linked to the desires of individuals and may result in self-othering by internalizing oppressive discourses to assimilate to a dominant culture or by organizing for minority rights that defend against assimilation by emphasizing difference.

3.1.6 Culture as desire for belonging

‘Culture’ is situated in the preferences and investments in ‘cultural’ ways of being. Yon (2000, p. 155) proposes that “emphasis on identifications moves our focus away from the old anthropological attribute theory of culture as that which is invested in the group,

and which individuals can be taken to represent, towards engaging that which individuals are investing in and how their investments and affiliations shift and change." The role of desire and the understanding that 'cultural groups' are heterogeneous and changing leaves space to understand Orbe's (1998) 'cocultural theory' where communication strategies are developed by marginalized groups for communicating and negotiating with dominant group members (cited in Moon, 2023, p. 61). The term "'coculture' [...] draws attention to the diversity of influential cultures that exist in the United States while acting as a sanction to the use of past terms such as 'subculture' which call up and/or rely on notions of hierarchy, superiority, and inferiority" (Moon, 2023, p. 62). Cocultural theory centres the perspective of minoritized social positions in power relations with groups using socially legitimized forms of power.

Within these cocultural spaces, critical intercultural theorists are concerned with processes of identity where identification, or 'articulation', can be "seen as both voluntary and imposed, both embraced and struggled over and with, both rejected and claimed", facilitating observation of the ways in which "issues of power and privilege may play out in intercultural interactions" (Moon, 2023, p. 63).

A situated approach leaves space for the ways that an individual's desires interact with systems of oppression to account for the employment of individual power within systems (e.g., striving to become a 'model minority', disrupting classroom learning as resistance). A "reconceptualization of culture [that views culture as a set of socially created/shared meanings and practices with attention to the structures of power (e.g., law, education) that attended its constitution] does not mean that individuals are then

merely passive consumers of culture; rather, in their quotidian performance of it, they participate in actively creating and recreating meanings that are made available to them by competing ideologies" (Halualani & Nakayama, 2023, p. 14). This approach is the kind we might hope the curriculum encourages teachers to employ. However, the ICC models and concepts of culture which have been adapted by the curriculum do not seem to be informed by critical understandings of intercultural communication or CAL.

3.1.7 Concerns about Intercultural Communicative Competence

In Applied Linguistics, much of the research related to culture comes from the field of multiculturalism while intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is predominantly the domain of the field of foreign language education. Viebrock (2018, p. 89) explains that the elaboration of the theoretical concept of culture – that academic discourse (in some fields) has thoroughly examined – is passed over "in the field of education policy and the practical teaching profession" for 'common-sense' structural understandings which prove "to be powerful and more resistant to critical reflection" (Viebrock, 2018, p. 89). The emphasis for language education is on conceptions of culture that are functional and efficient. ICC is the 'knowledge and use of culture' where aspects of culture are discrete from other forms of social experience. A lack of conceptual clarity about 'culture' within the concept of cultural repertoires is troubling; it ostensibly subsumes matrices of social positions into 'culture' as an umbrella term, risking oversimplification, essentialism, and generalization. Excluding critical perspectives in 'mainstream' theorizing of ICC has consequences for education and the adoption of research models in curricula.

Spitzberg & Chagnon (2009) criticize the theoretical foundations of ICC models which include over 300 concept and factor labels because many of the underlying concepts (e.g., empathy, curiosity, respect, friendliness) lack validity and empirical evidence that support their inclusion in models of ICC. Some of the concepts reflect Picower's (2009) "Tools of Whiteness" where study participants deemed that 'just being nice' was adequate for dismantling racism in the classroom or where desire for racialized 'others' (curiosity with the potential to extend to exoticization, fetishization) absolves individuals of their complicity with white supremacy.

The "board brushstrokes" that most models have in common (e.g., motivation, knowledge, skills, context, outcomes) present theoretical issues about "whether motivation, knowledge, and skills are really separable states and processes" (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 35). In other words, attempting to separate concept and factor labels to create a model may be imposing Enlightenment-era categorization on holistic processes that are better understood in situated ways.

Additionally, there is "virtually no attention paid to physiological and emotional aspects of interactants" who are "conceptualized as largely cognitive, rational beings" (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 35). Even anxiety and uncertainty management are treated as rational processes to be managed, while "political consultants and psycholinguists point out that the vast majority of thought and language processing occurs at a subconscious level" (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 35), reflecting a need for accounts of interculturality that include embodied experiences and desire.

Spitzberg & Chagnon's (2009) are concerned about the ethnocentricity of ICC models,

not only because the models and their assessments have been developed in ‘Western’ or Anglo contexts and what might be then be valued or prioritized by the models, but also because they “do not encapsulate the spectrum of diversity and hybridity of languages and cultures of stakeholders in language education (and beyond)” (Vallejo & Dooly, 2019 referenced by Runnels, 2021, p. 6); models including Lussier’s have “nationalist and overly holistic orientations in their representations of cultures and languages” (Runnels, 2021, p. 6). The perceived homogeneity of the classroom culture ignores that “learners can claim a wide range of cultural affiliations and identities” (Runnels, 2021, p. 6).

Finally, Perry and Southwell (2011, p. 460) explain that “[w]hile education in its various forms may effectively develop some aspects of intercultural competence such as cultural knowledge, there is little or no evidence that it develops other aspects of intercultural competence, particularly those that are more difficult to test”. Flattened ICC models emphasize knowledge acquisition to serve functional needs related to instruction and assessment.

Chapter 4. LITERATURE REVIEW: POLICY & MULTICULTURALISM

When seeking to understand political influences on Ontario's process for curriculum development, an understanding of paradigms for managing cultural integration must be assumed to inform the normative underpinnings of any curriculum documents. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between multiculturalism and language education. I begin by discussing multiculturalisms, structured by the five typologies of multiculturalism identified by Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997): conservative, liberal pluralist, left-essentialist, postmodern, and critical. Wright & Xiao (2023) and Haque (2000; 2014) contribute context for these political paradigms in Canada and the relationship between multiculturalism and settler-colonialism. Saltzman (2015) introduces "spectres of colonialism" as a frame for understanding Canada's mythmaking in relation to its colonial past and present. Finally, this chapter examines concepts of curriculum in relation to language policy and challenges in assessing language education.

4.1 Multiculturalisms

Multiculturalisms are based on the need for integration which "arises when an established society is faced by some people who are perceived and treated unfavourably by standard members (and typically, who also perceive themselves as 'different' though not necessarily in a negative way)" (Modood, 2014, p. 1). Regardless of regional and policy differences, all discourses of integration and multiculturalism "are exercises in conceptualising post-immigration difference and, as such, operate at three distinct levels: as an (implicit) sociology; as a political response; and as a vision of what

is the whole in which difference is to be integrated" (Modood, 2014, p. 1). These paradigms conceptualize processes "whereby difference ceases to be problematic" (Modood, 2014, p. 3). Additionally, the existence of Indigenous nations within a colonial framework complicates the paradigm of multiculturalism forcing the state to contend with cultural difference that is not related to immigration when constructing a 'normative' citizen.

4.1.1 Typologies of Multiculturalism

As Wright and Xiao (2023, p. 9) note, "multiculturalism as a political philosophy and policy framework has strong intellectual attachments to European philosophical lineages of universalizing human relations in particular terms of tolerance, honor, citizenship, and recognition (Taylor, 1994). On the other hand, the movements of multiculturalism in the West have included national variations, regional metamorphoses, ruptures, and contradictions". Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997) identify five multiculturalisms. This variation exists because "conceptions of multiculturalism span the political spectrum" (Wright, 2012, p. 107).

4.1.1.1 Conservative Multiculturalism

First, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997, p. 3) identify 'conservative multiculturalism' or 'monoculturalism'. As a form of neo-colonialism, this typology is based in "the belief in the superiority of Western patriarchal culture". "[T]he processes affecting change and the relationship between social groups are seen as one-way" (Modood, 2014, p. 3) so that the central feature of conservative multiculturalism "involves the effort to assimilate everyone who is capable of being assimilated to a white, middle-class standard"

(Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 3-4).

Conservative multiculturalism is concerned with social cohesion and unity of the nation-state. Ghosh & Abdi (2013, p. 168) argue that “The problem with the unity aspect of multiculturalism has been that assimilation, and even integration, of minority groups does not imply equal effort [from the dominant group]”. White supremacist heteronormative patriarchal capitalist society is a neutral ‘immutable core’ into which newcomers must blend to be considered productive members of the nation.

In this view, everyone is the same, therefore, hardships are based on individual choices and behaviours, or meritocracy.

In Canada, conservative multiculturalism was characterized by “assimilation and explicitly exclusivist and racist immigration policies that reflected Eurocentric conceptions of the nation” (Wright, 2012, p. 104) or Harper’s (1997) stage of “denying difference”, which was followed by race relations or “insisting on difference” resulting in segregation policies.

4.1.1.2 Liberal Multiculturalisms

Paradigms for integration that do not emphasize assimilation are considered a two-way process “whereby members of the majority community as well as immigrants and ethnic minorities are required to do something” (Modood, 2014, p. 5). What the dominant class is expected to do is a point of divergence between the remaining paradigms based on differing theoretical and philosophical framings of difference, equality, citizenship, and freedom.

4.1.1.2.1 Liberal Multiculturalism

A liberal multicultural paradigm is based in a hyperrational approach to difference that views all human beings as belonging to the 'human race' and fundamentally equal. The belief is that "[a]n intellectual sameness exists that allow different people to compete equally for resources in a capitalist economy" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 10). The actions taken by the dominant society are in the form of legislative protection of citizens' rights and opportunities through anti-discrimination laws and policies. Liberal multiculturalists "render invisible the power and privilege assigned to some cultures"; they construct a self-image of a non-cultural centre (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 30).

Liberal egalitarian political philosophies encourage the invisibility of whiteness and other forms of domination and the hyper-visibility of the 'other'. This dynamic is captured in the 'tourist gaze'; Thurlow (2023, p. 155) explains that "in brochures, posters, commercials, guidebooks and postcards […] the mythologies of tourist destinations are created and the core meaning of tourism is established: what it means to be someone privileged enough to travel by choice, seeking out exotic 'foreign' peoples and cultures". Using 'culture' as a euphemism for race or other forms of difference implies that the hegemonic dominance of whiteness appears neutral; whiteness is rarely studied in cultural studies and cultural education, and "race-thinking, racialization, racism, and colonialism are undertheorized and/or reframed as issues of culture", Dhamoon (2009, p. 31) says, adding, that culture and multiculturalism are used to "package those who share some aspects of difference without adequately addressing historical and global racialized relations, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and other forms of domination".

These framings of culture depoliticize the ways that it is “intertwined with systems of racialization” (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 32). Difference is framed “in terms of tolerance rather than in terms of the impact of white supremacy” (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 32); the dominant group maintains agency to manage cultural difference through the choice to tolerate ‘others’.

Two major proponents of multiculturalism in Canada, “Kymlicka and Taylor tend to theorize polyethnic minorities, for example, without any reference to the global racial and colonial histories that have marked their identities within Canada” (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 31). This paradigm is frequently described as embracing “the axiom of color [evasiveness]” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 10). Members of ‘other’ groups should not disrupt the dominant group and the workings of the polity, while ideally participating as ‘full citizens’.

Tolerating difference (as a site of trouble) and maximizing individual freedom through “limited forms of regulated accommodation” is the extent of what liberal multiculturalists are required to do to overcome disparity (Dhamoon, 2009, p. 21). Difference, in this view, is based on inequality of access or opportunity, and exposure to discrimination. In this paradigm, the dominant group need only be made aware of the humanity of others and provide increased ‘access’ to opportunities for success within the current system to rectify discrimination.

4.1.1.2.2 Pluralist Multiculturalism

For pluralist multiculturalism, groups are essential to political organization, but the focus shifts from sameness to difference. Pluralist multiculturalism is concerned with a politics

of recognition, where the histories and cultures of traditionally marginalized groups are celebrated and valued. As Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997, p. 16) put it, pluralist multiculturalism conflates “psychological affirmation with political empowerment”. This approach is characterized by an increased symbolic representation of marginalized groups where cultural difference is often celebrated as an end in itself (Kubota, 2004, p. 35): “[S]uperficial aspects of culture, such as artifacts, festivals, and customs, and they are treated in decontextualized and trivialized manners divorced from the everyday life of people and the political struggle to define cultural identity”.

The stage of Canadian multiculturalism policy identified with this paradigm is the second stage dominated by ‘equity’ (Fleras & Elliot, 2007 cited Wright, 2012, p. 107) or Harper’s (1997) “inviting difference” phase: “In the 1980s the focus had shifted to managing diversity and the scope had shifted from individuals to structural issues” (Wright, 2012, p. 107) or systemic discrimination. From this perspective, if distinct groups could be affirmed by the state and given special rights through the introduction of Heritage Language programs, for example, the dominant group would not need to interrogate how difference is produced or why the centre remains white, heterosexual, middle-class, and male.

Without interrogating whiteness and systems of power, pluralist multiculturalism enables accumulation by dispossession in its valuing of diversity, allowing the ‘ruling class’ to enhance their own cultural capital by extracting (or appropriating) that capital from marginalized groups.

4.1.1.2.3 Left-essentialist multiculturalism

Left-essentialist multiculturalism focuses on the innate characteristics of groups. Access to exceptional rights is determined by insider/outsider status of groups. This insider status is based on a conceptualization of difference connected to “a historical past of cultural authenticity where the essence of a particular identity was developed – an essence that transcends the forces of history, social context and power”, ignoring the “historical situatedness of cultural differences” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 19-20). This historical authenticity is a romanticization of the past, echoing Heller & Duchêne’s (2016) concerns about a Romantic nationalism; essential representations risk becoming authoritarian, leading to a policing of identity categories, and mandating the exclusion of allied outsiders.

Left-essentialist multiculturalism participates in a discourse of intersectional invisibility (Dhamoon, 2009) where alternative identity categories are excluded from the notion of an ‘authentic’ identity articulation (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 21). Certain voices are established as representative of the group, and criticism of leaders is condemned as harming the ‘united front’ of the group and their struggle for rights. By the 1990s, multicultural policy shifted to a focus on “constructive engagement, especially with minority groups and forms of exclusion and alienation identified as a principal problem, the solution to which was comprehensive inclusion” (Wright, 2012, p. 107).

In challenging liberal egalitarianism, care needs to be taken to ensure that examinations of ideology and structures of dominance do not lead to left-essentialist approaches to culture that impede “efforts of minorities within an essentialized group to resist

oppressive practices" (Narayan 2000 cited in Dhamoon, 2009, p. 23) or lead to internal policing of identity performances (Yon, 2000). These constraints might result from a theoretical gatekeeping where identification and analysis of oppression is limited to specific performances of difference that match essentialized representations of that collectivity; internal dissent in a collectivity weakens efforts for rights-based recognition or access to material resources.

4.1.1.3 Postmodern Multiculturalism

Postmodern multiculturalism "emerges by accepting the concept of difference while critiquing or dissolving the concept of groups" (Modood, 2014, p. 6). This paradigm denies that groups exist or acknowledges that they exist but claims that they should not be politically recognized. Postmodern multiculturalists argue for this orientation because they believe in social construction of identities and significant intracultural diversity. This orientation appears to agree with conservative critics who argue that multiculturalism as an integration policy has failed because there are still discernible groups within the nation-state, organized based on race, ethnicity, religion, and language.

Postmodern multiculturalists argue that "as a result of social mixing, cultural sharing and globalisation in which dominant identities of modernity (such as of race and nation) are dissolving, people have much more fluid and multiple identities, combine them in individual ways and use them in context-sensitive ways" (Hall, 1992 cited in Modood, 2014, p. 7).

Fleras and Elliot's (2007) most recent stage in Canadian multiculturalism policy emphasizes 'civic responsibility' which has returned the focus to social cohesion and

citizen responsibility to respond to concerns of globalization and national security (referenced in Wright, 2012, p. 107). Pennycook (2021) discusses postmodern/ poststructural approaches to identity which ignore the material reality of individuals and the role of power in constraining choices for identity.

4.1.1.4 Critical Multiculturalisms

Critical multiculturalism is “concerned […] with the ways power has operated historically and contemporaneously to legitimate social categories and divisions” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 25). The assumption of liberal egalitarianism employed in liberal multiculturalism is called into question by critical multiculturalists who recognize the existence of social and economic inequality and examine how these inequalities “are produced and perpetuated in relation to power and privilege” (Kubota, 2004, p. 37). Responding to pluralist and left-essentialist multiculturalism, Kubota (2004, p. 38) claims that critical multiculturalism “rejects neutrality and stability of difference” and “problematizes, rather than presupposes, difference and explores a critical understanding of culture”.

Critical multiculturalism confronts racism and whiteness deliberately, being mindful that these categories are not static and can be conceived of differently over time and space (Omi & Winant, 2005). Acknowledging “the effect of masking over contexts of white supremacy is that histories of racism and the privilege assigned to groups marked as white remain unexamined. In the Canadian context, this depoliticized (rather than apolitical) character of culture has been especially criticized by Indigenous scholars who view Indigenous groups as nations, not as multicultural or cultural groups” (Dhamoon,

2009, p. 32).

Critical multiculturalists also use the term ‘oppression’ to support arguments for economic redistribution in addition to a politics of recognition that recognizes the influence of status on material experiences. They focus on “how racism, sexism and class bias are economically, semiotically (pertaining to encoded and symbolically represents of particular groups), politically, educationally and institutionally produced” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 29). Rather than engaging with stereotypes when analyzing the subjectivities of people, they are viewed “in relationship to their power and status [… because] inequality is not simply a matter of prejudice, a cultural phenomenon - it is also grounded in the way certain groups are economically and politically located in society” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 236).

Understanding the paradigm of multiculturalism through situated engagement means acknowledging fluidity and structure, desire/agency and restraint, discursive and material forces.

4.1.2 Canadian Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is “variously and simultaneously a set of official social policies; a philosophical outlook; a practical political stance and a heuristic guide for day to day living with difference” (Wright, 2012, p. 106).

In Canada, multiculturalism “is built on several pillars – first the three founding peoples […] – the English and the French plus First Nations; second a willingness to recognize cultures and peoples beyond the founding peoples as integral to the nation; third a strong liberalism (or neoliberalism) as hegemonic national ideology; fourth tolerance of

diversity, including the exceptionalism of Quebec and recognition of Indigenous Peoples as ‘citizens plus’” (Wright, 2012, p. 104). Canada’s integration ‘problem’ is then one of organizing these identified groups in ways that support the state’s claims to legitimacy while satisfying the demands for recognition and redistribution of its subjects.

Wright (2012, p. 104) explains that “Canada was the first country to adopt multiculturalism as official policy for addressing difference, a process that started with the work of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission [RCBB] of 1963, became manifest through what the Liberal government of Pierre Elliot Trudeau in 1971, conceived of as “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” and solidified and clarified through the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1985 which was enacted by the conservative government of Brian Mulroney in 1988.”

Haque & Patrick (2015) consider these language policies as a structuring and institutionalizing of racial hierarchy in Canada noting that they have historically reinforced national unity and control by perpetuating racial exclusion through erasure and forced assimilation. They state that “ideologies [embedded in Canada’s colonial and contemporary history] have positioned English or French as superior and Indigenous languages as ‘primitive’ and as barriers to ‘civilisation’ and modernity” (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 28). During the RCBB, Indigenous and resistance led to a discursive shift “whereby anxieties about race and ethnicity would come to be articulated as issues of language and culture” (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 31). To contend with these anxieties while preserving the ideology of the state, Kymlicka (2003) pictures a ‘multicultural state’ and an ‘intercultural citizen’ for Canada. In this conceptualization of the individual in

relation to the state, the education system is tasked with developing these 'intercultural citizens' who are responsibilized for the success of the policy of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is "no longer simply a set of policies and philosophical outlook but is now an ideology" (Ng, 1995 & Roberts & Clifton, 1982 cited in Wright, 2012, p. 105). This "image text of a liberal tolerant, celebratory multiculturalism" has become as important to Canadian nation branding as "the Mounties and maple syrup" (Wright, 2012, p. 105). According to Environics Institute (2015, p. 2), "An increasing majority of Canadians identify multiculturalism as one of the most important symbols of the country's national identity", but it has been subject to criticism from both conservative and leftist critics. Conservative critics have called multiculturalism "hegemonic, divisive, and essentializing" (Wright, 2016, p. 167). Leftists critique the limits of multiculturalism in addressing "white supremacy and the pivotal problem of racism" and advocate for a turn to "a politics of difference over diversity talk and to anti-racism as official policy" (Wright, 2016, p. 167). However, despite critique, liberal multiculturalism "remains dominant as official policy, national ideology, the primary approach to diversity in fields like education and Canadians' common sense understanding of sociocultural diversity and, indeed, national identity" (Wright, 2016, p. 168).

It is important to note the "gap between conceptions of multiculturalism (already multiple) and the realities of living with difference and implementing in the classroom in a way that contributes to a just and equitable society" (Wright & Xiao, 2023, p. 11).

4.1.3 Colonial narratives

Mythmaking about multiculturalism in Canada is complicated by its status as a settler-

colonial state.

A useful framework for understanding Canada's relationship with colonization is Medak-Saltzman's (2015, p. 16) "specters of colonialism" – "moral, intellectual, and legal logics developed to legitimate, as necessity, the great violence of empire". The specters often involve recycling truths about the "civilizing" benefits of colonization for the "institution-less", "undeveloped" Natives. Through the discursive shift of the RCBB, Indigenous language practices were pathologized and presented as primitive and 'in decline' because they did not align with Eurocentric ideas about language use including monolingualism and linguistic hierarchization; Indigenous languages were expected to disappear, "legitimising the shift to English or to French as inevitable and reinforcing the racial hierarchies of white-settler nationalism" (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 31-32). Discourse about the English and French as "founding races" of Canada (Haque, 2014, p. 124) faced challenges from Indigenous resistors which increased pressure to establish discursive legitimacy through a sort of ancestral claim - a claim to a distant, mythical Indigenous ancestor that absolves one of responsibility for the harms of ongoing settler colonialism and provides legitimacy for their continued presence on the land.

The RCBB aimed to address French-Canadian demands for equality following recolonization of Turtle Island by the British and their subsequent economic and linguistic marginalization in Canada; the desire for French legitimacy comes at the cost of legitimacy for Indigenous languages, Ukrainian, Cantonese, Mandarin, etc., who might make a claim to being a "founding race" on the basis of indigeneity and treaties,

or to industrial contributions to the establishment of a Canadian settlement (Haque, 2014).

Boucher (2024) writes about the role of ‘the Native’ in French and Québécois cultural imaginaries and in mythmaking about their claims to Indigeneity. French-Canadian history is often collocated with the Métis, and with other Indigenous nations through historical accounts of the coureurs de bois (initially Indigenous) and Voyageurs (French) as participants in the Fur Trade. The material consequences of these processes can be seen in the surge of organizations calling themselves “Eastern Métis” – a concern for scholars studying self-indigenization by white Canadians (e.g., Leroux, 2019) – whose members claim reconciliation-based financial awards.

In the FSL curriculum and Front Matter, these “specters of colonialism” also relate to the processes of colonization enacted by France (and other European nations where French is spoken like Belgium). In some former French colonies, French has remained the majority language for law, education, and administration after independence (Salhi, 2013, p. 187), especially in North Africa and France’s former colonies south of the Sahara where French was imposed through colonisation as a lingua franca (Salhi, 2013, p. 193). During the period of colonial rule, French was effectively established as an official language and created a ruling class “which derives its privileged economic and social position precisely from its competence in French” (Salhi, 2013, p. 200) making it difficult to remove French in favour of local or indigenous languages from the governance of the country. Salhi (2013, p. 208) purports that

> “In France’s former colonies in black Africa and the Caribbean, French continues to be an official language. Depending on the real – as opposed to official – status

> of the national languages, it is more or less widely used in daily life, but everywhere it enables people from different ethnic and language groups to understand one another".

These countries contend with complicated relationships to French language as the language of colonial rule, concerns about language policies after independence, competing local languages, and school as a glottopolitical agent of colonialism (García, 2016, p. 57).

4.2 Curriculum and Language Education Policy

Curriculum can be understood in multiple ways. The technical-rationalist framing of curriculum conceptualizes curriculum as "text, ministry document, and resources that teachers are responsible for implementing" (Tilley & Taylor, 2013, p. 2). These documents are informed by paradigms for integration and research paradigms related to the curriculum subject matter. Curriculum documents are "government-produced, anonymously authored, legally-binding documents" which are "issued to all state-maintained educational institutions" (Cushing, 2023, p. 284). They function as a policy mechanism, providing strategies for integration of policies to teachers through curriculum expectation examples and objectives.

Curriculum documents, like the Front Matter and the FSL curriculum documents I analyze in this study, "issue an explicit claim to authority, being produced by bureaucratic bodies and protected under statutory law" (Cushing, 2023, p. 284). Rossi et al. (2009) explain that curricula are "written for a specific purpose, often representing the official voice of the state and governing what should be taught" (cited in Gray et al., 2022, p. 4). Traditionally, curricula have been focused on what knowledge is valued, but

“there has been a shift towards the development of curricula that focus more on what young people should experience and do because of their learning (Priestley, 2011 cited in Gray et al., 2022, p. 4). The focus is learner-centred, responsibilizing students for the development of skills and competences for citizenship. By conveying, “through discourses, particular messages about what and how children and young people should learn”, the discourses evident with curricula “are manifestations of ideologies represented through language, a way of both representing reality and producing social action” (Grey et al., 2022, p. 4). Curriculum provides teachers with an “orientation and formal safeguards for the educational decisions they make” (Viebrock, 2018, p. 85). Curriculum scholars work to explore the “intersections of power, politics, and knowledge production and consumption in educational contexts” including the hidden curriculum of schools” (Tilley & Taylor, 2013, p. 3). In FSL classrooms, the hidden curriculum may include “what is implicitly taught to students by the choices teachers make in the cultures they represent and the way they represent them” (Masson, 2021, p. 8). The hidden curriculum can also “implicitly promote values that are alien or exclusionary towards racialized students” (Masson, 2021, p. 19).

Aoki (2005) presents a framing of the curriculum as phenomenological – as both planned and lived. The planned curriculum may reflect technical-rational framings of curriculum and may extend to include lesson plans and unit plans, but it is “subsumed with the curriculum-as-lived” which evolves based on interactions between teachers, students, and texts within schooling structures (Tilley & Taylor, 2013, p. 3). This framing of curriculum analyses how social positions and structural forces constrain or support

curriculum (Tilley & Taylor, 2013, p. 3). My analysis is limited to the curriculum-as-text, but curriculum is recognized in the analysis and conclusion as a site for student and teacher agency and resistance.

Given the context presented relating to colonial narratives and multiculturalism, and the suggestion by Kunnas (2019) that teachers could teach colonialism in complex ways, it is important to consider Côté's (2019; 2021) research which demonstrates challenges and successes associated with integrating Indigenous perspectives within teacher education and K-12 programs. This research finds that teachers commonly experience the following challenges "(1) a very limited knowledge of Canada's colonial history; (2) difficulties engaging in critical reflection on decolonizing education; (3) the sometimes artificial addition of Indigenous perspectives in curricula; and (4) a lack of material resources and manpower" (Côté, 2019, p. 28). Citing Kim (2015), Côté (2019, p. 34) notes that superficial integration of Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum without deconstructing the position of Eurocentric knowledge can lead to the treatment of Indigenous epistemology as form of cultural knowledge, rather than scientific or legal, reinforcing the superiority of Eurocentric perspectives. The concern is echoed by Tuck & Yang (2012, p. 3, cited in Masson et al., 2022a, p. 403) who contend that superficial inclusion of Indigenous practices "domesticates decolonization", where performative inclusion gives educators a "false sense of accomplishment" (Masson et al., 2022a, p. 403).

4.2.1 ‘Effective’ and ‘Appropriate’

Curriculum documents as text outline standards for the instruction and assessment of a subject. In the FSL curriculum, ICC is recognized as a valued objective by the curriculum documents. Spitzberg and Chagnon (2009, p. 7) summarize ICC as “the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world. These orientations will most commonly be reflected in such normative categories as nationality, race, ethnicity, tribe, religion, or region” (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009, p. 7).

Deardorff’s (2006) research found that most scholars agreed on the following definition of ICC despite variability in the field: Intercultural competence is “the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one’s intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (Deardorff, 2006, p. 247-248). Perry & Southwell (2011, p. 453) purport “that this is a broad conceptualisation that begs the question, ‘what is effective?’” I also wonder what constitutes ‘appropriateness’. Deardorff cites Spitzberg’s (1989) definitions: “where appropriateness is the avoidance of violating valued rules and effectiveness is the achievement of valued objectives” (Deardorff, 2006, p. 256). Barrett et al. (2014, p. 18) defines ‘appropriate’ as a term meaning “that all participants in the situation are equally satisfied that the interaction occurs within expected cultural norms” and ‘effective’ as a term meaning “that all involved are able to achieve their objectives in the interaction, at least in part”. An apolitical understanding of competence assumes that any individual can deploy skills to

achieve an outcome (like 'appropriate' cultural expressions) regardless of their social positions or racial identity. Additionally, these conceptualizations imagine adult participants, setting their own goals.

Kim (2020, p. 553) refers to activity theory which describes actions as “embedded in rules, communities, and the division of labor, such that others’ voices and interests influence even solitary action”. Valued rules, then, are rules that have been accorded symbolic legitimacy by someone or some people within an identified group. Rules for behaviour fix valued rules in place. If a teacher accepts effectiveness to mean achievement of valued objectives as a qualifier for competence, does the ‘value’ of the objective belong to the teacher or to the student or to the state?

There is the possibility that certain behaviours or actions will be assumed to observably reflect attitudes and knowledge. Students’ affective orientation can only be validly measured through self-reporting (self-assessment or conferencing) or through teacher inferences based on student performance (behaviours and actions), so students’ behaviours and actions will be regulated to demonstrate ‘effective’ achievement of ‘valued objectives’.

4.2.2 Language Tests

Shohamy (2006) describes the policy mechanism of language tests to manipulate language use for the benefit of maintaining and promoting the status of national language(s). Language tests “become a means of narrowing the curriculum, manipulating education systems, [and] suppressing diversity” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 109). One motivation for a common language framework for Canada laid out by Vandergrift

(2006) was desire to assess language skills for accountability in relation to the 2003-2008's Action Plan objectives; for comparison in achievement between provinces, and internationally; and for employers. Vandergrift proposes that through a common language framework, "Various international tests/diplomas could be reviewed and piloted in the Canadian context. Provincial/territorial Grade 12 second language diploma tests, or other tests of interest, could also be calibrated with the CEFR, using the manual developed by the Council of Europe" (Vandergrift, 2006, p. 33).

Barrett et al. (2014, p. 36) encourage the

> "research and development in educational assessment which can be used in examinations and related types of assessment since the 'backwash effect' of examinations on teaching is crucial in ensuring that learners and teachers pay serious attention to intercultural competence and include it in a systematic way in their planning and implementation of the curriculum, and in their feedback to learners".

Students being evaluated, influenced by the social value of taking responsibility for their accreditation as a form of legitimized cultural capital, modify their language use for success, in addition to the "washback" process where teachers modify their practice to meet the demands of the test (McNamara, 2008, p. 417).

Chapter 5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research design

Informed by my critical frame and an interest in how social reality in FSL language classrooms are produced, I have selected to engage in document analysis through critical discourse analysis. Kress (1990, p. 85) explains that CDA extends beyond the descriptive goals of discourse analysis or text linguistics with “the larger political aim of putting the forms of texts, the processes of production of texts, and the process of reading, together with the structures of power that have given rise to them, into crisis” (Pennycook, 2021, p. 35).

CDA holds as central concerns “whether we see power as something that some people have while others do not, or whether we see it as a more diffused set of operations; whether we see ideology as a distortion of the truth that is realized in discourse (so critical discourse analysis attempts to unmask the truth behind the curtain of ideological distortion), or whether we see discourses as ways of viewing the world (so critical discourse analysis seeks to understand how the world is discursively constructed)” (Pennycook, 2021, p. 103).

Fairclough (1995) explains “the central goal of CDA/S as *denaturalizing ideologies*, that is, showing that what we assume – background knowledge or common sense – is in fact always an ideological representation of a particular social group that can be revealed by critical analysis” (emphasis in original, cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 104) to expose the ‘truth’. But is it possible for there to “be any nonideological position” (Pennycook, 2021, p. 107)? Structural linguistics, ideological critique, and structural

neo-Marxist social analysis work easily together “since they rely on similar assumptions about text, systematicity, and rationality” (Luke, 2022 referenced in Pennycook, 2021, p. 109). Foucauldian poststructuralism challenges the notion of ideology and “the idea that ideology is necessarily the product of other social and economic factors” because this formulation “locates power as an already given entity maintained through the ideological operations of language” (Pennycook, 2021, p. 110). All power and knowledge are seen as coming from the dominant class, ignoring competing discourses that account for individual desires and capacity for resistance. Based on Foucault’s arguments, Pennycook (2021) suggests that discourse is the juncture of power and knowledge; power produces knowledge and engenders resistance. Knowledge and power are discourse, which “produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1979, p. 194 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 112). This juncture of power and knowledge gives discourse a role in making the world rather than reflecting its ‘truths’. CDA needs to be concerned with analyzing the relationship between micro-politics of language use to witness how subjectivities are called into being. Where poststructuralism asks, “how different constructs are produced and maintained”, “linguistic analysis and the metalinguistic tools of discourse analysis” make such analysis possible (Pennycook, 2021, p. 113-114).

The power of discourses in interaction, rather than “already sociologically defined (in the hands of dominant groups)”, is linked to iterability – “the importance of repetition and its failure always to be the same […] ‘nothing is given a priori, as it were, but has to be achieved in each iteration’” (McNamara, 2019, p. 138 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 115).

When CDA seeks repetition of discourses, it must also consider how these discourses produce binaries (insider-outsider, gender, and so on) through circulations in social spaces, “constructing possibilities for the way in which we see others and are seen by them” (McNamara, 2019, p. 20 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 113). The use of realism in CDA needs to be based on “matters of concern” to make connections between discourses and materiality (Latour, 2004, p. 231 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 116).

I will use the term ideology to mean “regimes of truth” that represent discourses that have been accorded legitimacy through tools of governance (i.e., dominant or hegemonic discourses, privileged forms of knowledge). I understand these ideologies to represent “preferred meanings” (Hall, 1994, p. 207 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p. 126) of texts, recognizing that not all individuals in a context will interpret texts in line with those preferred meanings.

Pennycook (2021) points out that critical applied linguistics operate with theories of language while maintaining skepticism of normative theories derived from mainstream linguistics, and by highlighting the importance of questioning grand narratives.

5.2 The research process

I conducted analysis of the Ontario curriculum documents and documents that informed its implementation in 2013, guided by Pennycook’s recommendations for critical approaches to text that account for structural and poststructural approaches to CDA. These approaches include “pretextual history (sociohistorical associations of the text); intratextual relations (discourse analysis of textual aspects); contextual materialities (physical location, participants, and indexicalities); intertextual interactions (overt and

covert references to other voices and texts); subtextual implications (ideological, discursive, or cultural meanings invoked by texts); and post-textual interpretations (meanings and affective and material relations derived from texts)" (Pennycook, 2021, p. 126).

5.2.1 Selection of the data sets

My research question centres on curriculum representations of culture in Ontario, and particularly the FSL curriculum documents. The documents supplementing the curriculum were identified by searching the websites of key stakeholders in Ontario FSL education (e.g., the Ontario Modern Language Teachers' Association, Canadian Parents for French, l'Association canadienne des professionels d'immersion, Ontario.ca's "French as a second language programs"), and through evaluation of resources and documents reviewed by other scholars in the field (e.g., Guida, 2020). These documents were grouped into data sets based on the organization producing them and their function in relation to the curriculum documents (e.g., Front Matter, curriculum expectations, testing). Potential data sets that I did not include in the study are discussed after introducing the selected data sets. I decided to focus on documents directly related to the instruction and assessment of FSL in Ontario that are in use during the study (2024) because other potential datasets are optional for teacher professional development. The Front Matter and FSL curriculum expectations are mandated, and the Destination DELF (Diplôme d'études en langue française) Website is a resource accessed by caregivers, students, and teachers when considering accreditation of language proficiency in French.

5.2.1.1 Data Set 1: OME Front Matter

Between 1998 and 2020, printed curriculum documents opened with chapters overviewing the curriculum document. These prelude chapters ("Front Matter") were brief summaries of current policy documents and were consistent across curriculum documents and infused with subject-specific references or examples. The Front Matter were related to Student Well-Being, Instructional Approaches, Special Education, English Language Learners, Healthy Relationships, Human Rights, the Role of the School Library, Information and Communications Technology, Education and Career/Life Planning, and Health and Safety. Around 2020, the Government of Ontario began to migrate curriculum documents and their revisions to digital formats by launching a Curriculum and Resources website. The Ontario Curriculum Website's *Considerations for Program Planning* section includes a notice that reads: "This content is part of official issued curriculum providing the most up-to-date information (i.e., Front Matter). This content is applicable to all curriculum documents, Grades 1 to 12. Educators must consider this information to guide the implementation of curriculum and in creating the environment in which it is taught." There are significant revisions to some sections of the present digital Front Matter. I selected documents that reflected significant changes from the original Front Matter chapters of the FSL curriculum documents and those that are related to concepts of difference.

The documents included in this data set are as follows:

- OME. (2013a). *The Ontario curriculum: French as a Second language, CF grades 4-8, EF grades 4-8, FI grades 1-8.* Queen's Printer for Ontario.
    - Assessment and evaluation of student achievement. 22-29.

    - Some considerations for program planning in French as a second language. 30-51.
- OME. (2014). *The Ontario Curriculum, French as a Second Language – Core, Extended, and Immersion French, Grades 9-12. Queen's Printer for Ontario.*
    - Assessment and evaluation of student achievement. 26-33.
    - Some considerations for program planning in French as a second language. 34-55.
- OME. (2020a). Global citizenship and sustainability. *Transferable skills*. King's Printer for Ontario. https://www.dcp.edu.gov.on.ca/en/program-planning/transferable-skills/global-citizenship-and-sustainability
- OME. (2020b). Human rights, equity, and inclusive education. *Considerations for program planning*. King's Printer for Ontario. https://www.dcp.edu.gov.on.ca/en/program-planning/considerations-for-program-planning/human-rights-equity-and-inclusive-education
- OME. (2023a). Culturally responsive and relevant assessment and evaluation. *Assessment and evaluation*. King's Printer for Ontario. https://www.dcp.edu.gov.on.ca/en/assessment-evaluation/crrp-ae

5.2.1.2 Data Set 2: Ontario Ministry of Education FSL curriculum documents

The documents included in this data set are as follows:

- OME. (2013a). *The Ontario curriculum: French as a Second language, CF grades 4-8, EF grades 4-8, FI grades 1-8.* Queen's Printer for Ontario.
    - Preface, Introduction, The Programs in French as a second language. 3-21.
    - The CF program, grades 4 to 8. 52-121.
    - The EF program, grades 4 to 8. 122-198.
    - The FI program, grades 1 to 8. 199-312.
    - Glossary. 313-317.
- OME. (2014). *The Ontario Curriculum, French as a Second Language – Core, Extended, and Immersion French, Grades 9-12. Queen's Printer for Ontario.*
    - Preface, Introduction, The Programs in French as a second language. 3-25.
    - The CF program, grade 9 to 12. 57-192.
    - The EF program, grade 9 to 12.193-256.
    - The FI program, grades 9 to 12. 257-377.
    - Glossary. 379-384.
- OME. (2022). *French as a Second language programs*. King's Printer for Ontario. https://www.ontario.ca/page/french-second-language-programs

5.2.1.3 Data Set 3: DestinatiON DELF

This document is included in a separate data set because it is not exclusively an OME

publication and relates to an international exam. At the bottom of the DestinatiON DELF website is the following text: “This resource has been made possible thanks to the financial support of the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage.” The website is designed for caregivers, students, and teachers as a resource for preparing for the DELF exam.

- DestinatiON DELF. (2019a). *Parent portal*. https://destinationdelf.ca/parent-portal/

5.2.1.4 Excluded Data Sets

The CEFR’s influence on the Ontario FSL curriculum is well-documented (Vandergrift, 2006; Bournot-Trites et al., 2020). The restructuring of the 2013/2014 FSL curriculum aligns with the CEFR’s framework and approach to listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The approach to Intercultural Understanding and the division of curriculum expectations reflects the recommendations of the CEFR as well. This document is not included as a data set for several reasons, the first being that it was not practical for the scope of this research project. The second is that Vandergrift (2006) illustrates the reliance of the CEFR on Lussier’s model of ICC, in addition to the work of other ICC scholars (see, for example, Deardorff, 2006; Barrett et al., 2014; CMEC, 2010; Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009). While exploring the relationship between the CEFR and the Ontario FSL curriculum from a discursive perspective would likely be worthwhile, the focus of this project is the Ontario FSL curriculum. Their relationship, established in the research, means that discursive trends in the Ontario FSL curriculum are likely to reflect discursive trends in the CEFR in relation to culture. However, it is essential to acknowledge this relationship because of the context it adds to the analysis. For

example, What might motivate the Canadian federal government to use a European language framework? What value is there in aligning Canadian language education with Europe? What might this alignment indicate about the motivations of the curriculum writers? These questions influenced interpretations in my analysis.

For similar reasons, I excluded documents generated by the Transforming FSL project which were generated by Curriculum Services Canada and funded by the OME and Department of Canadian Heritage. These resources are external to the curriculum, are not mandated, and deal directly with encouraging teachers to use the CEFR to engage with the curriculum. A textual analysis of these resources was outside the scope of the current project.

Finally, I did not include any documents produced by the Ontario Modern Languages Teachers Association, Modern Language Council, or Canadian Parents for French. While these groups may have received funding from the OME, these resources are not part of the curriculum, and it is optional for teachers to use them.

5.2.2 Pretextual and genre analysis

Once the data sets were identified, I began the analysis by doing a pretextual and genre analysis. This is because, dealing with the politics of texts requires the consideration of pretextual history. It involved researching the contexts of the creation of the texts.

To complete the analysis, I adapted Jäger and Maier's (2009) toolbox for (Foucauldian) analysis to identify discourse fragments and to code the documents thematically. I used Fairclough's (2003) guide to textual analysis for genre and linguistic analysis.

Within the context of approaches that are relevant to the research purpose, Van Dijk

(2001) suggests that “there can be no complete discourse analysis, so researchers have to make choices about what needs to be analysed” (cited in Gray et al., 2022). My role as researcher determined which keywords and discourse fragments were relevant to the research problems, and this was informed by potential discourses identified during the literature review. My choices were also informed by my experience as a classroom teacher in both CF at the elementary and secondary level and FI at the elementary level (teaching all core subjects).

5.2.2.1 Thematic coding of the documents

Based on my research questions, I began by open coding the 2013 & 2014 FSL curriculum documents to identify discourse fragments, “a text or part of a text that deals with a particular topic” (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 47). I also coded for lexical choices to determine how the meaning of culture was constructed and to see if the organization of discourses of culture would form patterns. I used the identified discourse fragments to conduct text queries in Nvivo 14 to compile preliminary data. I reviewed data sets to assess data for consistency with the focus of the code and to begin to identify patterns in word use. I refined my codes based on the gaps between my open coding and the query searches (i.e., for references to specific community practices, place names, individuals, and for discourse fragments not linked easily to a keyword). I also searched the documents for predicted silences (e.g., discourses of intersectional invisibility), silences related to other material included in the texts (e.g., historical references).

I coded the remaining documents based on these discourse fragments and then began to categorize them thematically into discourse strands or “Flows of discourse that centre

on a common topic" (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 46). Returning to read each document holistically, I used an evolutionary process for identifying discourses, adding to this list as new themes emerge. Based on the discourses that emerged from the documents, I re-evaluated the strands to narrow down the themes and identify sub-strands of those major themes. I repeated the process of coding until I did not identify any new strands related to my research problems; repetition of the coding process ensured that any discourse strands that emerged as part of the evolutionary process were applied to the documents equally.

5.2.2.2 Organizing and narrowing the results from the thematic coding

Based on the discourse fragments I identified during these iterations of coding, I created a list of potential discourse strands, and begun to categorize them based on the literature review and my research questions. I grouped sub-strands with broader discourse strands. This process resulted in uncovering key points and themes (Table 1).

Table 1: Discourse strands and sub-strands uncovered during analysis

Analysis Location	Discourse Strands	Accompanying sub-strands
Chapter 9	Colonial narratives	• Culture as geographically bound • Sanitization of colonialism • Cultural tourism • Global citizenship
Chapter 10	Nationalist glorification	• 'Multicultural' Canada • Indigenous romanticization • Mythmaking
Chapter 11	Standardization	• Comparison • Generalization • Normativity • Legitimacy
Chapter 12	Tokenism	• Hierarchies of knowledge • Recognition

5.2.2.3 Detailed analysis of the recurring patterns of images and messages

As part of the detailed analysis stage, I looked for frequency of particular discourses to identify the overall discursive position of the OME and to track consistencies or divergences in the discourses across documents. I compared the data for these discourses with the background information contextualizing the production of the documents. This process allowed me to identify differences for varied teaching contexts. Identifying patterns and images in the categorized discourse strands, I was able to closely examine the strategies used by the document/website authors when using certain discourses and to relate them to the background information.

5.2.2.4 Fine detail analysis of the key patterns of language

The fine detail analysis stage (Jäger & Maier, 2009) differs from detailed analysis in its linguistic focus. I examined the structure of the discourse fragments by identifying types of language used in each discourse strand. I focused on semantics, agency, lexical choices, and texture (i.e., meronymy) to generate particular images or constructs. Focusing on contextual materialities of the text means examining the semantic and grammatical relations between discourse fragments and their contexts which depend on genre, “as do the type of ‘exchange’ (e.g., giving information, eliciting action), speech function (e.g., statements, offers, demands), and the grammatical mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative)” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17).

5.2.3 Analysis of intertextual interactions

The scope of this study is focused on education in Ontario, but there are well-documented intertextual interactions between the FSL curriculum and OME educational

policy documents, publications from the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the CEFR and its accompanying documents. Relevant texts (judged by date of publication and overlap in topics) were examined as part of the intratextual relations analysis.

I looked for references to other texts especially those that clarify or expand meanings of culture in relation to the documents, which discourses of culture have authority or power in the curriculum documents, rhetorical strategies that might offer clues about specific goals of the curriculum documents in relation to culture, how social positions are constructed and represented in relation to “culture”, and the underlying ideologies and belief systems reflected in the discourse.

5.2.4 Analysis of subtextual interpretations

This stage of my analysis considered ideological or discursive meanings invoked by texts, considering the ‘common sense’ interpretations of specific discourses (Pennycook, 2021). Informed by Brown’s (2015) description of neoliberal economic and political rationality, I recognize that policy documents created in a neoliberal political climate (Alexander, 2022) will use various mechanisms to regulate normative perspectives (Shohamy, 2006). For example, silences in the curriculum document may be supplemented by regulation through standardized testing. I looked for silences in the text that “carry unspoken assumptions and connotations that can powerfully influence the discourses they permeate – in part by constituting a body of […] taken-for-granted commonsense belief that escapes critical scrutiny” (Fraser, 1997, as cited in Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006, p. 76) and for the ways that the government communicates normative understandings of concepts.

5.2.5 Analysis of post-textual implications

At this stage, I considered the meanings and affective and material relations derived from texts (Pennycook, 2021); I examined what work these discourses might be doing in practice and the possible effects on lived experiences in the classroom for teachers and students.

5.3 Limitations of the methodological approach

According to Blommaert (2005 cited in Pennycook, 2021) the central criticisms of CDA are issues of interpretation and context and the potential for bias or subjectivity. A lack of specificity about the ontological nature of discourse is also criticized for resulting in ideological interpretations (Meyer, 2001 cited in MacCormac, 2016, p. 50). There is a risk, according to critics, that the "insertion of the analyst's voice into the interpretation of discourse often overshadows the other voices contained within the discourses themselves" (MacCormac, 2016, p. 50).

Additionally, Thurlow (2016) suggests that insisting on the primacy of words and writing overlooks bodies, affect, objects, and other forms of materiality (Pennycook, 2021, p. 109). A document analysis, with a focus on policy documents in the public record, does not study the ways this curriculum document is used by teachers in practice nor the ways that students respond to teaching of this curriculum. It is not possible to analyze what is absent from the text – teacher and student resistance, internationalization, affective responses to teaching materials, the critical work teachers might engage in to challenge normative discourses present in the text of the curriculum – or how regulatory mechanisms such as report cards and testing interact with the text of the curriculum

documents in practice.

5.4 Addressing the limitations of CDA

To minimize the risk of researcher bias and a lack of rigour in CDA, I draw on methodologists who propose suggestions for coping with some of the limitations previously mentioned. In the sub-sections to follow I discuss efforts I have made to employ those suggestions in this research study.

5.4.1 Objectivity and subjectivity in qualitative research

Pennycook (2021, p. 107) challenges the assumption that it is possible for researchers to take an objective position outside of their locus of enunciation because “[t]extual analysis is […] inevitably selective: in any analysis, we choose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and not other possible questions” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14). Positivist research is subject to the same challenges: “[I]s it possible to perform any research free of a priori value judgments and is it possible to gain insight from purely empirical data without using any preframed categories of experience?” (Meyer, 2001, p. 17). Questions of objectivity and subjectivity are not exclusive to CDA and can be mitigated by analysing the social life of the text. Engaging with a text and evaluating it through CDA involves ethical judgments and to face the locus of enunciation, the researcher must engage in reflexivity about ideological positions throughout the research process; awareness of structural orientations avoids making definitive truth claims based on discourse analysis, seeking instead to locate power and situate knowledge. These concerns are relevant to qualitative and quantitative research, where tools devised by researchers are influenced by a research question and accepts

ideological premises as the basis for conducting research.

MacCormac (2016, p. 51) responds to a second concern about CDA related to its ability to “show the whole picture of the topic under investigation” citing Stake (2000, p. 441) who claims that “[m]any a researcher would like to tell the whole story but of course cannot; the whole story exceeds anyone’s knowing, anyone’s telling. Even those inclined to tell all find strong the obligation to winnow and consolidate”. It is impossible to provide analysis of every data point in the FSL curriculum documents and supporting documents to create a holistic picture, but the insights offered by CDA outweigh the limitations and procedures like engaging multiple data sets, grounding the research process in linguistic analysis, and engaging in reflexivity mitigate these concerns.

5.4.2 The question of reflexivity

My own relationship to the French curriculum as explained in the selection of my research questions is something I view as a research asset, but I am cognizant that this subjectivity and prior engagement with the social world of the text may be a concern for other researchers. As a student who enjoyed learning languages, I experienced discourses about the benefits of learning French for my career and for travel. As a teacher employed during the introduction of the revised curriculum, I experienced discourses about the inherent relationship between language and culture, the logic of including Intercultural Understanding throughout the text, and the benefits of action-oriented tasks and the CEFR documents. I also acted in my capacity as a teacher in relation to this curriculum document and observed the practices of other teachers in my teaching spaces.

In my analysis, my experiences have influenced my interpretations and understandings. My understanding of culture shifted significantly when I participated in both of my exchanges. The first, as a high school student, forced me to hold a mirror to the social practices I took for granted. When I consider adaptation as a goal of ICC, this disruption of what has been socialized to be normative, guided by self-reflection, seems to be the key to recognizing that social practices are malleable and are determined by a group of people in interaction over time. However, ICC models are attempting to replicate this encounter with the Self by bringing what is Other into language education. The disruption and self-reflection then depend on unethical attempts to expose students to the Other by emphasizing difference and essentializing Others. My first exchange also demonstrated to me that there were many things I had in common with my host family and I witnessed that within a bounded culture there were many cocultures. We had the advantage of traveling to several regions within France. There was no one “French” culture. My FSL education also taught me phrases like “Formidable !” which may have been in current use in Québec, but in France, this term was in popular in the 1970s. I learned that language is something that evolves and that “culture” is not stable or fixed. My undergraduate French Studies degree involved a significant engagement with postcolonial French literature including focuses on the Caribbean, Québec, the Maghreb, West Africa, diaspora from Algeria living in France and diaspora from Québec living in the United States. Some courses taught the French canon, but I also took courses that disrupted the canon and related French literature to political and artistic movements. During my analysis, these experiences made me aware of some of the

silences in the curriculum text.

As an adult, my exchange as a university student provided me with a more informed experience of so-called “culture shock”. I looked for inconsistencies in everyday tasks between my socialization and what was normative in Lyon: the layout of the post office, engaging with bureaucracy, structure of working hours and holidays, the medical system, relationship to agriculture and food preparation. I recognized, however, that the insights were more often an opportunity to reflect on the rationale for social practices in Canada (and to critique them) than an ethnographic understanding of being “French”. The skill of ICC that seemed most valuable to me was metacognition about taken-for-granted social practices, recognizing that what is “normative” is not fixed, and understanding what it is to be an “outsider” navigating unfamiliar institutions. This orientation to “culture” influences my analysis in that I am unsatisfied by superficial engagements with stereotypes, by explorations of cultural artifacts as sufficient for developing cultural knowledge, and by use of historically situated media to represent evolving social practices that are contingent on the historical and political moment.

As a practitioner, these experiences inform my anti-racist approach to French language education. A question that guides my teaching practice is *How does this learning prepare students to interact in emancipatory ways with the people they encounter in day-to-day life?* In addition to my own practice, I have witnessed the exploration of many of the Grade 1-8 FSL curriculum expectations (OME, 2013a) by other teachers. During my analysis, my own teaching experience occasionally informed my understanding of how curriculum expectations might appear in practice – in these

cases, I sought research and news articles to disprove or corroborate my experiences. A significant part of my professional development as an educator has been related to Indigenous history on Turtle Island and the Canadian government's genocide of Indigenous people. This learning contributes to the ways I teach "First Contant" between Indigenous nations and European colonizers, and that approach informs my understanding of historical references in the curriculum text.

As a researcher, I engaged with a new lens when approaching the discourses in the document texts and I allowed myself to let go of preconceived notions about the text and to be surprised by my analysis and findings.

Chapter 6. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

This chapter provides relevant contextual information about the creation of the data sets. The information provided in this chapter informs the analysis in chapters 8-12.

> “Curriculum is developed by the Ministry of Education in consultation with education stakeholders and partners. It has mandatory learning expectations (what students must learn) […]. It also includes information about ministry policies related to student learning (e.g., assessment, evaluation and reporting, special education, equity and inclusive education policies)” (OME, 2023b).

The claims made in the curriculum text are implied to come from the OME’s authority as a governmental body. Assumptions about policy development and curriculum writing processes include thorough research and consultation with experts in the field, and these meanings are derived from the historical efforts by the OME to characterize the curriculum writing process as a politically-neutral science (Alexander, 2022).

6.1 OME Front Matter

The OME is a “provincial body entrusted with regulating Ontario’s public education system. Its specific duties include the drafting and implementation of policies and programs for provincial school boards, allocating funds for programming, drafting and implementation of the Ontario curriculum, regulating Ontario graduation requirements and certification, and approving the use of classroom learning materials” (MacCormac, 2016, p. 55-56).

6.2 OME FSL curriculum expectations

The official curricular review of FSL education in Ontario began in 2008; It “involved a series of consultations, technical analyses, and research studies conducted on the provincial curriculum in order to gather critical insight into the issues concerning

Ontario's FSL curriculum and programming" (MacCormac, 2016, p. 56).

During the same period, the OME signed the *Canada-Ontario agreement on minority-language education and second official-language instruction* (Department of Canadian Heritage & OME, 2010) and established an FSL Provincial Working Group in 2010 which includes representation from Canadian Parents for French, the Ontario Modern Language Teachers' Association, the Modern Language Council, trustees, school and board administrators, teachers, students, parents, the Ontario College of Teachers faculties of education, and university researchers (Canadian Heritage & OME, 2010). Out of this provincial working group came *A Framework for FSL, K-12* (2013b), a document which

> "would support the core priorities for education in Ontario within the unique context of FSL, identify and align effective practices in FSL to improve student confidence, proficiency, achievement, engagement, participation, and retention, and consolidate key messages from research and ministry documents" (OME, 2013b, p. 5).

A team of around 100 people contributed to the revision of the French curriculum documents led by two subject specialists – Franco-Ontarian women – and two education officers working for the OME responsible for consulting and liaising with educators, ministry personnel, and stakeholders in the field of FSL, revising, editing, ensuring compliance with OME policies, and finalizing curriculum expectations for CF, EF, and FI (OME Education Officer, personal communication, July 10, 2024; Myers, 2012, p. 16). When referring to this team and process throughout the document, I will refer to the "curriculum writers" because it will not be possible to credit any specific text to one author.

Among the remaining team members were regional specialists from universities who were consulted with “a view to linking new developments with the latest research publications in the field and gaining information and know-how of researchers in charge of French teacher education” (Myers, 2012, p. 15). Among the major shifts proposed were adoption of an action-oriented approach, a “new assessment perspective in line with the [CEFR]”, and a new grammar approach (Myers, 2012, p. 15). A draft of the FSL curriculum documents generated by the committee based on these consultations was distributed, resulting in proposals which Ministry personnel endorsed or vetoed, “principally with a look at costs involved” (Myers, 2012, p. 15). Based on these guidelines, “a team of writers worked on a more detailed draft. More consultation meetings took place including teachers and university specialists alike, after which the complete final draft was to be elaborated” (Myers, 2012, p. 16).

A Framework for FSL, K-12 recognizes the CEFR “as a means to informing teaching and assessment”, recognizing the influence of the Council of Europe on language education policy in Ontario (Bournot-Trites et al., 2020, p. 146). Bournot-Trites et al. (2020, p. 147) point to the influence of the Department of Canadian Heritage who recommended the adoption of the CEFR as a language framework for Canada and have financially supported the effort to use the CEFR.

6.3 DestinatiON DELF Website

The DestinatiON DELF website was published in 2019. As previously noted, the website was financially supported by the OME and the federal Department of Canadian Heritage. The DELF exam is administered by France Éducation International for the

French Ministry of Education. The diplomas “are official qualifications awarded by the French Ministry of Education to certify the French competence of non-French citizens or of French citizens from non-francophone countries who have not completed a French secondary or higher education diploma” (Elder, 2018, p. 615). Vandergrift (2015) explains that the Department of Canadian Heritage funded the study to determine if it would be a suitable large-scale assessment for use in Canada. The DELF was restructured in 2005 “to align it more closely with the [CEFR]” (Vandergrift, 2015, p. 54). The DestinatiON DELF (2019) website asserts that it is “[f]or Ontario students preparing for the [DELF]”, answering questions for students and parents about the test, its purported benefits, and includes practice tests, a poster for FSL teachers to post in the classroom, and information scheduling through examination centres.

Bournot-Trites et al. (2020, p. 156) offer the following insights into the effects of the DELF: “Vandergrift found that taking the test increased the motivation of students for learning French […] However, about 51% of students found that the cultural references interfered with their achievement. On the other hand, 81% of teachers felt that cultural references might interfere with their students’ success. […] After using the DELF for their students, teachers indicated that they now understand the test better, and that they may change the types of activities they conduct in class. Moreover, Vandergrift concludes that teachers need to adjust their teaching to make tasks more authentic. Yet, authenticity is related to a cultural context.” Bournot-Trites et al. (2020, p. 157) ask if that means that “French language teachers need to use material coming from France to make those activities more authentic?” as France is the author and regulator of the

exam. “In point of fact, teachers indicated that the use of the DELF had a washback effect, changing their pedagogy. Teachers feel the need to harmonize their teaching with the content of the test, including the cultural content” (Bournot-Trites et al., 2020, p. 157). The test is based in ‘cultural’ references from the French government’s ideological framework about what makes someone proficient at the French language and culture. Vandergrift reported in 2015 that there was a “constant increase of DELF tests taken in Canada” (Bournot-Trites et al., 2020, p. 156).

Chapter 7. NAVIGATING THE DOCUMENTS

The curriculum documents provide a style guide (OME, 2013a, p. 18; OME, 2014, p. 22) and detailed explanations of the role of each text feature and the layout (see Figure 4).

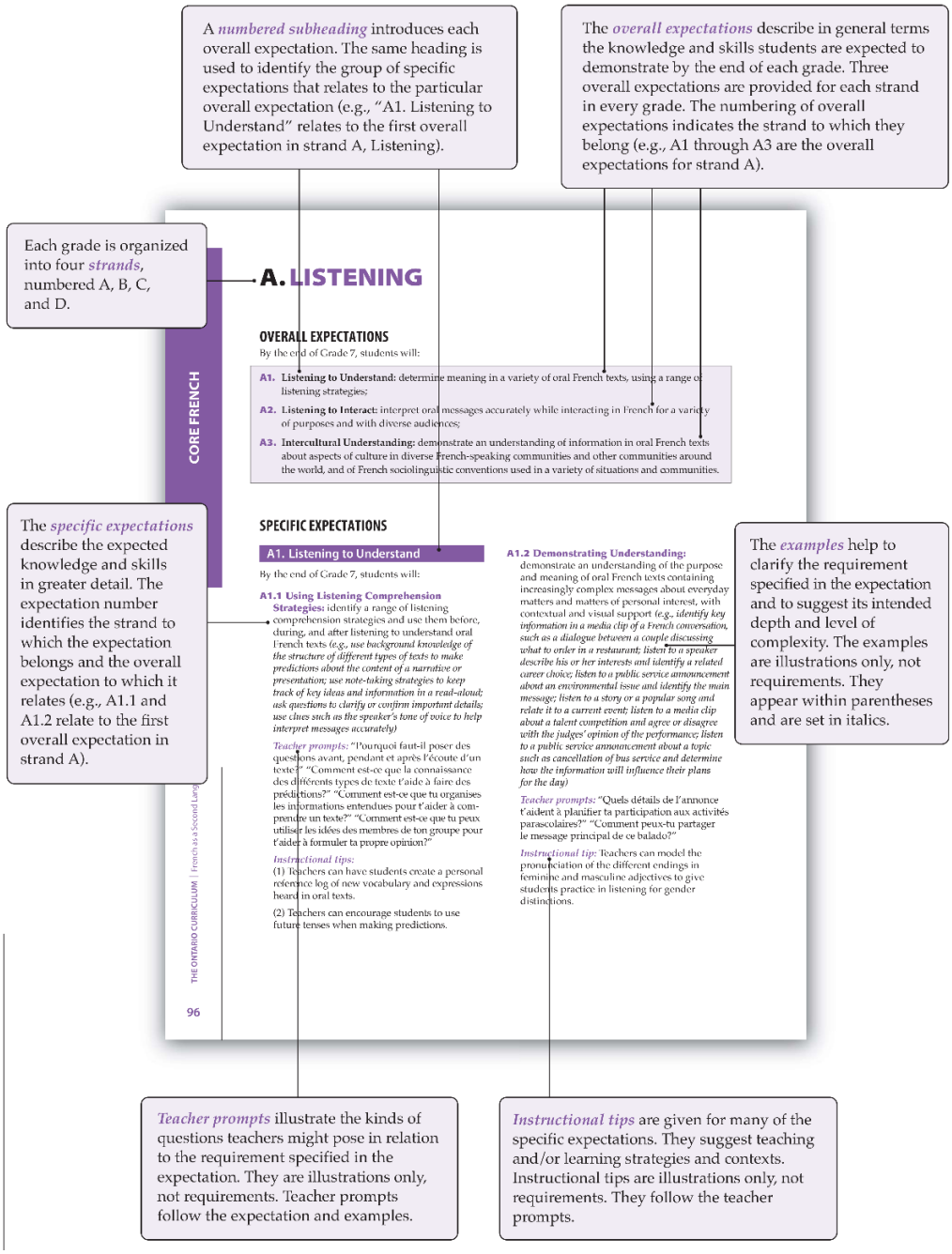
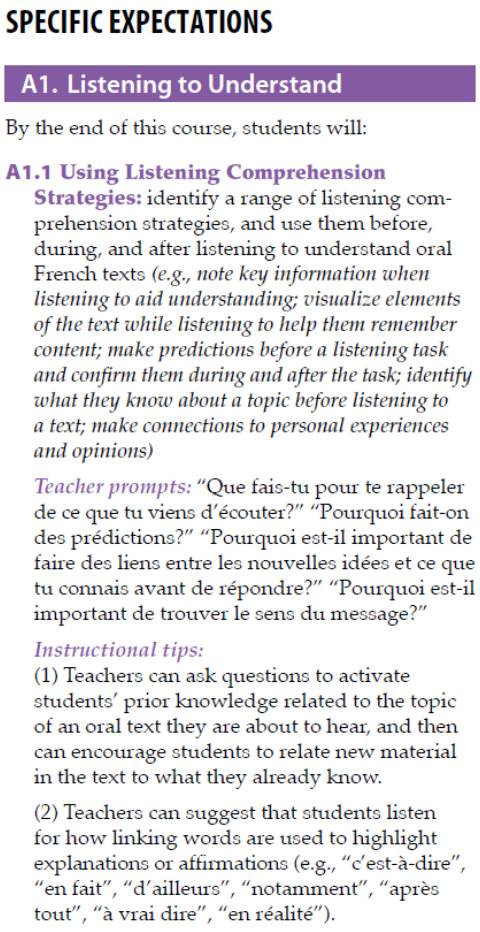


Figure 4 Style guide for curriculum text features (OME, 2013a, p. 18)

These text features are introduced here as a reference for my analysis in later chapters. The curriculum is organized into strands, or "broad area of the curriculum" (OME, 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20) which are enumerated with a letter: A. Listening, B. Speaking, C. Reading, D. Writing. Each strand is composed of 3 overall expectations. This analysis is focused most often on the third overall expectation of each strand which deals with the development of intercultural understanding. The overall expectations are mandatory for evaluation and reporting. See Figure 5 for an example of a specific expectation.



SPECIFIC EXPECTATIONS

A1. Listening to Understand

By the end of this course, students will:

A1.1 Using Listening Comprehension Strategies: identify a range of listening comprehension strategies, and use them before, during, and after listening to understand oral French texts *(e.g., note key information when listening to aid understanding; visualize elements of the text while listening to help them remember content; make predictions before a listening task and confirm them during and after the task; identify what they know about a topic before listening to a text; make connections to personal experiences and opinions)*

Teacher prompts: "Que fais-tu pour te rappeler de ce que tu viens d'écouter?" "Pourquoi fait-on des prédictions?" "Pourquoi est-il important de faire des liens entre les nouvelles idées et ce que tu connais avant de répondre?" "Pourquoi est-il important de trouver le sens du message?"

Instructional tips:
(1) Teachers can ask questions to activate students' prior knowledge related to the topic of an oral text they are about to hear, and then can encourage students to relate new material in the text to what they already know.

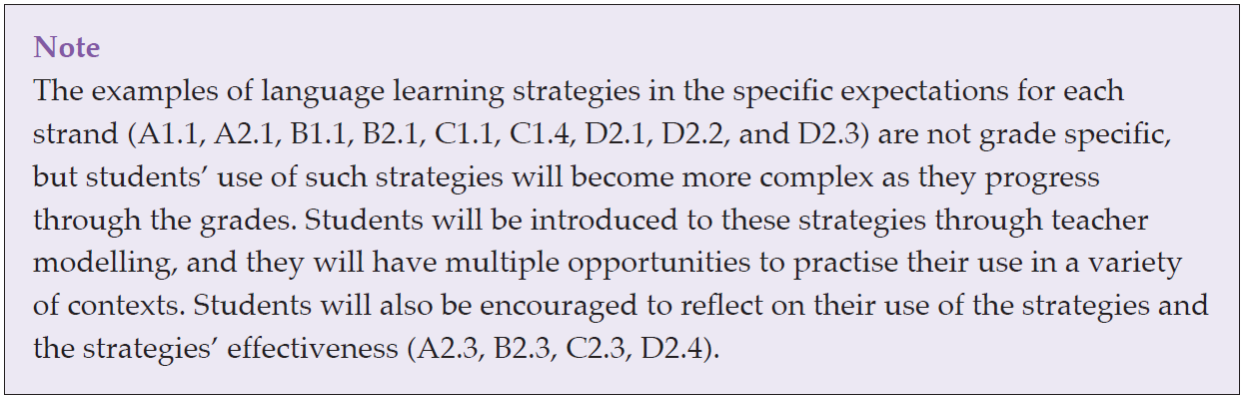
(2) Teachers can suggest that students listen for how linking words are used to highlight explanations or affirmations (e.g., "c'est-à-dire", "en fait", "d'ailleurs", "notamment", "après tout", "à vrai dire", "en réalité").

Figure 5 Sample curriculum expectation (OME, 2014, p. 102)

“Taken together, the overall and specific expectations represent the mandated curriculum” (OME, 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20). Teachers have “professional judgment” (OME, 2013a, p. 22; OME, 2014, p. 26) about which specific expectations are used to assess students’ achievement in relation to the overall expectations, but all specific expectations are required for instruction.

The specific expectations are organized into categories (e.g., Listening to Understand) and enumerated by numbered subheadings (e.g., Using Listening Comprehension Strategies). Each specific expectation includes non-italicized text which is the imperative expectation of what “students will” do (i.e., “By the end of this course, students will:”).

In the section dedicated to curriculum expectations in the Front Matter of the FSL curriculum documents, it reads that “The specific expectations describe the expected knowledge and skills in greater detail” (OME 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20). This characterization is contradicted in the FSL curriculum expectations by a box of text at the beginning of each grade’s section of the curriculum document (see Figure 6).


Note

The examples of language learning strategies in the specific expectations for each strand (A1.1, A2.1, B1.1, B2.1, C1.1, C1.4, D2.1, D2.2, and D2.3) are not grade specific, but students’ use of such strategies will become more complex as they progress through the grades. Students will be introduced to these strategies through teacher modelling, and they will have multiple opportunities to practise their use in a variety of contexts. Students will also be encouraged to reflect on their use of the strategies and the strategies’ effectiveness (A2.3, B2.3, C2.3, D2.4).

Figure 6 Example of the note on the cover page of each grade or course in the FSL curriculum

This discrepancy alters the characterization of examples in the curriculum document as mere suggestions because teachers are required to interpret the complexity of the listed examples to determine what is appropriate to teach for that program and grade level. The Teacher Prompts are a demonstration of the linguistic complexity required, and the Instructional Tips provide a guide for determining how to animate the curriculum expectation in the classroom. This note positions these text features as essential for interpreting the curriculum expectations.

The repetition of ideas between the examples, the teacher prompts, and the instructional tips also serve to shift the grammatical modality from voluntary or flexible to create a sense of obligation. That is, the teacher MUST use the examples and prompts outlined in this document to develop a program of instruction in FSL and meet OME educational policy mandates. Most of the examples throughout the curriculum document allude to expectations of other OME policy documents (e.g., OME's 2010 *Growing Success*), that teachers are obligated to integrate into the learning program.

At the very end of each curriculum document is a Glossary of terms, including a definition of culture and inclusive language. The Front Matter on the OME website includes hyperlinked pop-up features for glossary definitions. Footnotes are used occasionally within the document for various purposes, including clarifying the use of words in the document, sometimes in relation to definitions in other policy documents (OME, 2013a, p. 12, 22; OME, 2014, p. 12, 26).

The glossaries and footnotes leave out definitions for terms cited frequently throughout the document like 'respect'. I had to refer directly to educational policy documents

summarized in the Front Matter to access the OME's ideological understanding of this term, which indicates that the document appeals to 'common-sense' or hegemonic understandings circulating in educational contexts. Other terms like 'appropriate' appear to borrow their meaning from academic literature (e.g., Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009). None of the terms featured in the glossary within the curriculum expectations are marked to indicate which terms might be included in the glossary (e.g., by making them bold).

Chapter 8. ANALYSIS

I begin with a brief analysis in this chapter that establishes the curriculum's overarching orientation to the concept of culture. The remainder of my analysis is organized into thematic chapters where I outline key points identified in my analysis.

Chapter 9 focuses on the representation of colonialism in the curriculum in relation to the colonial past (and present) of Turtle Island and that of the French Empire. Chapter 10 looks at nation-branding and strategies that glorify 'Canada' and its ideal citizen. Chapter 11 focuses on processes of standardization in the curriculum for both language and culture. In the final chapter of analysis, Chapter 12 looks at tokenism of 'Others' in the curriculum in relation to the structural norm established in Chapter 11.

8.1 Overarching orientation to 'culture'

The authors of the 2013/2014 Front Matter and the FSL curriculum documents rely on Lussier's model for ICC discussed in Chapter 4 to conceptualize culture.

The 'savoir être' (or existential competence), which Lussier (2011, p. 61) argues should not be assessed, is presented in the Front Matter of the curriculum document and its discussion of attitudes for language learning. Among the student attitudes that the FSL curricular program is expected to encourage and to foster are patience, open-mindedness, curiosity, empathy, and respect (Table 2).

The FSL curriculum expectations offers an explicit definition of culture in the glossary of the curriculum documents:

> The customary beliefs, values, social forms, and material traits of an ethnic, religious, or social group. It includes the arts, literature, lifestyles, and traditions. (OME, 2013a, p. 314; OME, 2014, p. 380)

Table 2: Intercultural attitudes in discourse

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
The importance of the French as a Second Language curriculum[3]	"Learning an additional language not only challenges a mind but also teaches understanding, encourages patience, and fosters open-mindedness" (p. 7)
Interdependence of Language and Culture	"educators encourage students to develop the attitudes, knowledge, and skills, including their French-language skills, needed to interact with people in French-speaking cultures effectively and respectfully" (p. 10)
Instructional Approaches in French as a Second Language	Effective instruction motivates students and instils positive habits of mind, such as curiosity and open-mindedness" (p. 31; p. 35)
Human rights, equity, and inclusive education (2020b)	Human rights principles recognize the importance of creating a climate of understanding and mutual respect for the dignity and worth of each person, so that each person can contribute fully to the development and well-being of their community.

The term culture in the FSL curriculum often occurs as "aspects of culture". 'Aspects' means particular parts or features of something. Material traits include artifacts, technology, built environment, cultural landscapes, and consumer goods and commodities.

Among the three dimensions of ICC, the 'savoirs' (or cultural knowledges) are the most functional and measurable so in the Intercultural Understanding strand, curriculum expectations emphasize the development of 'savoirs' or cultural knowledges. The 'aspects of culture' are addressed in the substrand called "Intercultural Understanding". In the Achievement Chart, 'aspects of culture' appear in the Knowledge of content category of assessment (see Figure 7).

Therefore, culture is primarily treated as a knowable object where students demonstrate greater ICC through greater (quantities of) knowledge acquisition.

[3] For examples taken from Front Matter sections, it is assumed that the content appears in both FSL curriculum documents unless noted otherwise. For curriculum expectations, referenced pages for the FSL curriculum documents will be based on the grade: grade 1-8 curriculum content references (OME, 2013a) while grade 9-12 curriculum content references (OME, 2014). References that have distinct page numbers are noted in this order: (OME, 2013a; OME, 2014).

THE ACHIEVEMENT CHART: FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (CORE, EXTENDED, AND IMMERSION), GRADES 1–8

Categories	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Knowledge and Understanding – Subject-specific content acquired in each grade (knowledge), and the comprehension of its meaning and significance (understanding)				
	The student:			
Knowledge of content *(e.g., vocabulary and expressions; language structures and conventions; concepts, ideas, opinions, facts; aspects of culture)*	demonstrates limited knowledge of content	demonstrates some knowledge of content	demonstrates considerable knowledge of content	demonstrates thorough knowledge of content
Understanding of content *(e.g., concepts, ideas, opinions; language structures and strategies; forms and characteristics of texts)*	demonstrates limited understanding of content	demonstrates some understanding of content	demonstrates considerable understanding of content	demonstrates thorough understanding of content
Thinking – The use of critical and creative thinking skills and/or processes				
	The student:			
Use of planning skills *(e.g., establishing a focus; setting goals; observing; generating ideas; formulating questions; gathering and organizing information; selecting and using strategies and resources)*	uses planning skills with limited effectiveness	uses planning skills with some effectiveness	uses planning skills with considerable effectiveness	uses planning skills with a high degree of effectiveness
Use of processing skills *(e.g., predicting; inferring; analysing; evaluating; visualizing; interpreting; summarizing; integrating; classifying; revising and refining)*	uses processing skills with limited effectiveness	uses processing skills with some effectiveness	uses processing skills with considerable effectiveness	uses processing skills with a high degree of effectiveness
Use of critical/creative thinking processes *(e.g., using inquiry and problem-solving strategies; manipulating information and ideas; forming and justifying conclusions)*	uses critical/ creative thinking processes with limited effectiveness	uses critical/ creative thinking processes with some effectiveness	uses critical/ creative thinking processes with considerable effectiveness	uses critical/ creative thinking processes with a high degree of effectiveness
Communication – The conveying of meaning through various forms				
	The student:			
Expression and organization of ideas and information *(e.g., clear expression, logical organization)* **in oral, visual, and written forms**	expresses and organizes ideas and information with limited effectiveness	expresses and organizes ideas and information with some effectiveness	expresses and organizes ideas and information with considerable effectiveness	expresses and organizes ideas and information with a high degree of effectiveness

Figure 7 Achievement Chart, Grade 1-8 (OME, 2013, p. 28)

The Front Matter extends the culture-as-object orientation in its description of the role of the school library and information and communications technology in FSL programming (Table 3).

Table 3: Objectification of culture

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
The role of the school library in French as a second language programs	“The school library program enables students to: [...] acquire an understanding of the richness and diversity of artworks, fiction, and informational texts produced by French-speaking artists and writers in Canada and around the world” (p. 48; p. 50)
The role of information and communications technology in the French as a Second Language programs	“ICT can also be used to connect students to other schools, at home and abroad, and to bring the global community into the local classroom. The integration of information and communications technologies into the FSL program represents a natural extension of the learning expectations. […] Through ICT, teachers and students can also access authentic texts [...] by French-speaking people from a variety of cultures in Canada and around the world” (p. 49; p. 51-52).

In the first example students are ‘enabled’ to ‘acquire an understanding’ of fine arts texts. ‘Enable’ is a verb where someone is provided with the means or authority to do something. ‘Acquire’ is a verb which means to come into possession, ownership, or control of or to obtain as one's own. Collectively these verbs indicate a barrier preventing ownership of an understanding. This interpretation is supported by the second example which frames ‘authentic’ texts by French-speaking people around the world as something that can be ‘accessed’. The effect is that ‘culture’ is something tangible that can be ‘brought into’ the classroom through media texts and other artifacts. A separate line of analysis points to the French language’s position as an arbiter of that access because access to these desirable fine arts texts around the world is dependent on French language proficiency. The Front Matter assigns symbolic capital to the Frenchness of the cultural artifacts it will go on to suggest in curricular examples. In

terms of lexical choices, ‘richness’ means the state of existing in or containing plentiful quantities of something desirable. ‘Diversity of’ functions here to mean ‘variety’ because it is used as an adjective to describe the fine arts texts listed and is ideologically associated with inclusion or involvement of people from a range of different social positions. The adjectival subordinate clause “by French-speaking artists and writers in Canada and around the world” responds to who has created this desirable understanding.

The Department of Canadian Heritage is another key influence on determining which ‘aspects of culture’ would be accorded greater symbolic capital in the curriculum documents. In the FSL curriculum documents, the Canadian Heritage department is referenced in curriculum expectations:

- “share ideas and opinions regarding Canadian Heritage Moments video clips about [significant individuals and] topics in French Canadian history – such as the Métis[/Louis Riel] [and/or] the Acadians – and make cross-curricular connections to topics in social studies” (square brackets indicate slight variations between the example on p. 159; OME, 2013a, p. 86, 159, 277).
- “discuss personal reactions to information in a documentary or *heritage moment* about the relationship between early European explorers and First Nations peoples” (my emphasis; OME, 2013a, p. 155)

This department’s political portfolio includes history, sport, official languages, broadcasting and interactive media, arts and cultural industries (music, film and video, publishing, performing arts), heritage objects and spaces, citizenship, human rights, indigenous peoples, youth and sport initiatives, national ceremonies and symbols, festivals and celebrations (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2014, 2024). These are the aspects of culture most reflected in the content related to culture in curriculum expectations.

Two primary FI expectations demonstrate the range of content covered in the elementary curriculum's treatment of anthropological culture succinctly:

- "communicate information about Franco-Ontarian foods, songs, children's games, or sports that they have collected from various sources, including French-speaking members of the school community" (OME, 2013a, p. 207)
- "Teachers can encourage students to use words and expressions that describe traditions, holidays, food, and clothing (e.g., 'célébrer', 'fêter', 'manger', 'porter', 'préparer', 'acheter', 'créer', 'chanter', 'danser', 'visiter', 'cuire', 'traditionnel', 'cher', 'coutumes' [e.g., to celebrate, to celebrate/party, to eat, to wear, to prepare, to buy, to create, to sing, to dance, to visit (a place), to cook, traditional, expensive, customs]) (OME, 2013a, p. 221).

As part of the definition of culture, the curricula glossary includes "social forms", (e.g., rituals, ceremonies, structures of social interaction, greetings). This anthropological approach expands to include other "social forms" through the Grade 9-12 FSL curriculum where students are encouraged to explore industries, to learn about wedding traditions, clothing/fashion, advertising, and food.

Students are expected to demonstrate 'savoir faire' (or skills) of this cultural knowledge through the expectations of the overarching strand (i.e., Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing). In other words, when they learn about a festival or food by listening or reading about it, they might speak or write about it in a particular form or context. These skills (or ICC) are included in the Achievement Chart in terms of how students use cultural knowledge in their planning, communication, and application, but this interpretation of the Achievement Chart's relationship to culture depends on a thorough reading of the Front Matter and is not overtly explained.

Unlike 'savoirs', 'savoir faire' must be discerned through communication with students unless teachers purport to be capable of validly and reliably inferring students' internal

cognitive and affective processes through observation. In a functional approach to teaching ICC, the complexity of ICC models is flattened, and it is likely that ‘savoir faire’ is not explicitly explained because of this barrier to measurement.

The orientation to culture in the FSL curriculum documents and their declarative definition of culture is problematic, and it is challenged by the updated Front Matter document, which aligns more closely with a CAL understanding of social positions:

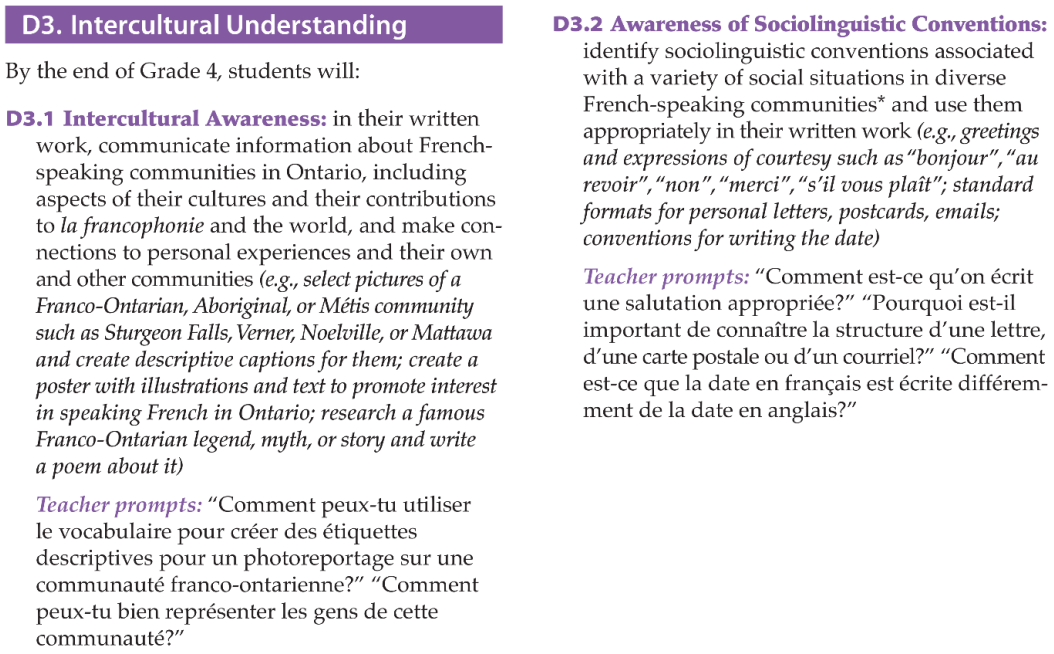
> “CRRP involves recognizing that “culture” encompasses various aspects of social and personal identity. It also means acknowledging students’ multiple social and personal identities and the social issues that arise where identities intersect” (OME, 2023a).

In this definition, the term culture is enclosed in double quotation marks. Traditionally, double quotation marks indicate a direct quotation, but using quotation marks around a single word implies a different semantic function. Quotes around a single term can be called scare quotes which may indicate the use of someone else’s term, imply skepticism or disagreement, or imply belief that the term is misused. In this case, it seems like “culture” is singled out to demonstrate its meaning in relation to the overarching concept of CRRP. The effect is to call into question the use of the term and to increase recognition of its component parts and to focus on identity and the possibilities for hybrid identities.

Chapter 9. COLONIAL NARRATIVES

This chapter explores the ways colonialism is sanitized and normalized in FSL curriculum expectations. Using strategies like euphemistic language, the curriculum expectations develop a sanitized image of history that elides the violence and legacy of colonialism. Euphemism is a discursive strategy which consists of substituting mild, indirect, or vague language to de-emphasize a negative or disruptive topic (Van Dijk, 2011). The curriculum's distancing from French colonial legacies and the repackaging of colonial logic serves the Canadian settler-colonial state. The curriculum expectations place students in subject positions that perpetuate narratives supporting linguistic imperialism and cultural tourism, while reinforcing power structures that marginalize Indigenous and other colonized voices.

9.1 Culture as geographically bound



D3. Intercultural Understanding

By the end of Grade 4, students will:

D3.1 Intercultural Awareness: in their written work, communicate information about French-speaking communities in Ontario, including aspects of their cultures and their contributions to *la francophonie* and the world, and make connections to personal experiences and their own and other communities *(e.g., select pictures of a Franco-Ontarian, Aboriginal, or Métis community such as Sturgeon Falls, Verner, Noelville, or Mattawa and create descriptive captions for them; create a poster with illustrations and text to promote interest in speaking French in Ontario; research a famous Franco-Ontarian legend, myth, or story and write a poem about it)*

Teacher prompts: "Comment peux-tu utiliser le vocabulaire pour créer des étiquettes descriptives pour un photoreportage sur une communauté franco-ontarienne?" "Comment peux-tu bien représenter les gens de cette communauté?"

D3.2 Awareness of Sociolinguistic Conventions: identify sociolinguistic conventions associated with a variety of social situations in diverse French-speaking communities* and use them appropriately in their written work *(e.g., greetings and expressions of courtesy such as "bonjour", "au revoir", "non", "merci", "s'il vous plaît"; standard formats for personal letters, postcards, emails; conventions for writing the date)*

Teacher prompts: "Comment est-ce qu'on écrit une salutation appropriée?" "Pourquoi est-il important de connaître la structure d'une lettre, d'une carte postale ou d'un courriel?" "Comment est-ce que la date en français est écrite différemment de la date en anglais?"

Figure 8 Intercultural Understanding expectation example (OME, 2013a, p. 65)

The 3.1 Intercultural Awareness curriculum expectation contains ‘cultural’ learning for each grade within a geographic region. Figure 8 demonstrates that the Grade 4 (CF) focus is French-speaking communities in Ontario. The region is specified in line with the regional focus for the 3.1 Intercultural Awareness expectation of that grade and program (Table 4).

Table 4: Geographical categories addressed by grade

Regional signifier	Grades
Local	Grade 1-3 Immersion
Ontario	Grade 3-4 Immersion, Grade 4 Core
Quebec	Grade 5 Core, Extended & Immersion
Canada (western, eastern, northern)	Grade 6 Core, Extended & Immersion, Grade 9 Open
Americas	Grade 7 Core, Extended & Immersion
France	Grade 8 Extended & Immersion
Europe	Grade 8 Core, Grade 9 Extended & Immersion (Academic & Applied)
Africa & Asia	Grade 9 Core (Academic, Applied & Open), Grade 10 Extended & Immersion (Academic & Applied)
Worldwide	Grade 10 Core (Academic, Applied, Open) Grade 11 Core (UP, Open), Extended (UP), Immersion (UP, Open) Grade 12 Core (UP, Open), Extended (UP), Immersion (UP, Open)

La francophonie is invoked throughout the document, and most officially in the curriculum expectations for the Speaking and Writing strands under Intercultural Understanding (Table 5). Engagement with ideologies of *la francophonie* during instruction are mandatory for students and teachers.

Students are obligated to communicate information about the contributions of French-speaking communities to *la francophonie* because of the nature of overall and specific curriculum expectations laid out in the opening of the text, but based on the glossary, it is unclear how these communities ‘contribute’ to ‘the geographical areas’.

Table 5: Discourses of la francophonie[4]

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
Glossary (OME, 2014; similar version exists in OME, 2013a)	"francophonie, la. The geographical areas where people use French in their daily lives and communications for all of the time or part of the time. The term was first used in the nineteenth century. […] When capitalized, la Francophonie is associated with the International Organisation of la Francophonie (IOF) and refers to states and other governmental bodies that have in common the use of French in their work or their trade]" (p. 381)
CF, Grade 6, *Instructional Tip*	"Teachers can model the use of expressions for describing their positive feelings about the contributions of various individuals to la francophonie" (p. 90)
EF & FI, Grade 7, *Examples*	"write about the accomplishments of an individual or group from the Americas that has contributed to *la francophonie*" (emphasis in the original; p. 182; p. 297)
CF, Grade 10, D[5], *Examples & Teacher Prompts*	"identify examples from audio-visual media that illustrate the extent to which French is used in a particular country [...] 'Comment l'importance de la langue française est-elle évidente à travers le monde? [How is the importance of the French language evident across the world?]'" (p. 103)[6]
CF, Grade 10, Open & D, *Examples*	"create a poster advertising the events for 'la semaine de la francophonie'" (p. 140) & "design a banner or poster for National Francophonie Week that includes French expressions specific to different communities" (p. 224)

The examples allude instead to individuals, organizations, and regions (i.e., the Americas) contributing to *la francophonie*. These expectations do not refer to contributions to the supranational organization, because they do not use the capitalized Francophonie. The use of the lowercase in the expectations means that these expectations refer to an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2016) based on the use of French as a spoken language.

The presence of this specific definition in the glossary must serve a different purpose by referring to *la francophonie* as geographical areas; it smooths over complicated

[4] In 1880, Onésime Reclus coined the term 'francophonie' and divided people in different countries who use French into four groups: "the countries where French is spoken as a first language, as in Europe and Francophone Canada; the Creole countries where French is the second language but widely spoken; countries where French is either an official language or in wide use, most of which are former French colonies; and countries where French is a foreign language with a privileged status" (Salhi, 2013, p. 192). When it appears with a lower-case 'f', la francophonie indicates any groups identified by Reclus but not necessarily associated with the IOF.

[5] Course descriptions with a D indicate an Academic stream course.

[6] Throughout the analysis, translations are my own.

questions about what relationship these regions have to French language (and imperialism) and presents French as an ahistorical characteristic of these geographic regions.

The documents' framing of 'culture' is organized geographically. Intercultural Awareness is always accompanied by "French-speaking communities" and a regional signifier. "French-speaking communities" is the only identifier that works with the geographic organization that the document writers chose to use. Put differently, "French" is not used as a marker of ethnic identity; rather, it is used as a marker of French-speaking nations and regions.

Considering the direct reference to la Francophonie in the glossary, and the Intercultural Understanding focus on French-speaking communities in Europe, Africa, Asia and "worldwide", it is likely that this organization was a resource for curriculum writers for curriculum expectations in the Grade 9-12 FSL curriculum. The Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (IOF/OIF) is named in the examples of several expectations:

- "conduct research for a class presentation on the role of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie [OIF]" (OME, 2014, p. 251)
- "identify the African members of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie [OIF] and describe some key aspects of their cultures" (OME, 2014, p. 312)
- "research the role of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie [OIF]" (p. 373)

The IOF/OIF's mission mandates echo those of the Council of Europe, including interest in fostering economic cooperation and sustainable development. Linguistic imperialism, colonialism, and settler-colonialism are all silent here, but the allusion to a specific

historical period implies that the term has historical authority and credibility. The document writers employ a strategy of evidentiality when they refer to historical origins of *la francophonie*. The idea here is that French's status as a global language is an established and enduring fact. The final examples referring to the IOF/OIF call on students to understand the relationship between the French language and trade relationships, and the relationship between la Francophonie and Africa. A research project about the role of the IOF/OIF could be critical of status and the nature of power in relationships between member states, which would be conditional on teacher coaching, as it is not explicitly stated.

In the curriculum expectation examples, the understanding of *la francophonie* and the subject position that students are expected to take in relation to that category is laid out: "Teachers can model the use of expressions for describing their *positive feelings*", "write about the *accomplishments",* and *advertise* the events for the National Francophonie Week (my emphasis). The words highlighted here have a positive connotation. The imagined community of *la francophonie* is something to be celebrated, and which teachers are encouraged to portray positively.

9.2 Sanitization of colonialism

To justify French as a language of study in Ontario, the FSL curriculum document and the Front Matter must establish French language skills as desirable for the state and for the individual. Part of this effort is accomplished by generating an image of French as a global language. At the same time, French's status as a global language is inseparable from linguistic imperialism and colonization. Because Canada is a settler-colonial state,

the curriculum writers are challenged to contend with the specters of colonialism while providing the French-language with symbolic capital. The status of French language in Canada as an official language is an extension of the settler-colonial project which permits the state to use multicultural policy as an umbrella approach relegating the status of Indigenous and 'heritage' languages to one of inferiority.

The historical moments selected for examples in the FSL curriculum expectations are often related to the "specters of colonialism" which 'haunt' the former French colonies. The curriculum writers employ the strategy of euphemism to characterize relations of dominance as relations between equals; this euphemistic mythmaking is present in discourses about linguistic 'borrowing' and 'spread' (Table 6).

Table 6: Euphemistic mythmaking about linguistic imperialism

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 9, P[7], *Examples & Teacher prompts*	"while reading, identify words and expressions unique to certain regions, such as the North African term "kif-kif" [...] 'Pourquoi emprunte-t-on des mots à d'autres langues? Comment est-ce que les mots ou les expressions empruntés sont intégrés dans la langue française? [Why do we borrow words from other languages? How are the borrowed words and expressions integrated into the French language?" (p. 83)
FI, Grade 11 UP[8], *Examples*	"read about various French-speaking historical figures and determine their role in the development and spread of the French language and culture worldwide" (p. 327)
FI, Grade 10, D, *Examples*	"analyse, on the basis of research, the historical reasons why many African and Asian countries use French" (p. 301)
FI, Grade 12, O[9], *Examples*	"Teachers can encourage students to research and explore the history of the French language to identify influences on the language, such as ethnic, political, social, technological, phonological, and grammatical changes" (p. 374)

The first example uses the expression *kif-kif* which is Arabic in origin and was adopted by French soldiers during colonization in the 19th century (Sivan, 1979). In the teacher

[7] Course descriptions with a P indicate an Applied stream course.
[8] Course descriptions with a UP indicate a University Preparation stream course.
[9] Course descriptions with a O indicate an Open stream course.

prompt, this colonial contact and influence on French language is framed as "borrowing". This borrowing was part of cultural appropriation and related to the glottopolitical expansion of French in the Maghreb (see García, 2016). The languages that served as sources of 'exotic' expressions for the French soldiers were regulated in colonial schooling and, like Haitian Creole and Antillean Creole, were accorded lower symbolic status than standard French.

There were consequences for the people of the communities whose languages were appropriated by the French; languages were subject to processes of accumulation by dispossession. In the second example, the phrase "development and spread of the French language and culture worldwide" allude to this appropriation of sociolinguistic conventions through "development" and to processes of linguistic imperialism through the term "spread". 'Development' and 'spread' both have positive or passive connotations that elide the violence of the processes involved.

In the third example, there is the potential for students to analyse linguistic imperialism, but the subordinate clause "on the basis of research" is conspicuous – the presence of this phrase seems to cast doubt on the credibility and authority of some sources discussing linguistic imperialism. The lexical choice "reasons" privileges rationality or logic; in other words, this expectation might be asking students to determine what the colonial logic was for linguistic imperialism or to understand the "spread" of French as a necessary civilizing force for economic benefits for these "former colonies". Recalling Medak-Saltzman's (2015) discussion of recycling truths, the implication is that there was undeveloped language in the places that now count French among their languages or

that French was accepted as an official or dominant language by the colonized populations without coercion.

Linguistic imperialism is detached from questions of power and constructed to be equivalent to the “evolution” of French outlined in the final example. The sanitization of linguistic imperialism works discursively with the image of the “former colony”. In a Grade 7 CF example, students are encouraged to:

> “research the roots of French-speaking communities in the French West Indies, St. Martin, St. Lucia, Martinique, Louisiana, and the New England states and report their findings to the class” (OME, 2013a, p. 101).

The writers employ the euphemism “roots” to stand in for “colonization”. It implies that the connection between these ‘communities’ is French colonization, but it simultaneously appeals to the idea that French colonization was the foundation or civilizing force for establishing their cultural identities.

The image of former colonies’ positive experience of colonization is extended in this Grade 10 Academic FI example:

> “view historical clips about the French Empire in Africa and Southeast Asia and discuss its enduring cultural influence […] Teachers can provide students with information on the history of communities and cultures in various countries in Africa in which French is spoken, drawing attention to the rich diversity of cultures as well as to social and/or economic issues and the enduring influence of colonization and/or slavery” (OME, 2014, p. 290)

The French Empire is physically and semantically distanced from colonization and slavery which are collocated with social “and/or” economic issues. The lexical choice of “Empire” invokes an ‘understood’ definition which positively positioned empires with ‘inherent’ economic and ruling power, which was envied by those seen as subjects to the empire. In the expectation, the co-occurrence of empire with references to cultural

exchange and cultural ‘richness’ and ‘diversity’ can serve to mask the brutality and genocides committed by those responsible for the creation of the empire and its subjects. The “and/or” as a conjunction implies that only one of the options might be applicable in each context, implying that they are not directly related to each other by semantically distancing the concepts. The nominalization of “slavery” reinforces its passivity and elides the role of the “French Empire” in facilitating the Transatlantic Slave Trade, despite being the third most active power involved in forcibly removing more than 1.3 million Africans from their homes and selling them as slaves in the “New World”. Africa is essentialized as the site of colonization and slavery, something that seems, according to the curriculum, to have just happened naturally. Similarly, “overseas collectivity of France” has a “colonial history”:

> “using various oral texts as sources, compare [various] aspects of the colonial history of overseas collectivities of France, such as Saint Pierre and Miquelon, French Polynesia, or St. Martin, with that of New France, [with a particular focus on the relationship between indigenous peoples and the imperial power]” (EF & Immersion French, Grade 11, UP, *Examples*; OME, 2014, p. 229, p. 321)

The countries mentioned in the OME above are current colonies of France. The prepositional phrase “of France” indicates ownership. “Colonial history” nominalizes colonization and as commonly understood, the word “history” suggests the past, thus, it hides the information that these countries are still colonies.

The curriculum provides partial histories and uses strategy of vagueness to avoid commitment and reproach for excluding certain histories (Table 7).

As in the first example, curriculum examples related to history are extremely generic leaving room for wide-ranging possibilities for what might be included.

Table 7: Discourses addressing history with strategy of vagueness

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 6	“Teachers can provide students opportunities to explore via the Internet historical plaques (e.g., on statues or relating to artefacts in a museum) from francophone communities across Canada.” (p. 162)
FI, Grade 8, *Teacher prompts*	“Quels événements historiques ont eu un grand impact sur la population francophone [en France]? Comment est-ce que cela t’aide à mieux comprendre leur histoire? [Which historic events had a big impact on the French-speaking population in France? How does that help you to better understand their history?]” (p. 311)
FI, Grade 9	"in pairs, research the history and geography of a French-speaking country such as Monaco, Switzerland, or Belgium, and present their findings orally” (p. 264)

A hegemonic interpretation of the second expectation might focus on the French Revolution – e.g., “listen to a clip from a documentary about the French Revolution and determine whose voices are represented as well as whose voices are missing” (OME, 2014, p. 261) – and the Hundred Years War or World War I and II (never referenced) but might not include the Algerian War; that is, the Algerian war is never mentioned in the documents, therefore, it can only be used in the classroom if a teacher has prior knowledge of it.

The third example in Table 7 might exclude Belgium’s King Leopold II and his brutal colonization of the Congo Free State (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) to focus on Belgium’s experiences during World War II. Slavery and colonization are explicitly attached to African countries in the document, but not to the European nations that perpetrated that violence.

9.3 Cultural tourism

Building on the construction of culture as being geographically situated, students are encouraged to view French proficiency as a means of accessing international spaces and ‘other’ perspectives as tourists. This tourist subject position emerges from an

emphasis on travel and tourism throughout the FSL curriculum expectations and in the Front Matter. I argue that this subject position can be alienating to students occupying social positions without financial access and to students who understand cultural tourism as a form of neocolonialism and as accumulation by dispossession. In the FSL curriculum, 'Other' exists is in service of self.

9.3.1 Geographic tourism

Whiteness in this approach engaged in 'visiting difference' or a form of "cultural tourism" (Derman-Sparks, 1998 cited in Kubota, 2004, p. 35) where cultural imaginaries are created and reinforced, where individuals pursue the romantic notions of cultural authenticity and enforce foreignness on groups.

The Front Matter section *The importance of the French as a Second Language curriculum* states that

> "While the knowledge of any language has value, French is not only a global language but the mother tongue of many Canadians and an integral part of the Canadian identity. Learning French equips students to communicate with French-speaking Canadians and millions of French speakers around the world" (OME, 2013 & 2014, p. 7)

The preferred meaning in the last phrase here may be that if you learn a language, you will be able to communicate with more people through travel or business experiences; this orientation to language-learning positions the learner as someone with the desire and access to travel. The emphasis on tourism and travel in the curriculum (Table 8) is conspicuous; curriculum expectation examples related to careers, healthy relationships, healthy living, media literacy, financial literacy, and green living, for example, all have basis in the policy documents referenced in the Front Matter of the curriculum.

Table 8: Emphasis on travel and tourism in the curriculum

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
FI, Grade 2, *Examples*	“to produce an informative brochure on a local tourist attraction” (p. 225)
Curriculum Expectations, *Examples*	Twelve separate expectation examples encouraging students to create or read/use information from travel brochures and travel guides
EF, Grade 4, *Instructional tips*	“Teachers can suggest that students use the impératif, présent, futur proche, or futur simple of familiar verbs when writing about travel (e.g., in giving directions and the names of locations)” (p. 135)
EF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“deliver an oral presentation regarding the importance of French-language skills when travelling” (p. 157)
Curriculum Expectations, *Examples*	Six separate expectation examples encouraging students to create or watch/use information from travelogues which “describe the experience of travelling to or in a country or region”
FI, Grade 7, *Teacher prompts*	“Lors d’un jeu de rôle entre un touriste et un natif francophone, quelles structures langagières utilisées au préalable te serviraient afin de t’assurer que le message est compris? [During a role play between a tourist and a native French-speaker, which language structures used beforehand will serve to reassure you that your message is understood?]” (p. 290)
CF, Grade 8, *Teacher prompts*	“in a small-group discussion about tourist attractions, listen to others’ opinions, agree or disagree, and share their own preferences […] ‘Qu’est-ce que tu as appris à propos de cette région? Est-ce que tu aimerais la visiter? Pourquoi? [What did you learn about this region? Would you like to visit it?]’” (p. 111)
CF, Grade 10, P, *Teacher prompts*	“Quels pays francophones aimerais-tu visiter si tu le pouvais? Pourquoi? [Which francophone countries would you like to visit if you could? Why?]” (p. 124)

Examples related to linguistics, sociolinguistics, and intercultural awareness all align with the objectives stated for the FSL program related to language proficiency. The emphasis on travel and tourism does not have any such basis, though travel and tourism appear in examples, teacher prompts, and instructional tips. It appears to be intertextually influenced by the urgency of convincing and motivating students to maintain participation in the FSL program outlined in *A framework for FSL, K-12* (OME, 2013b) as if learning a language is sufficient to make travel accessible. Travel is positioned as a natural consequence of learning a language, while in reality learning a language is likely to develop a desire to travel regardless of the ability of a student to act

on that desire. Travel is touted as one of the “lifelong benefits” of learning French that students might highlight in several curriculum expectations (OME, 2013a, p. 115, 191, 305). The final example of Table 8 implies potential barriers to students’ travel desires in the conditional subordinate clause “if you could” (OME, 2014, p. 124). Despite the socioeconomic factors influencing access to spaces as tourists or travelers, students are encouraged to make choices about a “vacation destination” (OME, 2013a, p. 146), create promotional materials for “tourist destinations” (e.g., the Caribbean or South America) (OME, 2013a, p. 107), and to role play as a tourist encountering “un natif francophone [a native French-speaker]” (OME, 2013a, p. 290).

The curriculum acknowledges socioeconomic disparity in the Front Matter. This access is not available to every student, and so even if the desire exists, focus on travel and tourism or job-related tasks and activities may be grounds for learner resistance, especially if structural inequity is not explicitly addressed as part of the topic.

The curriculum expectations place students in the position of both consumers and produces of tourism discourses. Tourism-related materials are often suggested as reading or listening materials and students are encouraged to create their own promotional materials for French-speaking communities.

In Table 9, students are encouraged to explore the language that can be used to leverage the desires of an audience and to elevate the status of destinations by placing them at a distance (e.g. by using the verb “to be able to”, the writer can make access or exclusivity part of the image of the destination). Exclusivity is the focus of qualifiers like “lesser-known regions”; students are constructing a hierarchy of desirability related to

how ‘local’ or ‘authentic’ their imagined destinations are. Producing these discourses places encourages students to internalize them.

Table 9: Students as producers of tourism discourses

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 4, *Examples*	“discuss the techniques used on a billboard designed to encourage families to visit a tourist attraction” (p. 131)
EF, Grade 4, *Examples & Teacher prompts*	“create a script about travelling to a new country; produce an informative brochure on a Canadian tourist attraction […] ‘Qu’est-ce que tu peux incorporer dans une brochure touristique afin d’informer les autres sur les attraits particuliers d’une région? [What can you incorporate in a tourist brochure to inform others about the particular attractions of a region?]” (p. 135)
EF & FI, Grade 8, *Examples, Teacher prompts & Instructional tips*	“write an article for a student magazine about the benefits of travelling to a lesser-known region of France […] ‘De quelle façon le fait d’écrire un éditorial dans un magazine destiné aux jeunes te permet-il de promouvoir l’exploration de diverses cultures francophones moins connues? [How does writing an editorial in a magazine for young people help you to promote the exploration of diverse, lesser-known French-speaking cultures?]’ […] Teachers can suggest that students use verbs such as ‘pouvoir’, ‘vouloir’, and ‘devoir’ [to be able to, to want to, to have to] to persuade their readers to visit a particular region (e.g., ‘On peut voir…’, ‘Vous voulez visiter…’, ‘Nous devons aller…’ [You can see…, You want to visit…, We have to go…]) (p. 197, 331)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“prepare and present a commercial to convince a peer to visit a country or a French-speaking Aboriginal community of their choice” (p. 113)

Students are also engaged in consuming existing tourist materials by listening to descriptions of tourist destinations (Table 10).

Table 10: Students as consumers of tourism discourses

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“listen to descriptions of tourist destinations in France and identify and describe significant landmarks” (p. 188)
EF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“identify symbols, personalities, landmarks, organizations, and traditions related to France and former French colonies and make connections to their own experiences” (p. 194)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“identify symbols, personalities, landmarks, organizations, and traditions related to French-speaking communities in Europe and make connections to their own experiences” (p. 118)

The second example in this table provides one of very few direct references to colonization in the FSL curriculum documents, and it uses the same language as the third example that refers to communities in Europe. It presents France’s colonial history

as background information, normalizing it and encouraging teachers to treat colonization as a given (Fairclough, 2003). It converts the process of colonization into a nominalized form that elides the role of France in colonizing these regions. These examples also use the language “make connections to their own experiences”. This phrase could be used to imply that students are already tourists and that they are encouraged to make connections to their experiences of traveling (which is problematic for the assumptions about class and access), or it could be a call to make connections to other ‘savoirs’ that students have developed about France and its ‘former colonies’. The strategy of vagueness leaves this interpretation up to teachers. However, making connections is a skill regulated through assessment by the Achievement Chart and appears throughout the document in relation to culture. This means that when students engage with ‘cultural’ aspects, they return the focus to themselves.

9.3.2 Intellectual tourism

Engagement in intellectual tourism combines the objective of appealing to student desires to continue learning French with processes of constructing difference from a position of superiority. Students are invited to control the narrative about ‘others’ in their representations. The FSL curriculum expectations present ‘cultural’ forms, perspectives, and knowledge as destinations for intellectual tourism that will enhance students’ own cultural capital. Diversity becomes valuable as something that can be exoticized and fetishized.

Relations of dominance are at play when the curriculum invites students to appropriate ‘cultural’ forms, as in the example from EF, Grade 6:

> “following an example of a French Canadian myth or legend, write a legend explaining a cultural event or geographic phenomenon from their own community; write a myth or fable for their own community that reflects a moral or value, drawing on examples from other cultures” (OME, 2013a, p. 166)

Students’ assumed objectivity and neutrality is demonstrated by the juxtaposition of the ‘self’ and the practices of ‘others’ in relation to myths and legends. Myths and legends are characterized as French Canadian, and the assumption is that students do not already have myths and legends to explain phenomena in their ‘own’ community. This is reinforced in the following sentence that encourages students to draw on examples from ‘other’ cultures. The assumption and implication are that students do not have fables from their ‘own’ cultures to draw on. The contrast between self and other also creates a temporal divide – modern and dynamic cultures do not have fables, myths, and legends, while cultures that do are ‘preserved’ or fixed in the past. It also portrays ‘cultural’ forms as a kind of tourism that students can interact with to better understand their own communities.

The most egregious example of this intellectual tourism shows up through the encouragement to appropriate the voice of ‘Others’. In Table 11, students are invited to “assume to the role of” or write “from the perspective of” someone else. In the second example, the French expression “entrer dans la peau de quelqu’un” is figurative language that implies the act of empathizing but literally translates to “enter into the skin of someone”. Assuming the role of a character is implied to be enough to ‘understand’ the complex intersections of their social positions, from the vantage point of an outsider. Role-taking implies cultivating insider knowledge of someone else’s experience and mirrors a tourism discourse mythology of ‘getting to know the locals’ (Thurlow, 2023).

Table 11: Discourses of role-taking

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 12, UP, *Examples*	"assume the role of a contemporary or historical person and write their autobiography" (p. 177)
EF & FI, Grade 7, *Teacher prompts*	"Comment le fait d'entrer dans la peau d'un personnage t'aide-t-il à comprendre sa communauté et sa culture? [How does stepping into the shoes of a character help you to understand their community and their culture?" (p. 183, 297)
EF, Grade 8, *Examples*	"role-play a dialogue between two historical figures with different points of view" (p. 187)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	"create a historical travelogue describing the journey of a First Nation guide and a European explorer" (p. 276)
FI, Grade 7, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can encourage students to use past and present tenses appropriate to the context when writing in the role of a historical figure" (p. 295)
FI, Grade 8, Examples & Instructional tip	"deliver a monologue in the role of a prominent historical figure […] Teachers can suggest students use sentence starters […] when role-playing a historical figure" (p. 303)

In the fourth example, the roles are assigned: "First Nation guide" and "European explorer", inviting students to actively participate in mythmaking about the positive relationships between colonizers and colonized in the language of the colonizer.

Role-taking extends beyond historical and contemporary figures (from the first example) to the role of newcomers and immigrant in Grade 8 FI:

> "write a memoir or an article from the perspective of a newcomer to Canada or someone affected by a social issue […] 'Comment est-ce que tu peux organiser tes idées dans l'écriture d'un article pour raconter l'expérience d'un immigrant? [How can you organize your ideas when writing an article to recount the experience of an immigrant?]'" (OME, 2013, p. 309)

This example and the accompanying teacher prompt create distance between the 'normative' students assumed in the text and actual newcomer students in the classroom, and inviting students who are not newcomers to imagine that they can speak for this group.

Any stereotypical representations generated by students reinforce the myth of Canada's superiority to nations that newcomers left, without critically examining Canada's contemporary role in globalizing processes that contributes to disparity and political

instability or the desires of refugee students to repatriate.

In Grade 6 EF, students are encouraged to “perform a skit that compares traditions, festivals, or customs of First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples” (OME, 2013a, p. 157). The document encourages Grade 4 FI students to appropriate sacred stories:

- “summarize or retell a First Nations, Métis, or Inuit story such as the creation story of L’île de la tortue [Turtle Island]” (OME, 2013a, p. 247)
- “create a video recounting a traditional story from a First Nation or Métis Elder” (OME, 2013a, p. 248)

The representations created by non-Indigenous students will be oversimplified generalizations of ‘cultural’ expressions which are protected by Indigenous communities. These practices were forcibly suppressed by the Indian Act, reserved for performances for white audiences, and appropriated in media representations for centuries (see Hanson, 2011; McNenly, 2012; Glass, 2021).

9.4 Global citizenship

The Front Matter establishes a vision of global citizenship that shifts focus from the impact of colonial legacies on global disparities by emphasizing the role of individual intercultural encounters and the personal growth and active participation of students as world citizens. It depoliticizes broader economic and political systems that perpetuate disparity, encouraging students engage in ‘interconnectedness’ without critiquing or challenging the processes of colonization that established many of the relations referenced throughout the document.

In both FSL curriculum documents, the *Preface* outlines a vision for curriculum in Ontario, generally, which includes “The Ontario curriculum is designed to help every

student reach his or her full potential [...] The curriculum recognizes that the needs of learners are diverse and helps all learners develop the knowledge, skills, and perspectives they need to become informed, productive, caring, responsible, and active citizens in their own communities and in the world" (OME, 2013a, p. 3; OME, 2014, p. 3). The 'full potential' that the curriculum aims for is one where students fulfill this view of citizenship (informed, productive, caring, responsible, and active).

In the FSL curriculum documents, this image of citizenship is linked to images of a 'world' or 'global' citizenship. Intercultural awareness and understanding are explicitly linked to the image of a 'global citizen' (Table 12).

Table 12: Discourses of globalization and global citizenship

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
Vision and goals of the French as a Second Language curriculum (OME)	"Goals – In all French as a second language programs, students realize the vision of the FSL curriculum as they strive to: [...] appreciate and acknowledge the interconnectedness and interdependence of the global community; […] become lifelong language learners for personal growth and for active participation as world citizens" (p. 6)
Enduring ideas in the French as a Second Language curriculum	Intercultural awareness and understanding are key aspects of global citizenship, which encompasses citizenship at all levels, from the local school and community to Canada and the world beyond" (p. 10).
Global citizenship and sustainability (OME, 2020a)	"Global citizenship and sustainability involves understanding diverse world views and perspectives in order to effectively address the various political, environmental, social, and economic issues that are central to living sustainably in today's interconnected and interdependent world. It also involves acquiring the knowledge, motivation, dispositions, and skills required for engaged citizenship, along with an appreciation of the diversity of people and perspectives in the world"
FI, Grade 12, Open	"to outline the qualities of a responsible global citizen in a charter […] 'Qu'est-ce qu'un citoyen du monde? Quelles qualités doit-on posséder pour être un citoyen du monde?'" [What is a global citizen? What qualities must one possess to be a global citizen?] (p. 375)

In the first example, the global community is constructed as interconnected and interdependent. Both 'interconnectedness' and 'interdependence' are nominalized forms representing processes of connecting and depending between agents in the global community. In terms of lexical choices, 'interconnected' means mutually joined or

related or internal connections between the parts of a whole. ‘Interdependence’ has a similar meaning which would make the repetition aesthetic or indicative of a second meaning. ‘Dependence’ describes a state of relying on or being controlled by someone or something else, especially for financial support. These agents of the global community involved in connecting and depending on one another are not identified. The presence of both ‘interconnectedness’ and ‘interdependence’ could generate an image of the world where the process of groups connecting with and depending on (or relying on or being controlled by) another agent is flattened and framed as inherent characteristic of the world order. Students are expected to appreciate and acknowledge these features of the global community; appreciation and acknowledgment of systems that naturally require financial dependence and economic trade relations depoliticize the economic systems that lead to global disparity. The role of corporate and political entities is elided by the role of “world citizens” who appear to take responsibility for connection and dependence on an individual level. This notion of the individual citizen as an actor in the global community is reinforced by the framing of language learning as a form of *personal* growth, in service of the world. The possibility for engaging with international communities to critique or reimagine these systems is silent.

The use of the prefix inter- repeats in the introduction of Intercultural Awareness and Understanding in the third example. The emphasis is on development of knowledge and comprehension between cultures, but the framing of these constructs as key aspects of global citizenship reinforces that global associations are the responsibility of individual citizens.

Chapter 10. NATIONALIST GLORIFICATION

This chapter investigates the role of the FSL curriculum in shaping Canadian identity, revealing a focus on a core identity that often marginalizes narratives – treating Indigenous and heritage identities as supplementary. Indigenous references are romanticized, emphasizing historical contributions to Canada while ignoring ongoing settler colonialism and treaty obligations. This narrative legitimizes Canada's land claims and fosters a Canadian identity closely tied to Whiteness.

10.1 ‘Multicultural’ Canada

The FSL curriculum reflects a core Canadian identity that prioritizes specific cultural narratives while marginalizing others, indicating a broader emphasis on social cohesion and national identity. It reflects the structuring of Canadian political identity as the ‘two solitudes’ (English Canada and Québec) with Indigenous and heritage languages or identities addended through the Multiculturalism Act. This chapter explores the FSL curriculum’s promotion of plurilingualism while reinforcing a homogeneous Canadian identity. Diverse students within the FSL program are valued for the benefits that they can provide to monolingual students. ELLs and First Nations, Métis and Inuit students are placed in the margins of an unnamed ‘immutable core’ that represents Canadian identity in the FSL curriculum and Front Matter documents.

10.1.1 Status of ELLs

Within a multicultural framework, ELLs are conceived of as assets because of the “rich diversity of background knowledge and experience” they bring to the classroom (OME, 2013a, p. 38; OME, 2014, p. 41). However, this background knowledge and experience

benefits students who are imagined as students who are monolingual and who possess shared background and experiences. The value of diversity to 'non-diverse' students is frequently employed in the FSL curriculum teacher prompts, as in this Grade 12 Open CF example:

> "'Comment l'apport des différentes communautés a-t-il enrichi le Canada? [How have the contributions of different communities enriched Canada?]' […] 'Quels sont les aspects positifs qui ressortent d'un mélange de cultures? [What are the positive aspects that come out of a mix of cultures?]'" (OME, 2014, p. 192).

Cultural mixing in this example is textured by references to "contributions", enrichment, and positive aspects. This image of diversity as a benefit to Canada is a glorification of accumulation by dispossession. Enrichment does not flow both ways.

10.1.2 Status of First Nations, Métis and Inuit students

Another group that is frequently mentioned in the FSL curriculum documents as requiring special attention are First Nations, Métis and Inuit students. The prevalence of references to Indigenous 'communities' (nations) in the FSL curriculum documents, without any guidelines for engaging with this collectivity – without any Front Matter summaries and contextualizations of its contemporary "Aboriginal education strategy" [10] (OME, 2015, p. 5), and without its own companion document – is conspicuous.

A frequent strategy of the FSL documents is *collocation* where collocation is the association of two concepts or groups which serves to associate them in some way to influence the reader's perception (e.g., by making them seem inherently connected). An

[10] The strategy is outlined as part of the Ontario First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework (OME, 2007); the use of the word Aboriginal has an etymological connotation of away (ab-) from the 'original'.

example of collocation in the FSL curriculum expectations is associating First Nations, Métis, and Inuit nations with contemporary “issues” related to disparity and discrimination. The collocation is part of the euphemistic recasting of the consequences caused by colonial logic for Indigenous nations (Table 13).

Table 13: “Specters of colonialism” as “issues”

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
FI, Grade 11, UP, *Examples*	“after reading an article about past and present contributions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people to Canadian society, role-play an interview with the writer, asking questions about current Aboriginal concerns related to information in the article” (p. 325)
FI, Grade 7, *Examples*	“create a short video about an important issue faced by a First Nation, Métis, or Inuit community” (p. 290)
EF, Grade 5, *Examples*	“to formulate questions for a guest speaker about a current issue affecting Aboriginal people” (p. 154)

These consequences or “issues” are presented as an inherent trait of the nations. The recasting is evident in the first example where appropriation of Indigenous practices become “contributions […] to Canadian society” and the consequences of colonization are framed as “current Aboriginal concerns”. In the other examples, “important issue faced by” and “current issue affecting” repeat this euphemistic pattern. In all examples, there is no attempt to connect these issues to their source. The image of Indigenous people facing issues is normalized and is taken for granted, but Canada and French imperialism (linguistic and otherwise) are elided from these examples.

10.1.3 Image of Canadian identity

The image of Canadian identity (Table 14) maintains the immutable core that organizes all identity within Canada. In the first example, the subordinate conjunction “while” indicates that integrating into another culture has the potential to contrast with respecting one’s own (wealthy, white, heteronormative, male) beliefs.

Table 14: The image of Canadian identity

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 10, *Teacher prompts*	"Comment pouvez-vous vous intégrer dans une autre culture tout en respectant vos croyances? [How can you integrate yourself into another culture while respecting your beliefs?]" (p. 216)
FI, Grade 10, Academic, *Teacher prompts*	"Qu'est-ce qui forme votre culture et comment se lie-t-elle à votre identité canadienne? [What forms your culture and how is it linked to your Canadian identity?]" (p. 294)

Therefore, it is only valuable to integrate into another culture if the core (Canadian) beliefs are not at risk of being altered. In the second example, culture is separated conceptually from Canadian identity. In the second clause linked by the conjunction "and", the subject "elle [it]" is an anaphoric reference to culture. As "your Canadian identity" is the direct object of the verb linking, it is conceptually distinct from culture. One's culture, then, is separate from one's Canadian identity.

10.1.4 Plurilingual citizens

Reflecting Kymlicka's (2003) proposed "multicultural states and intercultural citizens", the FSL Front Matter refers to plurilingual citizens (OME, 2013a, p. 7; OME, 2014, p. 7). The orientation to plurilingual citizenship evident in the FSL curriculum does not match the flexibility to select languages of study, a choice which is afforded to European participants in the Council of Europe (2006) document credited with the term "plurilingual citizen" in the FSL Front Matter.

According to the Council of Europe (2006, p. 5), "A plurilingual person has: a repertoire of languages and language varieties; competences of different kinds and levels within the repertoire". In this document, plurilingualism is defined as "a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages over their lifetime in accordance with their needs" (Council of Europe, 2006, p. 4) and as "the lifelong enrichment of the

individual's plurilingual repertoire […] made up of different languages and language varieties at different levels of proficiency and includes different types of competences" (Council of Europe, 2006, p. 5).

Interestingly, the Council of Europe (2006) suggests that plurilingual education promotes "an awareness of why and how one learns the languages one has chosen" (Council of Europe, 2006, p. 5), emphasizing that learners should be able to choose the languages that they learn. While this choice is an illusion of autonomy based in liberal egalitarian paradigms and ignorant of the material consequences of language status, it differs from the approach in Ontario that insists on French-language education. The rest of the aims and language are reflected in the FSL curriculum, but this difference indicates that "social cohesion" in Ontario depends on bilingualism in the official languages.

The FSL curriculum Front Matter establishes a vision for FSL in Ontario schools:

> "Vision - Students will communicate and interact with growing confidence in French, one of Canada's official languages, while developing the knowledge, skills, and perspectives they need to participate fully as citizens in Canada and in the world" (OME, 2013a, p. 6; OME, 2014, p. 6).

The characterization of legitimate Canadian citizenship ("fully as citizens in Canada") as dependent on growing confidence interacting and communicating in French is reinforced by the nonessential adjectival clause "one of Canada's official languages"; this subordinate clause reminds educators of the legitimacy accorded to French by the federal government. Similar legitimacy is not extended to Indigenous languages (Haque, 2000).

10.2 Indigenous romanticization

Indigenous presence is ubiquitous in references to Canadian history. Indigenous individuals are cast in the trope role of mythical helpers (Hamilton, 2024) who ‘contributed’ to the nation-making of Canada and whose ‘traditional’ role was adapted into a modern Canada. Indigenous nations are romanticized and relegated to the past, and treated as objects of study, unless they are subsumed into the body politic and reassigned a Canadian identity. In the employment of this discourse of collocation with Indigenous heritage, the FSL curriculum proposes a kind of Canadian ancestral claim contributing to mythmaking about the importance of Canada’s existence on this land.

10.2.1 Indigenous nations as ‘subcultures’

The document uses the term “Aboriginal” as an identity category, and this term does not appear anywhere as “Aboriginal nations”; it appears exclusively with “community” or “communities” to ensure that Indigenous identity is assumed into the body politic and that nationhood is reserved exclusively for Canada. The document does refer to First Nations, almost always in collocation with Métis and/or Inuit, and if not, in collocation with “early explorers”, but does not name any specific nations. Many expectations refer to Indigenous people as if they are Canadian.

In the first example of Table 15, the use of the preposition “including” indicates that the items introduced after it are part of the group previously introduced. In other words, “Aboriginal artists” are a subset of “French Canadian artists”.

In the second example, the phrase “such as” functions as a preposition in the same way, indicating that a historical figure that can be categorized as “a member of a First

Nations, Métis, or Inuit community" is a "Canadian historical figure".

Table 15: Discourses of Indigenous nations as a 'subculture' within Canada

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	"discuss personal reactions to and opinions of songs and artwork by French Canadian artists, including Aboriginal artists such as Leah Fontaine, Marcien Lemay, or Derek Letourneau" (p. 86)
EF, Grade 6, *Examples*	"write a biography of an important Canadian historical figure such as an early settler or a member of a First Nations, Métis, or Inuit community" (p. 164)
All FSL programs, Grade 6, *Examples*	"listen to songs such as 'À la claire fontaine', 'C'est l'aviron', 'V'la l'bon vent' and identify their significance to Métis and other French Canadian communities" (p. 83, 156, 274)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	"write a diary entry from the point of view of an Aboriginal Canadian or early Canadian settler" (p. 281)

In the third example, the use of the word "other" implies that the Métis are one variety or subset of French-Canadian communities. The "significance" discussed in this example applies to both Métis and 'other' groups that are encompassed by French-Canadian identity. In the final example, "Aboriginal" is an adjective describing the noun "Canadian". Canadian is a national identity in this context and Aboriginal identity is a 'subculture' within that national (Canadian) identity. The discourse of Indigenous nations as 'subcultures' of the Canadian nation-state parallels the paternalistic role of the state as a colonial occupier, while using Indigenous people to create the myth of Canadian heritage.

10.2.2 Indigenous nations as objects of study

As Côté (2019) uncovered in the British Columbia FSL curriculum, there is a tendency in the Ontario FSL curriculum to objectify Indigenous nations by treating them as objects of study by placing them as objects of the prepositions "on" or "about".

In the first example of Table 16, the conjunction "or" presents First Nations people as equivalent alternatives to the environment and healthy eating as objects of study.

Table 16: Objectification of Indigenous people

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	"listen to a read-aloud of an authentic text about the environment, healthy eating, or First Nations people and use words, pictures, and/or actions to restate the main idea and related details" (p. 82)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	"evaluate how the visuals support the spoken messages in a documentary on Aboriginal peoples" (p. 273)

Students are encouraged to take an anthropological role in relation to 'traditional' practices of Indigenous nations by describing them, explaining how to replicate them, and writing about their use. Based on previous assertions that the assumed student in the document is white and monolingual, these curriculum expectation examples position students as outsiders to these cultural practices replicating the processes of colonial ethnography in which "inegalitarian power relations were relatively well defined: there was little question about the 'civilized' outsider's ability to represent 'primitive' peoples" (Narayan, 1993, p. 682).

10.2.3 Traditional vs traditions

Colonial domination contributes to fixed representations of 'others' as traditional and exotic while European and American 'cultures' are characterized as dynamic and contemporary (Pennycook, 2021, p. 85). "Traditional" as an adjective is used almost exclusively to refer to Indigenous practices, while "traditions" are used for every other group present in the document. The distinction romanticizes Indigenous nations – treating them as if they are not contemporary like European and 'Canadian' nations – which creates an effect of making them seem as if they no longer exist or that they have been assimilated into Canadian citizenry. This suits the paternalist role adopted by the Canadian settler-colonial state where the power to manage Indigenous life rests with

the government instead of in treaty agreements that would see Indigenous nations treated as equals. It also supports colonial logic that reimagines Indigenous peoples as needing civilizing, treating their institutions, histories, and knowledges as limited or non-existent and inferior to those imposed by the settler-colonial state.

As an adjective, 'traditional' defines the nature of whatever it describes and can mean 'existing in or as part of a tradition'; they are partial, or they exist in the past. They are representative of the tradition which remains fixed. 'Traditions' are 'transmissions of customs or beliefs from generation to generation'; in other words, they are the process of sharing (and mutating) across time, moving towards the contemporary representation.

Traditional is applied to Indigenous people in relation to celebrations, technology, medicine, and food (Table 17).

Table 17: Use of 'traditional' referring to Indigenous 'culture'

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 5, *Examples*	"describe the sights and sounds they see and hear at a traditional celebration such as a powwow" (p. 79)
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	"'how-to' manual, such as how to build a traditional canoe"
FI, Grade 4, *Examples*	"to write about the use of plants in traditional remedies" (p. 253)
FI, Grade 4, *Examples*	"compare modern and traditional methods used in French-speaking Aboriginal communities to produce maple syrup" (p. 255)

In these first three examples the reference to Indigenous practices is implicit; powwow, canoes, and plant-based remedies in French-Canadian, and Ontario contexts, are associated with Indigenous practices. This interpretation is corroborated by the reference to Christian Pilon and Marcel Labelle, Métis canoe builders, in previous grades (OME, 2013a, p. 62, 132). In the fourth example, modernity of Indigenous identity is contingent on relationships to Canadian identity. Maple syrup is a symbol of

Canadian identity. “French-speaking” as an adjective to describe Indigenous communities positions them as part of the ‘French as Official Language’ nationalist project. The methods for producing maple syrup are characterized as traditional and modern, both belonging to these Indigenous producers. In other examples, without the relationship to French-speaking and Canadian symbolism, the word ‘modern’ does not appear. The modernity of the methods used by Indigenous communities to produce maple syrup are semantically linked to their willingness to assimilate to Canadian identity.

‘Traditional’ is also applied to oral history practices of Indigenous nations (Table 18).

Table 18: Use of ‘traditional’ referring to oral history practices

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF & EF, Grade 5, *Examples*	“listen to the recitation of a traditional French-Canadian story used by Métis, such as La Chasse-galerie, and make connections to a familiar tale[/discuss the life of early European settlers in Quebec]” (p. 69, 142)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	“folktale, such as creation stories from First Nations, or French-Canadian legends used by Métis, like La Chasse-galerie – to explain, in imaginative terms, traditional beliefs or customs of a particular cultural group […] folktale – human, divine, or animal characters, often with special knowledge or talents, representing aspects of a culture’s traditional belief system” (p. 103)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	“traditional First Nation, Métis, or Inuit story – characters, personification of objects or animals, moral or lesson” (p. 279)
EF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“listen to participate in traditional storytelling games” (p. 155)
EF, Grade 5, *Instructional tips*	“Teachers can consider inviting a guest speaker to share traditional oral stories” (p. 141)
CF, Grade 11, UP, *Examples*	“extract the key ideas from a traditional oral text from another culture” (p. 142)
FI, Grade 9, Academic, *Examples*	“compare traditional and modern myths and legends from a variety of French-speaking European communities and discuss how they convey the values, traditions, and/or customs of those cultures” (p. 268)

In the first example, *La Chasse-galerie* is characterized as a French-Canadian story, though it is an adaption of a French story that uses canoes. It might be more accurate to view this story as a hybridization of French and Indigenous stories. To include the subordinate clause “used by Métis” indicates that the story does not belong to them, it is

only used by them, and its identification as French-Canadian would not be changed in the Métis did not “use” this story.

While the story’s origin may be French, its “French-Canadian” existence depends on Indigenous modes of transportation; the story cannot exist without the relationship between the French colonizers and the Indigenous people who introduced them to canoe travel. Canadian claims to legitimacy on Turtle Island benefit from the establishment through the other examples in Table 18 of Indigenous oral history as “traditional”; Creation stories are treated as equivalent to legends like *La Chasse-galerie*, equating oral history with fantastical tales, and devaluing Indigenous worldviews.

In Grade 6 FI, students are encouraged to “write a report on a French-Canadian tradition adapted from First Nations traditions, such as making maple syrup” (OME, 2013a, p. 283), and to respond to Teacher prompts like this one: “Selon vous, comment les Premières Nations, les Métis et les Inuits ont-ils préservé leurs traditions au fil des années? [In your opinion, how did the First Nations, the Métis and the Inuit *preserve* their traditions over the years?]” (my emphasis; OME, 2013a, p. 274). While French-Canadians have “adapted” traditions, First Nations, Métis, and the Inuit have “preserved” their traditions. This distinction implies that outside forces threaten Indigenous traditions, but linguistically, the threat appears to be “modernity” eliding the role of colonizing agents in Canada’s cultural genocide and reinforcing the traditional and exotic nature of Indigenous social practices (Glass, 2021).

10.3 Mythmaking

The FSL curriculum expectations emphasize hybridity (Indigenous-Canadian) and positive alliances between colonizers and the Indigenous nations while silencing treaty obligations in these relations to rewrite history and maintain Canada's land claims. Historical figures in the document contribute to the exaltation of the 'Canadian' identity (and its association to Whiteness) and its contributions while encouraging students to appropriate the voices of the 'disadvantaged' racialized figures.

10.3.1 Collocation and hybridity

Through association with Indigenous heritage, "French-Canadian" identification gains necessary access to an image of long-standing presence that reinforce the claim of French to status in Canada. French-Canadian history is often collocated with the Métis, and with other Indigenous nations in the FSL curriculum (Table 19).

Table 19: Collocation between Métis and voyageurs

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
All FSL programs, Grade 4, *Examples*	"listen to directions and locate on a map historic Franco-Ontarian or Métis communities such as Sault Ste. Marie or Mattawa" (p. 55, 126, 246)
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	"to describe garments historically worn by Métis and voyageurs in the fur trade" (p. 91)

The Voyageurs were largely French settler-colonizers and collocation with Métis nations works to create an imaginary where all French settler-colonizers have a historical claim to this land, the way that Indigenous people do.

Part of the process of making an ancestral claim involves invoking hybridity to create an image of French-Canadian Indigeneity, exemplified in the following Grade 4 FI expectation example: "discuss ways in which French-speaking Aboriginal people can celebrate both their Franco-Ontarian and Aboriginal cultures" (OME, 2013a, p. 249).

Earlier references to Christian Pilon and Marcel Labelle as “Franco-Ontarian Métis” and the ‘modern-day’ French-speaking Métis community of Mattawa reinforce this image of hybridity.

Indigenous worldviews are devalued while their heritage and practices are used to bolster claims of Canada and French-Canadians to Turtle Island. The process of adapting Indigenous practices to increase the legitimacy of French-Canadian identity in Canada extends to food practices (Table 20).

Food practices in Europe are called ‘local cuisine’, while French-Canadian and Métis food practices are traditional. The pouding chômeur was a dish developed during the Great Depression and uses maple syrup – ideologically associated with Canadian identity, but dependent on adaptation of Indigenous harvesting practices.

Table 20: Characterizations of cultural food practices

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
All FSL programs, Grade 5, *Examples*	“determine the ingredients in a typical Québécois dish such as ‘le pouding chômeur’” (p. 76, 148, 266)
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“a menu outlining the courses for a traditional Métis family meal” (p. 91)
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“describe […] cuisine from French-speaking regions in western, eastern, and northern Canada” (p. 86)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	“describe examples of Cajun cuisine and/or the traditions of the Mardi Gras festival” (p. 101)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“use an audio-visual presentation […] local cuisine, and/or traditions and customs of European countries where French is widely spoken, such as France, Switzerland, and Belgium” (p. 115)
CF, Grade 9, Open, *Examples*	“listen to recipes of traditional French-Canadian foods and identify some of their key ingredients” (p. 91)
CF, Grade 10, Applied, *Examples*	“create a menu, including the prices, for a traditional French-Canadian meal” (p. 127)

10.3.2 Contributions of historical figures

The curriculum frequently encourages students to role-play or write in role as historical figures, including Indigenous and Black historical figures. The contrast between the

exaltation through recognition of accomplishments by white historical figures (some of whom were slaveholders) and the characterization of Black, First Nations and Métis historical figures as available to be appropriated is indicative of a general trend in the document of celebrating Whiteness and failing to interrogate it. The contrast is compounded by notable silences that support mythmaking of a White Canada with racialized supporting characters.

The racialized and Indigenous historical figures named in the text consist of Marie-Josèphe Angélique, an enslaved Black woman who burned down Old Montréal; Chief Pontiac and Joseph Brant, Indigenous military leaders fighting for the French or the British respectively during early colonization; Louis Riel, a Métis leader who is considered the Father of Manitoba; and Riel's sister, Sarah. In Grade 7 FI, students are encouraged "to write a letter in the role of a historical figure such as Chief Pontiac, Joseph Brant, or Marie-Josèphe Angélique, sharing his or her experiences with family members" (OME, 2013a, p. 295). Teachers are encouraged to ask the related question:

> "Comment le fait d'écrire une lettre en personnifiant un héros historique te permet-il de partager les expériences qu'il a vécues et te sensibilise-t-il à ce qui lui est arrivé? [How does writing a letter personifying a historic hero allow you to share the experiences that he lived and to make you aware of what happened to him?]" (p. 295)

The use of the declarative mood asserts that writing a letter in role provides students with access to experiences and builds their empathy. In Grade 6 CF, students are similarly encouraged to "write a sample exchange of letters between Louis and Sarah Riel" (OME, 2013a, p. 90). The remaining historical figures named in the text were George-Étienne Cartier – one of the 'Fathers of Confederation' representing the

interests of French settler-colonizers, Marguerite Bourgeoys – a white nun during early colonization who missionized the poor, Marguerite D'Youville – a white nun who founded a hospital, Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette. Regarding this group of white historical figures, students are encouraged to "read about […] historical figures such as Marguerite Bourgeoys, Marguerite D'Youville, or George-Étienne Cartier, and describe some of their accomplishments" (OME, 2013a, p. 148) in Grade 5 EF, or in Grade 11 FI University Preparation, to:

> read about various French-speaking historical figures and determine their role in the development and spread of the French language and culture worldwide […] Teachers can direct students' attention to the use of the infinitif passé in texts describing the achievements of a historical figure (e.g., "Après avoir exploré la région des Grands Lacs en 1670, Louis Jolliet, explorateur de naissance canadienne, avec le père Jacques Marquette, a reconnu le cours du Mississippi en 1673 [After having explored the region of the Great Lakes in 1670, Louis Jolliet, Canadian-born explorer, with Father Jacques Marquette, discovered the Mississippi River in 1673]") (OME, 2014, p. 327)

Elsewhere, the document uses Instructional tips to remind teachers of the importance of avoiding generalizations, but there are no Instructional tips that advise teachers that Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette are only the first non-Indigenous people to 'discover' the Mississippi River. It does not notify teachers that Marguerite D'Youville was the most prolific slaveholder in Montréal, purchasing, selling, and using slave labour from Indigenous and Black people and English prisoners of war to run her hospital (*Blacks protest elevation of nun who owned slaves*, 1990). Joseph Brant was also a slaveholder (Government of Ontario, 2024). Louis Riel is the most referenced person in the FSL curriculum documents, appearing eight times (OME, 2013a, p. 90, 113, 116, 159, 162, 277, 280, 309), and the sculptor of his original monument, Marcien

Lemay, is cited three times. Riel and his sister were Métis rebels against British expansion into the Prairies but Louis' Métis identity, his leadership and his role as a nationalist make the interpretation of his legacy flexible.

There are several glaring absences from the FSL curriculum expectation examples including the Quiet Revolution, the October Crisis, the Sir George William Affair, the Oka Crisis and the separatist movement and referendums which would have been appropriate cross-curricular topics. These events contend with social upheaval related to class and Catholicism, Black Power protests and uprisings by Indigenous nations. These are not sources of pride for Canada. Discourse about national pride is exemplified by this Grade 10 Academic FI example: "identify examples of nationalism in a historical vignette […] 'Comment la fierté nationale est-elle présentée dans notre société? [How is national pride presented in our society?]'" (OME, 2014, p. 289). In this sentence nationalism and national pride are collocated, as are historical vignettes and demonstrations of that pride. The assumption is that history is a source of pride. Thus, the FSL documents focus on events 'significant' to the "development of Canada as a nation": "listen to historical accounts about the voyageurs and coureurs de bois and discuss their significance in the development of Canada as a nation" (OME, 2013a, p. 83, 156, 274).

10.3.3 Alliances

The mythmaking of the FSL curriculum expectations emphasizes positive relations between early settlers and the Indigenous people who were colonized by France. In Table 21, there is an overall meronymic effect of making the "relationship(s)" between

First Nations people and European colonizers equivalent to the “treaty history of the land” and “alliances”.

Table 21: Image of early colonial relations as positive

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 5, *Examples*	“create a caption for an illustration or photograph describing the relationship between the voyageurs, the Métis, and the Northwest Company during the fur trade” (p. 151)
EF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“discuss personal reactions to information in a documentary or heritage moment about the relationship between early European explorers and First Nations peoples” (p. 155)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	“write a diary entry from the point of view of an Aboriginal Canadian or early Canadian settler” (p. 281)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples & Teacher prompts*	“write a script for a vignette/ short video depicting trade between Aboriginal and European peoples in colonial Canada – ‘Comment peux-tu démontrer le conflit ou la coopération entre les personnages d’une saynète? [How can you demonstrate the conflict or the cooperation between characters in a sketch?]’” (p. 282)
EF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“write about the relationships between early French explorers and First Nations peoples” (p. 197)
FI, Grade 8, *Examples*	“write a historical report about France’s first settlers in Canada and their relationships and alliances with First Nations people” (p. 311)

The lexical choices for referring to European colonists (e.g., ‘settler’, ‘explorer’) have neutral or positive connotations. In the third example, the use of the conjunction “or” erases power relations between these groups by positioning their perspectives as equal. This effort is belied by using the term “Aboriginal Canadian” which establishes the dominance of the colonizers.

In the fourth example, the adjective “colonial” nominalizes the process and converts it to background information, but the examination of relationships between the two identified groups depends on their status within the construct of the colony.

The term “relationship” here might then mean “relations of power”, but the text equates “relationships” to a perspective or point of view through the emphasis on personal reactions and diary entries. It is implied that the process of colonization was just a

difference of perspective; the logical, rational colonizer perspective that rescues Indigenous people from their own incivility and the perspective of the helpful ally who received the benefit of civilization. The legal obligations of settlers through treaty obligations are referenced only once in the FSL curriculum expectations, in Grade 12 EF, an ‘elite’ program:

> “write an informational pamphlet giving details of the treaty history of the land in an Aboriginal community” (OME, 2014, p. 254)

References to Indigenous communities appear constantly throughout the documents, but the nationhood of these communities is only implied. Treaties and their role in nation-to-nation relationships are effectively silent in the FSL curriculum expectations.

Chapter 11. STANDARDIZATION

This chapter explores the ways that emphasizing comparison edifies cultures as bounded groups and encourages association with a ‘superior’ idealized Canadian identity as comparing does not necessarily call on whiteness to examine itself. Comparison tends to focus on the different ways that ‘others’ behave as though these are ‘cultural’ behaviours. Thus, it tends to flatten the complex matrices of social positions that individuals possess, and unlike instances of strategic essentialism for structuralist critique (e.g., neo-Marxist), cultural generalizations in classrooms are functional and serve standardized instruction and assessment. This chapter explores the curriculum’s treatment of stereotypes, the processes of establishing normativity for ‘Canadian culture’, and legitimacy in standardized ‘cultural’ representations and linguistic varieties.

11.1 Comparison

The most common activity students are encouraged to take up in relation to the curriculum examples is comparison, by seeking similarities and differences to themselves, to their ‘own’ communities, and between identified communities. The curriculum writers imply that cultures are bounded structures and that the self is in opposition to discrete ‘others’.

The use of the verb “compare” in the examples in Table 22 establishes the possibility for similarity or difference between French-speaking communities; compare can mean ‘estimate, measure or note the similarity or difference between’. This verb appears in

the FSL curriculum expectations with the adjective “different” – meaning distinct, separate, or unlike in nature – to encourage a focus on differences.

Table 22: Discourses of difference

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 7	“compare the rights and responsibilities of children from different French-speaking communities around the world and make connections to their own” (p. 175)
EF, Grade 7	“explore how different French-speaking communities use intonation, pauses, and tone; […] use slang and anglicisms from different French-speaking communities in conversations and role-playing” (p. 175)
EF, Grade 8	“compare telephone etiquette of two different French-speaking communities and use them in a role play” (p. 191)
EF, Grade 9	“in pairs, discuss how traditions in French-speaking regions of Europe differ from one area to another; [...] compare and contrast their own everyday life with that of individuals or groups from various French-speaking European cultures) [...] Teachers can model and encourage students to use inclusive language and to avoid stereotypes and overgeneralizations in their descriptions of other cultures” (p. 200)
CF, Grade 11, UP	“read about common practices relating to diet and physical activity in different French-speaking countries to assess the healthiness of people’s lifestyles […] Teachers can direct students’ attention to various expressions […] when they are reading about dietary practices in different regions (e.g., ‘Pas de pain, pas de beurre, pas de confiture… je suis au régime! [No bread, no butter, no jam … I’m on a diet!]’, ‘une bouteille de cidre et une bouteille d’eau chaque jour [a bottle of cider and a bottle of wine each day]’). (p. 150)
CF, Grade 12, Open	“view fashion shows from different French-speaking regions and compare clothing styles and descriptions of them […] ‘Comment les éléments d’humour changent-ils d’une culture à une autre? [How do the elements of humour change from one culture to another?]’” (p. 182)

While the curriculum obliges teachers and students to avoid generalizations, the curriculum also insists that differences (e.g., rights and responsibilities, use of slang, telephone etiquette, traditions, everyday life, diet and physical exercise, fashion, humour) are stable across community groups. In the fifth example of Table 22, diet and physical activity are characterized as “common practices” for each French-speaking country. Put another way, diet and physical activity are largely homogenous with the bounded confines of the nation-state. In the final example, the teacher prompt has an interrogative mood, but the use of ‘do they change’ (changent-il) which is declarative,

proposes that humour does change from one community to another, and that students need only clarify what characterizes those changes. While mainstream media representations of humour may be consistent, there is no nuance nor accounting for individual tastes or strategic performances of 'cultural traits'.

11.1.1 'Us' vs 'them' discourses

Comparison is most important for establishing a sense of self and generating binaries and hierarchies. In the FSL curriculum expectations, there is an emphasis on the use of T-charts, comparison charts, and Venn diagrams which present discrete entities in a 1:1 relationship (Table 23).

Table 23: Strategies for teaching comparison

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 5, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can foster student talk in pairs or small groups to activate students' prior knowledge about their own cultures before making comparisons with or drawing conclusions about another community" (p. 148)
CF, Grade 4, *Examples*	"use a T-chart to organize information and guide discussions about aspects of Franco-Ontarian cultures" (p. 129)
CF, Grade 6, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can scaffold student learning by modelling the correct use of comparative adjectives and of vocabulary used to refer to social and cultural traditions when making comparisons between customs in different communities" (p. 93)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	"research aspects of life for French-speaking individuals or groups in the Americas and use a T-chart to make connections to life in their own community" (p. 104)
EF, Grade 4, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can model the comparative forms of adverbs (e.g., "moins… que [less … than]", "aussi…que [as … as]", "plus…que [more … than]", "autant… que [as much … as]") for making comparisons between cultural elements" (p. 126)

To begin the process of comparison, teachers are encouraged to activate students' knowledge about their own cultures (Table 23), after which teachers can focus on providing correct models for 'comparative adjectives' and comparative adverbs and possessive pronouns. Comparative adjectives establish hierarchies in relation to descriptors that have connotations in the contexts in which they are used (e.g., more

[independent] than). Such comparisons are the basis for culturalist understandings of nations and their characterizations as high-context/low-context, individualist/communal, and so on. Comparisons support student constructions of the self (and Canadian culture) and support student categorization of cultures in terms of their proximity to Canadian culture.

The importance of comparison strategies is laid out in the Front Matter's section about *Instructional Approaches*:

> "Strategies such as "compare and contrast" (e.g., through Venn diagrams and comparison matrices) […] give students opportunities to examine concepts in ways that help them see what the concepts are and what they are not. Although such strategies are simple to use, teaching them explicitly is *important in order to ensure that all students use them effectively*" (my emphasis; OME, 2013a, p. 30; OME, 2014, p. 34).

There is an implied 'true' version of concepts ("what the concepts are") that can be constructed in comparison with non-examples ("what they are not"). Determining what a bounded culture 'is' is determined by the effectiveness of rational strategies of comparison. The importance of comparison for FSL programming is reinforced through teacher prompts such as this one for Grade 9 EF:

> "Pourquoi est-il important de comparer les coutumes et les traditions entre les cultures? [Why is it important to compare customs and traditions between cultures?" (OME, 2014, p. 197)

Possible answers to this prompt include increased cultural understanding, reducing stereotypes and prejudices, and fostering social cohesion; these orientations are related to liberal multiculturalism. An alternative response might include adapting Canadian customs and traditions based on positive aspects of an 'other' culture; this orientation encourages accumulation by dispossession.

11.1.2 Indexicalities

Indexicalities in the FSL curriculum expectations create boundaries between the self and other. The use of French pronouns and demonstratives create distance between the French-speaking communities being studied and the students' perceived community. For example, in this curriculum expectation, the use of "that", "theirs", and "yours" serves the purpose of comparing traditions of two communities:

> "Qu'est-ce que tu as appris à propos de cette communauté francophone? En quoi est-ce que leurs traditions sont semblables aux tiennes? En quoi sont-elles différentes? [What did you learn about that francophone community? In what ways are their traditions similar to yours? In what ways are they different?]" (OME, 2014, p. 76).

The pronouns and demonstratives create structural wholes that are distanced from each other linguistically. In the first example of Table 24, the Instructional tip encourages teachers to associate the use of possessive adjectives with comparisons of culture.

Table 24: Indexicalities in the FSL curriculum document

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 5, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can suggest that students use possessive pronouns such as 'le mien', 'la mienne', 'le sien', 'la sienne' [mine, his/hers/theirs] when describing aspects of culture in different communities." (p. 151)
EF, Grade 4, *Teacher prompts*	"Comment est-ce que la connaissance de tes traditions et coutumes culturelles t'aide à mieux comprendre celles des cultures francophones? [How does the knowledge of your traditions and cultural customs help you to better understand those of francophone cultures?]" (p. 129)
CF, Grade 9, Academic, *Instructional tip*	"Teachers can suggest that students use prepositions indicating place when they compare and contrast their own everyday life with that of their peers (e.g., 'Chez moi, je vais à l'école tous les jours, parfois en fin de semaine je vais au cinéma et au restaurant avec mes amis, et chez toi, comment se passe-t-il?' [For me, I go to school every day, sometimes on the weekend I go to the movies and to a restaurant with my friends, and for you, what's it like?])" (p. 79-80)

The second example uses "celles des [those of]" to create distance and distinction between the other culture and the students' own. Teachers are also encouraged to associate daily life with prepositions of place ("Chez moi [At my home/For me]") to

differentiate with the speaking partner.

11.2 Generalization

Generalization is a process where broad observations about traits, behaviours, or practices are associated with a particular group and are used to represent the entire group. The observations are often oversimplified and lead to stereotypical representations. Generalizations eliminate individual differences within a community. In the FSL curriculum expectations, generalizations refer to ‘culture’ as the most important characteristic for meaning-making about a group or community. Generalizations can contribute to prejudice and discrimination when applied without critical reflection. Though the text frequently invites students make comparisons between themselves and 'other cultures', it is almost always a comparison between a personal culture to an entire group characterized with inherent traits that students are encouraged to identify.

11.2.1 Oversimplification or generalization of groups

Table 25 demonstrates examples from the FSL curriculum documents that demonstrate the oversimplification or generalization of groups.

In the first example, a community can be identified based on “cultural clues” which are all visible aspects of culture. The implication is that a community is performing a stereotypical version of their culture that makes them distinct, recognizable and therefore homogenous. In the next example, presenting a cultural tradition (through the lens of the outside observer) enables students to identify (unchanging) characteristics specific (and innate) to a culture. Intonation, nonverbal gestures, and the emotions/expressions in songs can be boxed up and associated with discrete

communities that can then be compared. There are no accompanying Instructional tips that encourage teachers to remind students that identified characteristics vary between families, individuals, and over time.

Table 25: Generalization

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 6, *Teacher prompts*	"Quels indices culturels (p. ex., les danses, la musique, les traditions, les célébrations) t'aident à identifier les communautés francophones des provinces atlantiques, des provinces de l'ouest, etc.? [What cultural clues (e.g., dances, music, traditions, celebrations) help you to identify the francophone communities in the Atlantic and Western provinces, etc.?]" (p. 83)
FI, Grade 7, *Teacher prompts*	"Dans quelle mesure la réalisation d'une présentation sur une tradition culturelle te permet-elle d'identifier les caractéristiques propres à ta culture et celles propres à la culture présentée? [To what extent does making a presentation about a cultural traditional enable you to identify the characteristics specific to your own culture and those specific to the culture presented?]" (p. 291)
CF, Grade 11, Open, *Examples*	"describe uses of intonation and nonverbal gestures in different French-speaking communities" (p. 157)
CF, Grade 12, Open	"compare emotions, expressions, and music in songs from different French-speaking communities" (p. 182)
FI, Grade 12, Open, *Instructional tips*	"Teachers can provide opportunities for students to explore and present to the class family structures, celebrations, or customs among different French-speaking communities around the world (e.g., Luxembourg: when someone is invited to another's home, it is the custom to give a box of chocolates or flowers to the hostess, and flowers should be given in odd numbers, except for thirteen, which is considered an unlucky number; Cameroon: it is the custom to give fruit to the hostess, and gifts are given with two hands or the right hand only, never the left hand)" (p. 370)

The specific etiquette for Luxembourg and Cameroon in the final example recalls the work of Hofstede's 'culturalist' characterization of nations (the behaviour of all members of a nation is characterized as identical) and represents a commodified form of intercultural knowledge (Halsall, 2008).

It also contributes to phenomena of enforcing foreignness, where tourists visit countries expecting certain cultural performances that match the specific customs they are purported to adhere to (Dervin, 2016). Teachers are then encouraged to take on roles of enforcing difference to ensure that the representations shared in the classroom (through

various media) match the descriptions in the FSL curriculum expectations.

11.2.2 Stereotypes

The curriculum presents stereotypes as mental images that are subjective and also as a functional tool that some people use (i.e. necessary for survival or useful). Teachers do not address stereotypes or overgeneralizations until grade 9, and only in EF programs. In other words, any students in a CF program that do not continue their French education beyond the mandatory course requirements have no references in their curriculum at any time to stereotypes or being mindful of them. In a CF program, students are not explicitly invited to consider the role of stereotypes until Grade 12, UP or Open pathways.

There are several implications for this delay: the curriculum relies on concepts of cognitive development to determine that students are not developmentally capable of understanding nuance in representation until they are teenagers; or the curriculum writers believe that students will be incapable of conducting nuanced conversations about stereotypical representations based on limited French proficiency; or the curriculum writers believe that students need to develop some general knowledge of French-speaking communities in order to deconstruct them as stereotypes. Interrogating stereotypical representations of culture is silenced except for students in ‘elite’ programs or who have continued their education to the point of proficiency desired by the state. Presumably, by the time students are exposed to critical thinking curriculum expectations about cultural representations, the student and their families have internalized the moral responsibility of becoming bilingual in French.

Students that drop out of the program – established to be dominated by lower-income, racialized students, ELLs, and students with disabilities – are presented generalizations as 'truth' while occasions to critique them depend on the teacher's approach to implementing the curriculum. This may place unfair responsibility on these students to challenge stereotypical representations. It may encourage 'normative' students to emphasize a singular focus on stereotypical representations (i.e., reducing student identities to the stereotypes about their perceived cultures), and have a negative impact on the self-esteem of students from regions that are generalized. The students that hold these social positions who do continue in the program are invited to understand the basis of stereotypes as rationality and survival, and to evaluate their usefulness.

The curriculum encourages students to 'debunk' or 'dispel' subjective stereotypes (Table 26) reaffirming that there is an accurate or real representation of bounded cultures that students should aspire to know. The curriculum suggests by omission that objective characterizations of groups are acceptable regardless of their material consequences for the groups they characterize.

Table 26: Debunking and dispelling stereotypes

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 12, UP, *Examples*	"write a persuasive essay to dispel cultural and regional stereotypes about specific French-speaking communities" (p. 179)
FI, Grade 12, Open, *Examples*	"develop a presentation debunking stereotypes about various French-speaking communities" (p. 370)

Students are also encouraged to denounce stereotypes (e.g., "deliver a speech on the impact of stereotypes and discrimination" in OME, 2014, p. 337) or to demonstrate that it is risky to use them (e.g., "develop and perform a skit illustrating the pitfalls of generalizations and stereotypes" in OME, 2014, p. 145). The term 'pitfalls' means a

hidden or unsuspected danger or difficulty, calling up the image of someone unsuspectingly falling into a pit. For someone whose social position involves the material consequences of stereotypes or generalizations, or for groups that are generalized and stereotyped, the dangers or difficulties are not unsuspected or hidden. The effect of this sentence, then, is that students whose social positions afford them exemption from stereotyping and generalizations (i.e., white, male, Christian, wealthy, straight) are centred here; these are the students who need to learn about the 'pitfalls' or potential difficulties of encountering difference.

In Grade 12 UP FI, the following example uses the strategy of hedging or attribution that attributes an idea to a general source, distancing the curriculum authors from the claim and reducing direct responsibility from the statement:

> "a persuasive essay on the dangers of cultural and regional stereotypes [...] 'Il a été suggéré que nous avions besoin des stéréotypes pour survivre : dans quelle mesure les jugez-vous utiles? [It has been suggested that we need stereotypes to survive: to what extent do you judge them to be useful?]' 'Comment les stéréotypes nous aident-ils à évaluer notre propre culture? [How do stereotypes help us to evaluate our own culture?]' [...] Teachers can remind students to use the correct sequence of tenses when relating two linked events (e.g., 'Après qu'il a assimilé les stéréotypes de cette culture, il régit les modes de relations que sa culture entretient avec les autres cultures' ['After he understood the stereotypes of this culture, he managed the ways in which his culture maintained relations with other cultures']" (OME, 2014, p. 360-361).

Linked to the idea of the danger of stereotypes, the curriculum expectation writers may have intended for students to evaluate the claim to discount it. Rather, students are encouraged to consider the claim's merits. The principle clause "to what extent do you judge [stereotypes] to be useful" aligns stereotypes with functionality. The adverbial expression "to what extent" invites students to place the functionality of stereotypes on a

continuum and to consider when they might be useful. The curriculum offers a possible function of stereotypes in the following prompt and in the instructional tip (i.e., evaluating their own culture, managing relations with 'other' cultures). The field of intercultural studies has origins in the need for multicultural education and cross-cultural management (Jack, 2009), positivist single-story "stereotypes are often taught to naïve students as tools for survival in a global economy and who one day may need to communicate with the persons so described by the stereotypes" (Moon, 2023, p. 61). This expectation contradicts the FSL curriculum expectations' overall ideological approach to stereotypes (i.e., dispelling them, debunking them, and as in Table 27, eliminating them, and 'getting past' them). This approach is rooted in rationality, as previously discussed, but rationality is generally viewed as something that will eliminate the harm caused by stereotypes.

Table 27: Conceptualizing stereotypes

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 11, *Teacher prompts*	"'Comment la discussion des stéréotypes de préjugés culturels nous sensibilise-t-elle au besoin de les éliminer? [How does the discussion of stereotypes and cultural prejudices make us aware of the need to eliminate them?']" (p. 230)
CF, Grade 12, UP FI, Grade 12, UP, *Teacher prompts*	"Teacher prompts: 'Parfois, une étude de la diversité culturelle se limite à la compréhension des éléments superficiels des représentations culturelles tels que les stéréotypes, les artefacts et les aspects folkloriques : À votre avis, comment peut-on arriver à dépasser cette étape? [Sometimes, a study of cultural diversity limits itself to the understanding of superficial elements of cultural representations such as stereotypes, artefacts, and aspects of folklore: In your opinion, how can we get past this stage?]'" (p. 173, 354)

Looking specifically at examples from the FSL curriculum documents, curriculum expectations related to cultural stereotypes and prejudices are concerned with the origins and accuracy of these –

CF, Grade 12, UP & Open*, Examples*: "develop a presentation exploring the

> origins and accuracy of stereotypes about various French-speaking communities)" (OME, 2014, p. 173, 186) –

and ask students to seek *a logical basis* for 'debunking' or 'dispelling' them. Debunking is concerned with proving the falseness of something and dispelling is concerned with making something disappear by casting doubt on it.

The execution of this liberal pluralist approach to stereotypes based in rationality is clumsy. It focuses on awareness and recognition of generalizations, positioning stereotypes as logical fallacies rather than as ideological tools and constraints. It fails to provide students with meaningful tools to dismantle the material consequences of these stereotypes except to say that they are not true. It reflects an approach that Omi & Winant (2005) call "race as an ideological construction"; this approach often results in calls for 'colour evasiveness' or liberal egalitarian ideologies that deny the material consequences of stereotypes. Encouraging 'othered' students to participate in FSL curriculum expectations that call for students to evaluate the stereotypes about their own cultures could create an emotional burden of revisiting stereotypes that have harmed them and reinforce or validate the stereotypes about them. However, the curriculum writers do not appear to consider stereotypes about racialized students in these expectations.

In the second example from Table 27, teachers of Grade 12 CF and FI programs for UP can engage students in a task where they are encouraged to imagine how society might "get past" stereotypical representations of culture in a cultural study (OME, 2014, p. 173, 354). The prompt lists "aspects of culture" which are employed in the Intercultural Understanding and Awareness strand throughout the documents up to this point;

essentially, and ironically, this teacher prompt calls on students to imagine how curriculum writers might avoid oversimplification in their constructions of culture throughout the curriculum itself.

The only example of a stereotype or prejudice offered in the entirety of both documents is one about Frenchmen in Grade 12 Open CF:

> "Identifie les stéréotypes qui caractérisent d'une région ou un pays francophone. Cherche les raisons sur lesquelles ces réputations sont fondées. Met-les sous forme de questions écrites que tu pourrais poser à toute la classe (p. ex., Est-ce qu'un Français ne porte vraiment qu'un béret et un tee-shirt rayé, ne mange que des baguettes et a systématiquement une moustache?). [Identify the stereotypes that characterize a francophone region or country. Look for reasons on which these representations are based. Put these in the form of written questions that you can pose to the whole class (for example, Does a Frenchman really only wear a beret and a striped T-shirt, eat baguettes and always have a moustache?]'" (OME, 2014, p. 191)

This orientation to managing discrimination based on intellectual arguments is embodied by the teacher prompt for grade 11 EF students (OME, 2014, p. 230) which equates awareness of stereotypes and prejudice with their elimination. Some stereotypes are based in statistics, and this approach is likely to backfire; students will find evidence that the French eat baguettes and pride themselves on the quality of their boulangeries (bakeries). Notably, this kind of stereotype does not cause material harm to French people. The curriculum writers are likely unable to include examples of stereotypes that do cause harm because of the potential for their inclusion to be used inappropriately in classrooms, so the engagement with stereotypes remains superficial, ineffective, and inadvertently reinforces the harm caused by culturalist generalizations throughout the document.

11.3 Normativity

Lexical choices in the FSL curriculum Front Matter and expectations reinforce the ‘immutable core’ by creating an image of that which is ‘typical’, ‘popular’, ‘standard’, ‘appropriate’, ‘accurate’, and ‘correct’. Regarding normative understandings of ‘other’ cultures, ‘normative’ depends on the social positions of the teacher who engages with these terms. Teachers are assigned the power to determine what is an appropriate representation of the ‘other’. Normative Canadian culture is created through an emphasis in the curriculum expectations on ‘appropriate’ use of language and conversational behaviours and teachers assess student performances.

11.3.1 Typical

An insider perspective about what was ‘typical’ or ‘popular’ or ‘standard’ is limited by the ‘insiders’ locus of enunciation. Interdiscursive relationships with ‘standard’ and ‘typical’ throughout the FSL curriculum expectations lend to an assumption that teachers are meant to seek examples that have legitimacy according to ‘insiders’. ‘Popular’ has the material consequence of privileging the Romantic understanding of the community/ region/country/culture being studied. ‘Standard’ has a similar meaning in its use in the examples but is also synonymous with ‘accepted’, or in other words, linguistic choices characteristic of a ‘native speaker’. In a classroom context, the power to determine what a ‘legitimate’ performance of ‘appropriateness’ is will likely rest with the teacher, who may not be an ‘insider’ and may only have fixed cultural artifacts as reference points for determining what is legitimate. Additionally, the ‘typical’ is not necessarily a reliable

source for making meaning from difference because differences depend on matrices of social position and are not dependent on ‘culture’.

The FSL curriculum expectations value normativity through the emphasis on seeking popular, typical or ‘standard’ phenomena (see Table 28). As an adjective, the term ‘popular’ implies symbolic capital for the artefact or activity being described by invoking a general audience that approves of it, though it is never specified who that audience is; in reality, French teachers will determine what is popular, at least at first. In the third example, context implies that the general audience is tourists.

Table 28: Discourses of popular, typical, standard or appropriate

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
FI, Grade 3, *Examples*	“write a sketch of a character from a popular movie” (p. 239)
Core & EF, Grade 6 FI, Grade 4, *Examples*	“use standard greetings and expressions of courtesy” (p. 85, 158, 248)
CF, Grade 6, *Examples*	“listen to directions to a popular location or attraction and trace the route on a map” (p. 82)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	“read the lyrics of a popular song in Antillean Creole and identify familiar versus polite forms of expression” (p. 104)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“identify and use appropriate conventions in informal oral interactions such as telephone calls – for example, standard phrases for greeting the listener” (p. 115)
EF, Grade 8, *Examples*	“incorporate popular expressions particular to youth of a specific francophone region into electronic messages” (p. 198)
EF, Grade 9, *Examples*	“listen to French-speaking students from different areas in Europe describe a typical day, and make comparisons to their own experiences” (p. 197)
CF, Grade 10, Open, *Examples*	“describe the origins of a tradition or popular pastime from a French-speaking community” (p. 140)

This descriptor might be included to add specificity (i.e., rather than “a character from a movie”, “directions to a location” which are vague), ‘popular’ is employed to add parameters.

When combined with discourses of authenticity (i.e., authentic texts created for francophone audiences), it becomes increasingly difficult for teachers to find materials with comprehensible input that meet this parameter and are considered popular – from

personal experience, comprehensible input must take precedence so that students can engage with text at all.

The implication that teachers will be maintaining 'insider' knowledge as a cultural pedagogue for so many regions or countries, especially when the region for Intercultural Understanding becomes "worldwide" means that the inclusion of "popular" as an adjective is not feasible. The extent to which a teacher endeavors to engage with co-cultures and complexify representations is directly related to the difficulty of this task.

11.4 Legitimacy

The autonomy provided to teachers in the text to interpret or act in resistance to the examples, teacher prompts, and instructional tips while interpreting the specific expectations is a source of hope that the issues with the curriculum expectations can be addressed. However, the Front Matter suggests that *teachers are responsible* for the inclusion of these additional text features because they wanted a standard French grammar to be included in the text. According to the OME (my emphasis; 2013a, p. 17; 2014, p. 20),

> "Most of the specific expectations are accompanied by examples, teacher prompts, and instructional tips, *as requested by educators*. The examples, given in parentheses, are meant to clarify the requirement specified in the expectation, illustrating the kind of knowledge or skill, the specific area of learning, the depth of learning, and/or the level of complexity that the expectation entails.
> The teacher prompts are meant to illustrate the kinds of questions teachers might pose in relation to the requirement specified in the expectation. The instructional tips provide instructional strategies and authentic contexts for the effective modelling, practice, and application of language in real-world situations."

The adverbial clause "as requested by educators" is conspicuous here. It stands out because the curriculum does not justify the inclusion of any other text features through

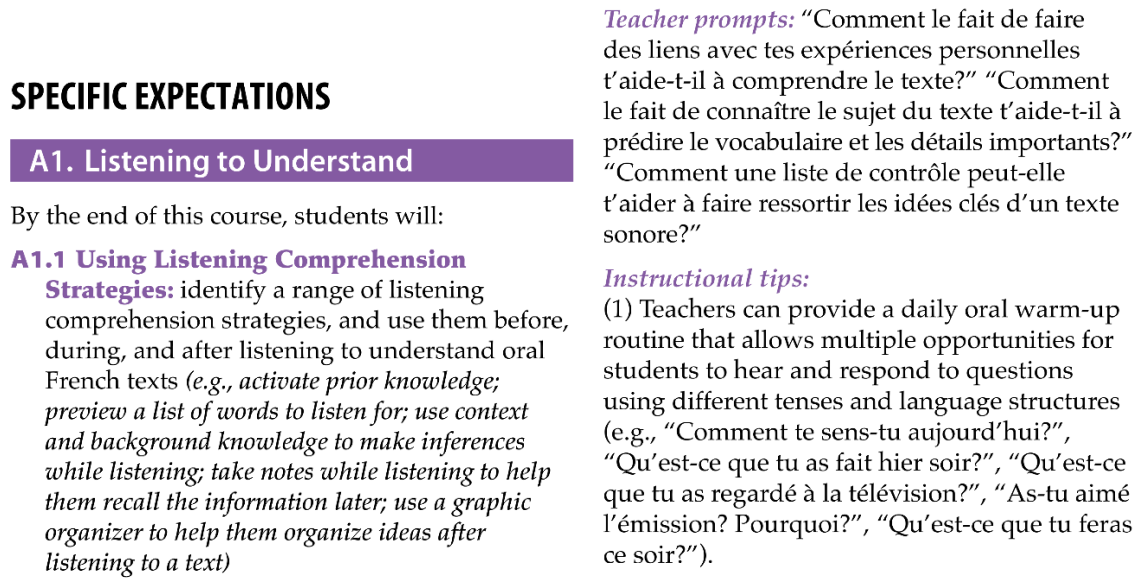
reference to a specific stakeholder and does not reference any stakeholders as a source for curricular content at any other point. Generally, the writers rely on the authority provided by the genre. The justification for the inclusion of these text features appears to be an allusion to the consultation of stakeholders in the curricular review process. Why do the curriculum writers provide a justification for the inclusion of a curriculum text feature here and nowhere else?

One possibility is that these have been “developed to model appropriate practice for the grade and are meant to serve as illustrations for teachers” (OME, 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20); the examples often link the specific expectation to an educational policy elaborated in the Front Matter, while the teacher prompts and instructional tips almost always include models of language use or grammar in French and advice for grammatical instruction.

If examples and instructional tips were the result of teacher requests during consultation, the inclusion of Teacher Prompts implies that these teachers wished for guidance about “correct” French at various grade levels. It is an indication that the curriculum writers are meeting the desires of teachers – who are unlikely to critically question and disregard the curriculum examples, prompts, and instructional tips – to emphasize standardized representations of language (and culture).

Based on the context of the FSL curriculum document, it is likely that teachers resisted the “new grammar approach” (Myers, 2012) which removed explicit guidelines for teaching grammar across the grades from curriculum expectations. Viswanathan (2019) demonstrated that following the release of the curriculum document, teachers were still

engaged in grammar-abundant practices. The OME released a teacher support document called *Grammar in action* (OME, 2019) which encourages teachers to engage in learning about grammar through an action-oriented approach in 'authentic' contexts.



SPECIFIC EXPECTATIONS

A1. Listening to Understand

By the end of this course, students will:

A1.1 Using Listening Comprehension Strategies: identify a range of listening comprehension strategies, and use them before, during, and after listening to understand oral French texts *(e.g., activate prior knowledge; preview a list of words to listen for; use context and background knowledge to make inferences while listening; take notes while listening to help them recall the information later; use a graphic organizer to help them organize ideas after listening to a text)*

Teacher prompts: "Comment le fait de faire des liens avec tes expériences personnelles t'aide-t-il à comprendre le texte?" "Comment le fait de connaître le sujet du texte t'aide-t-il à prédire le vocabulaire et les détails importants?" "Comment une liste de contrôle peut-elle t'aider à faire ressortir les idées clés d'un texte sonore?"

Instructional tips:
(1) Teachers can provide a daily oral warm-up routine that allows multiple opportunities for students to hear and respond to questions using different tenses and language structures (e.g., "Comment te sens-tu aujourd'hui?", "Qu'est-ce que tu as fait hier soir?", "Qu'est-ce que tu as regardé à la télévision?", "As-tu aimé l'émission? Pourquoi?", "Qu'est-ce que tu feras ce soir?").

Figure 9 Example of text features (OME, 2014, p. 61)

Curriculum expectation examples are written in parentheses and italicized, introduced by "e.g." to reinforce their status as suggestions. The instructional tips are written as an ordinal list (e.g., "(1) Teachers can […] (2) Teachers can …" and include "can", functioning as an offer, where teachers must be willing to use these tips in classroom practice (Figure 9).

The curriculum states "[examples, teacher prompts, and instructional tips] are intended as suggestions for teachers rather than as exhaustive or mandatory lists", but divergence from them is premised on being "inclusive and reflect[ing] the diversity of the student population and the population of the province" and any divergence is expected to "reflect a similar level of complexity" (OME, 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20).

There is no issue with the coherence between the text features and provincial education policy, but it contradicts the assertion by the document that these examples are mere suggestions, making the variety of language used in the examples binding, and the programming of ‘cultural’ content outlined in the curriculum an obligation.

The inclusion of the text features supports the elaboration of language models for a specific variety of French. Privileging one variety of French is unstated in official communications about the document and in the introduction. The physical separation of French in the Teacher Prompts from the varieties of French explored in expectation 3.2 (Awareness of Sociolinguistic Conventions) of each strand points to OME’s establishment of a standard variety of French for education in Ontario, according symbolic capital to that variety of French.

11.4.1 Language varieties

The FSL curriculum Front Matter and curriculum expectations privilege certain varieties of French; they explicitly explain the orientation to ‘standard’ English which informs the orientation to ‘standard’ French.

In the opening of the document, Front Matter, a standard variety of English is characterized in the context of program considerations for English Language Learners:

> “some students use varieties of English – also referred to as dialects – that differ significantly from the English required for success in Ontario schools. Many English language learners were born in Canada and have been raised in families and communities in which languages other than English, or varieties of English that differ from *the language used in the classroom*, are spoken” (my emphasis; OME, 2013a, p. 4; OME, 2014, p. 4).

The variety of English privileged in the curriculum documents is “required for success in Ontario schools” and is “the language used in the classroom”. In other words, the

variety of English used by educators and the curriculum expectations themselves is the language required for success in Ontario schools, and by extension, the workforce. The use of standard English carries cognitive authority – English that corresponds to the language of the white middle class is put forward as necessary "to advance in a capitalist economy" – and is accepted by society as "necessary to ground [a speaker or writer's] authority" (Bluemle, 2023, p. 18-19). In educational spaces, "nonstandardised English does not count as a legitimate code in the school" (Cushing, 2023, p. 285).

The benefit of including the disclaimer "as requested by educators" is that the government can attribute responsibility for privileging a standard variety of French to educators and distance the document from criticisms of aligning the FSL curriculum expectations with French from France rather than a Canadian 'dialect'. France as the owner and controller of French as a global language is an established fact.

The variety of French used in the FSL curriculum expectations is also used on the DestinatiON DELF (2019b) *Portail d'élève* website. Significantly, the diplomas for this test are issued by the French Ministry for National Education to certify French language skills. The reference in the curriculum document to the Académie française (a regulatory body that determines the linguistic rules for standard French) reinforce the relationship between this document and the 'standard' French 'accepted' throughout the Francophonie (see OME, 2014, p. 363).

The assumption that likely informs the choice to privilege these linguistic codes is that these varieties of English and French are comprehensible to educators, and administrators. The documents are also affiliated with the academy, rather than with

families who speak a ‘dialect’ of English or teachers who speak a ‘variety’ of French. The genre of the text (curriculum document) gives authority to standardized forms of language, creates hierarchies between language varieties, and positions communities and their varieties of French within distinct structures, which are given legitimacy in relation to their proximity to colonial ‘standard’ French chosen for OME and DELF communications. The examples, teacher prompts, and instructional tips are framed as informational and appear to function as offers but they are as imperative as the formal expectation text because they establish ‘legitimate’ standard French, and they are keys to decoding the progression of knowledge and skills for achievement of the specific curriculum expectations.

11.4.2 Accuracy, correctness, and appropriateness

A discursive substrand that emerged during my analysis was an emphasis on accuracy, correctness, and appropriateness. This language interacts intertextually with research in the field of ICC and with the descriptive scales of the CEFR. While the FSL curriculum document employs these terms most often in relation to linguistic performances, ICC engages frequently in conceptual transfer from linguistic to sociolinguistic understandings. Communication conventions include sociocultural conventions, and I argue that this places teachers in a position of determining what is culturally legitimate despite a probable lack of ‘insider’ knowledge of these conventions (see for example, Clark, 2010; Cooke, 2013; Guida, 2020; Maijala, 2020; Maurice, 2010). They may only have fixed cultural artifacts as reference points for determining what is legitimate.

It could be argued that teachers are accessing ‘authentic’ texts through media forms to

compensate for a lack of insider knowledge.

Consider the role of ICT in ‘solving’ the challenge of limited encounters with francophone individuals from communities listed in the FSL curriculum: Are videos created 10 years ago (or any length of time) considered ahistorical ‘authentic’ determiners of legitimate and ‘appropriate’ cultural representations? Are videos of *toubab*[11] sharing their knowledge of cultural practices and expressions considered apolitical ‘authentic’ determiners of legitimate and ‘appropriate’ cultural representations of Malian culture? (In Grade 10, Academic, FI, the curriculum writers suggest André Davesne’s African fables [OME, 2014, p. 297], while Davesne was a white French teacher posted in Mali, Congo, and Sénégal at the start of the 20th century, and these fables are still used in schools in Africa to teach French.) What language exists in the FSL curriculum to contextualize this understanding of appropriateness? It is conspicuously absent. While questions of stereotypical representation are addressed, questions of status, legitimacy, and the politics of knowledge are not addressed.

Variations of the term ‘appropriate’ were used throughout the FSL curriculum documents in the following ways: “appropriate behaviour”, “appropriateness”, “approprié.e”, “appropriate language conventions”, “appropriate use [of grammar construct]”, “appropriate intonation”, “appropriate speaking behaviour”, “appropriate to the [social] context”, “appropriate pauses, stops, and starts”, “appropriate response”, “appropriate

[11] “Toubab/toubabou” is used in West and Central Africa to refer to people of European descent, while “vazaha” is used in Madagascar. The term “Béké” is an Antillean Creole term to describe a descendant of the early European, usually French, settlers in the French Antilles. “Pieds-noirs”, literally, ‘black feet’, is a term used to designate ethnic groups of Europeans who colonized French Algeria.

expression (and emphasis)", "appropriate ways" and so on.

There is a similar pattern with the use of the adjective 'accepted' – students are encouraged in the examples of the curriculum to "use accepted pronunciation for high-frequency words, regularly used phrases" (OME, 2013a, p. 127, 143, 220). Accepted pronunciation is determined by the teacher: "it is essential that French be the language of communication in class so that students have constant exposure to *correct models of the language*" (my emphasis, OME, 2013a, p. 33; OME, 2014, p. 37). There is the potential for certain accents to be legitimized by teachers; accents are linked to student racial attitudes (see Bouchard, 2023).

For French-language education, France developed the DELF to test proficiency in relation to the CEFR scales, so though, in a classroom context, the power to determine what a 'legitimate' performance of 'appropriateness' or 'accepted' is will likely rest with the teacher, it is also regulated through external testing.

11.4.2.1 Appropriate behaviour

"Appropriateness" consists of what is considered a legitimate code by the teacher and depends on what is comprehensible to educators and an audience. Assessing "appropriateness" is grounds for symbolic exclusion of performances that align with semiotic codes outside of schooling spaces; the same way that language varieties selected in the text correspond to the language of the white middle class, the nonverbal performances of students are measured against a white middle class set of expectations that are valued for "full participation" in a capitalist economy.

An emphasis on appropriateness in the Front Matter is also concerned with behaviour:

> “Not only do teachers offer students instruction and supportive feedback related to speaking, but they also demonstrate communication conventions that are appropriate in both academic and social contexts” (OME, 2013a, p. 20; OME, 2014, p. 23)

The use of the declarative obligates teachers to “demonstrate communication conventions that are appropriate”.

Greetings and paralinguistic features appear in discourses of appropriateness throughout the FSL curriculum expectations (Table 29).

Table 29: Discourses of ‘appropriate’ performances of paralinguistic features

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 4, *Examples*	“use facial expressions, tone of voice, and gestures that are appropriate to the context and audience” (p. 58)
CF, Grade 6, *Teacher prompts*	“Comment est-ce que la situation détermine l’emploi approprié des salutations, des formules de politesse et des remerciements? [How does the situation determine the appropriate use of greetings, formalities, and thanks?]” (p. 84)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	“use appropriate vocal prompts to signal empathy, interest, and personal regard in dialogues and conversations” (p. 97)
FI, Grade 6, *Teacher prompts*	“Comment est-ce que les pauses appropriées et le ton de ta voix facilitent la compréhension de ton message? [How do appropriate pauses and tone of voice make your message easier to understand?]” (p. 276)
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	“use appropriate facial expressions, gestures, and eye contact to engage their audience” (p. 275)

In the second example, “the situation” is the subject of the inquiry, personifying “situations” and framing them as capable of demanding certain performances from individuals, eliding the role of the teacher in selecting those situations in the classroom context. In the first example, “context and audience” serve a similar purpose, acting as objects of the preposition “to”; “context and audience” are the recipients of the appropriateness of the facial expressions, tone of voice, and gestures.

The effect is for “appropriateness” to act as an objective condition for nonverbal performances. Appropriate performances become tools in the final three examples; they facilitate mutual understanding, expressions of interest, or engagement of a public. In

other words, the performance of “appropriateness” is a condition for access to interpersonal relationships, communication, and social interaction.

11.4.3 Sociolinguistic conventions and standardization

The objectification of these sociolinguistic conventions through sedimentation and the reification of these languages/dialects/varieties as lower in the linguistic hierarchy compared to standard French reduces these sociocultural conventions to products that create an ‘authentic’ image of that cultural group.

The curriculum establishes that language and culture are interconnected:

> “As they learn to exchange information and ideas in another language, they also learn about other ways of thinking, other ways of doing things, and other ways of living – in short, about other people and other cultures” (OME, 2013a, p. 7; OME, 2014, p. 7).

Access to ‘other cultures’ is facilitated by the French language and engagement with it, but the use of plural in this quote (“other ways”, “other cultures”) is challenged by the curriculum’s emphasis on a standard French. The position of sociolinguistic conventions as non-normative makes engagement with them peripheral, further marginalized through the asterisk excusing students from engaging with these identified varieties (and, importantly, excusing the FSL curriculum from concerns about cultural appropriation).

‘Us’ vs ‘them’ discourse is present in the tendency of the FSL curriculum to refer to sociolinguistic conventions in relation to standard French (Table 30).

Standard French does not exist except in relation to these ‘other’ Frenches. The use of comparison forces the document to acknowledge the status of its variety of French as “standard”, though it employs scare quotes in the final example. Deviances from

'standard' French in France are associated with youth culture and considered 'slang[12]' and explicit examples of these differences are minimal and usually related to electronic messaging conventions.

Table 30: 'Us' vs 'them' in images of French varieties

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	"in a role play or presentation, demonstrate the use of Antillean Creole and Cajun expressions and other forms of speech that vary from standard French usage; […] identify and describe to the class some Antillean Creole alternatives to standard French words […]; identify and describe to the class some Cajun alternatives to standard French words; […]" (p. 101)
CF, Grade 7, *Examples*	"dramatize an interaction between a Cajun or Creole French speaker and a speaker of standard French, using vocabulary found in a reading passage" (p. 104)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	"identify the use of slang/colloquial/ familiar versus 'standard' French in posters, cartoons, graphic novels, or advertisements […] 'En examinant les affiches des différentes régions, peux-tu identifier l'usage du joual/du patois/du langage familier/du français standard? [While examining the posters of different regions, can you identify the use of joual[13]/patois/familiar language/standard French?]'" (p. 118)

The adjective "French-speaking" creates the semblance of a consistent structure across regions and communities; 'standard' French was not the only language spoken in France prior to the invention of the nation-state and was superimposed on Occitan, Breton, Basque, Alsatian, Catalan, Corsican, Arpitan, Flemish, Norman, Picard, and Gallo. The processes of standardization imposed on the regional languages of France is not explored in the FSL curriculum expectations.

Sociolinguistic conventions from former colonies that do not have a white majority are considered non-standard because they have created distinct languages. Consider the Grade 7 expectation for all FSL programs:

[12] Slang is a "slippery linguistic category" that is often placed in contrast to 'standard language', but is used in everyday language in ways that change "the linguistic expectations of standard language speakers" (Roth-Gordon, 2020, p. 1). In other words, slang is a category to assign lower status to some language, even if it is in common use and displaces "formal" versions of 'standard language'.

[13] Joual is the name for a form of "slang" specific to Québec.

- in a role play or presentation, demonstrate the use of Antillean Creole and Cajun *expressions and other forms of speech that vary from standard French usage* – such as “cher/chère” in spoken interactions, “Est où” instead of “Où est” for “Where is…?”, “avoir” instead of “être” as an auxiliary verb as in “il a parti” instead of “il est parti”, “alle” instead of “elle”, and “asteur” instead of “à cette heure”; identify and describe to the class some Antillean Creole alternatives to standard French words – such as “Bon jou” instead of “Bonjour” for “Good day”, “wi” instead of “oui” for “yes”, “mesi” instead of “merci” for “thank you”; identify and describe to the class some Cajun alternatives to standard French words – such as “nanan” instead of “grandmère” for “grandmother”, “mouche à miel” instead of “abeille” for “honey bee”, or “pistache” instead of “arachide” for “peanut”) (my emphasis, OME, 2013a, p. 101)
- regional colloquial expressions in selected French-speaking communities […] Louisiana Creole: “Konmen to yê?”, “Konmen ç’ap(é) kouri?”, “Konmen ça va?” for “Comment allez-vous?”, “Comment vas-tu?”, “Comment ça va?”; Antillean Creole: “Ka ou fè?” (Guadeloupe), “Sa ou fè” (Martinique), “Sa k ap fet” (Haiti) for “Comment ça va?” (OME, 2013a, p. 179)
- the use of Antillean Creole and Cajun *expressions and other forms of speech that vary from standard French usage* […] “Pendant la pratique des jeux de rôle, comment peux-tu présenter ou incorporer des expressions de différentes régions? [During role play, how can you present or incorporate the expressions of different regions?]” (my emphasis; OME, 2013a, p. 291)

The specificity of the descriptions of Creole terms (and Maghreb terms, for some Grade 10 FSL programs) is not matched in the remainder of the FSL curriculum expectations. The descriptions fix these linguistic conventions in ahistorical and depoliticized relation to standard French, romanticizing them.

The problem with including sociolinguistic conventions as an additive to standard French is the status accorded to a variety of French favoured in international economics and controlled by Europe, reinforcing linguistic imperialism. The standard French is not even consistent with the ‘French’ spoken in Canada and these regions are welcoming expatriates from *la francophonie*, further distancing the use of French in Canada from the one selected as standard.

Some of these ‘varieties’ of French are not considered French at all by those who use them. Haiti has two official languages, Haitian Creole and French, but French is only used in official government communications; there are even dialects within the ‘boundaries’ of Haitian Creole (Bonenfant, 2011). Antillean Creole (sometimes referred to as French Creole) varies among French Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, and Dominica but is inter-comprehensible (Zribi-Hertz, 2022). Michif is not a French dialect but rather a category of languages including Michif French, Heritage Michif, and Northern Michif (Métis-Nation Saskatchewan, 2021). Among linguists Michif French is considered a “bilingual mixed language” where the verbal system is Cree and the nominal system is French (Zribi-Hertz, 2022). Unlike creoles, “it emerged in a free social context from the contact between Canadian-French male migrants integrated into Cree tribes” (Zribi-Hertz, 2022) and is, thus, sociohistorically dissimilar from Indigenous communities where French was used as a tool of colonial assimilation (Haque, 2000). The legitimacy of these languages is erased by the conjunction “such as” in the example below that presents Michif and creole as examples of regional dialects:

> regional dialects such as l’acadien, le chiac, le Michif, le créole […] ‘Quelles particularités linguistiques remarques-tu dans l’usage qui est fait du français dans différentes communautés francophones? [Which linguistic particularities do you notice in the use of French in different francophone communities?]’” (OME, 2013a, p. 280)

The inclusion of these language varieties is tokenistic in their acknowledgement and their failure to engage critically with their existence, their challenge to the status of the standard variety of French used throughout the remainder of the curriculum, and in their romanticization of ‘former colonies’ and their use of ‘inferior’ varieties of ‘French’.

Chapter 12. TOKENISM

Tokenism is a perfunctory or symbolic effort to be inclusive of ‘diverse’ groups by attempting to create the appearance of equality in representations in a particular context, such as a curricular program. Tokenism can include the practice of presenting representative figures or events without adequate context about the historical, social, or political conditions of their lives or these moments.

In the FSL curriculum expectation documents, tokenism appears in the way knowledge is organized physically and through the types of content that are included. The FSL curriculum expectation documents create hierarchies of knowledge, treating some knowledges as core and some as peripheral. Largely, peripheral knowledge relates to ‘others’ and ‘other’ cultures. The FSL curriculum expectations and the Front Matter do not provide sufficient support for critical examinations of difference – the ‘immutable core’ of Canadian identity is perpetuated. When difference is addressed, it is in a superficial manner that romanticizes ‘other’ groups by positioning individuals or phenomena as representative of their ‘cultures’.

The positions students are expected to take is characterized by recognition of differences through regulated performances of respect and through appreciation. When engagement by White students with ‘other’ cultures is limited to recognition, FSL programming risks reinforcing power structures by treating diversity as a tokenistic asset to Canadian culture and encouraging students to appropriate romanticized aspects of culture. An approach emphasizing recognition can discourage meaningful solidarity with social movements challenging those power structures.

12.1 Hierarchies of knowledge

By including the Intercultural Understanding strand in its current form, the curriculum writers demonstrate a superficial commitment to diversity or inclusion by highlighting 'other' groups. The FSL curriculum content delegitimizes semiotic codes that do not align with white middle-class patriarchal approaches to education. Intercultural Understanding expectations superficially address the taken-for-granted assumption about the intertwining of language and culture by separately addressing culture; if the curriculum writers accept that culture and language are intertwined then culture should be an intrinsic part of every aspect of language learning. Sociolinguistic understandings of all varieties of French presented in the document must be a source of 'cultural' learning.

12.1.1 Layout

Tokenism is present in the layout and specifically the placement of Intercultural Understanding expectations in relation to other expectations in the curriculum. Non-standard language varieties and intercultural curriculum expectations are addended to the "standard" linguistic education and, therefore, spatially marginalized in the curriculum. These expectations are placed in the lowest position in a hierarchy of curriculum expectations and could be perceived to be lower priority or optional. I argue that their spatial positioning reinforces the hierarchical superiority of the standardized French and behavioural ('cultural') expectations in the rest of the FSL curriculum. Because teachers and students largely rely on media representations of 'cultures' for knowledge about individuals in these groups, they depend on the existence of media

that is comprehensible for students to be available from various sociocultural groups within the curriculum's defined groupings.

The curriculum explains that the separation of expectations into strands is "not meant to imply that the expectations in any one group are achieved independently of the expectations in the other groups" (OME, 2013a, p. 17; OME, 2014, p. 20), but does not account for the ordering of strands or expectations within a strand.

The Intercultural Understanding expectations are always expectation 3.1 and 3.2 following the specific expectations directly related to the strand category. The presence of the expectations in every strand reinforces their importance overall, but spatially, they are positioned at the end of each strand. Expectations for 3.2 Awareness of Sociolinguistic Conventions is the only space where varieties of French that differ from that of the Teacher Prompts and Instructional Tips are visible, and these varieties are linked to a specific region.

In Figure 10, an example of the Awareness of sociolinguistic conventions curriculum expectation is shown with an asterisk. The wording of the expectation does not change from Grade 1 to Grade 12. The asterisk links to the message in Figure 11.

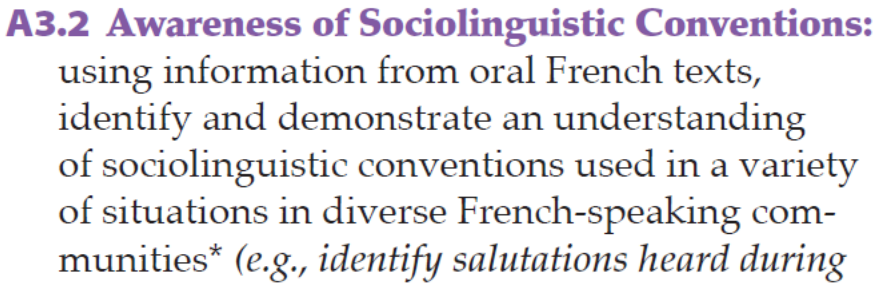


Figure 10 Awareness of Sociolinguistic Conventions expectation

* Students are encouraged to identify examples of usage that is specific to particular regions or communities (e.g., French-speaking communities in Ontario) but are not expected to do so.

Figure 11 Awareness of Sociolinguistic Conventions asterisk example

The footnote changes only in relation to the community/region of focus for that course. Engagement with sociolinguistic conventions from those communities is optional for students because they are “not expected to do so”, only encouraged, further reducing the relevance of these conventions to the remainder of the expectations for that strand. Linguistic proficiency and adherence to standardized forms of French are prioritized over ‘cultural’ knowledge and politically, historically, and socially situated understandings of language and difference.

12.1.2 Content

The curriculum writers were selective about which individuals or groups were highlighted in the FSL curriculum expectations, centering social positions with symbolic capital. Québec is given a full year of curriculum focus across programs, while the following year is shared between any French-speaking communities outside of Ontario and Québec. In EF and FI, France is given a full year of instruction in addition to a focus on Europe (including France) the following year, meaning that students who discontinue their studies after Grade 9 in those programs will not have exposure to African, Asian, or “worldwide” French-speaking communities. The associated potential for engagement in the colonial histories of these regions is similarly contingent. Only 25 countries of the 170+ who are claimed to be part of the IOF/OIF are included in the FSL curriculum expectations or in the FSL curriculum glossary’s definition of *la francophonie*. Algeria is omitted entirely from the curriculum expectations despite the notable presence of

Algerian immigrants in France and the critical role the Algerian War played in African relations with Europe. Emphasis on certain social positions, ‘cultural’ groups, and histories is present in the selection of ‘heroes’ or significant figures named in the FSL curriculum expectations and in the approach to addressing sociocultural groups.

12.1.2.2 ‘Heroes’

Tokenism is a concern in relation to the curriculum content beyond named cultures. The presence of racialized figures in the history of Canada (explored in Chapter 10) and as famous figures in the contemporary world is tokenistic. Of 68 people named in the FSL documents (see Appendix A), Table 31 summarizes visible/claimed markers of social position.

Table 31: Racial and gender identifications of named figures in the FSL curriculum

Social position marker	Number of Named Individuals	Approximate Percentage
Man	51	75%
Woman	17	25%
White	40	59%
Indigenous (Métis, Haudenosaunee, Anishinaabe, Inuit)	11	16%
Black (Canadian, African)	14	20.5%
Arabic (African)	2	3%
Asian (Canadian, West, South, or East Asian)	0	0%
Unknown Race	1	1.5%

The ‘norm’ is white and male by a margin of at least 40% (29 of 68 figures) despite entire grades dedicated to learning about the Americas including the Caribbean, and Africa and Asia; despite the diversity of Canada and its policies of multiculturalism; and despite France’s colonial history in general. The inclusion of individuals who are not white men are tokenistic because they do not decenter Eurocentric and white Canadian Frenchness.

In the curricular examples, tokenism shows up in the use subjunctive subordinate

clauses, introduced by “such as”, that provide specific examples of the suggested task, as in this Grade 5 CF example:

> “using a graphic organizer to guide listening, organize information from French texts about family, school life, traditions, powwows, and festivals in Québécois communities, such as Quebec City – Festival des journées d’Afrique, Danses et Rythmes du Monde [Festival Days of Africa, Dances and Rhythms of the World], Trois-Rivières – Festival urbain [Urban Festival], Montreal – Festival du monde arabe [Festival of the Arab World], and make connections to their own culture” (OME, 2013a, p. 69)

Québec’s festivals are characterized as ‘African’, ‘of the world’, ‘urban’, and ‘arab’. Placed in relation to this Grade 4 EF example, where students are asked to take a census of those they consider ‘diverse’ in their community, it creates the effect of a perfunctory nod to the existence of ‘others’ within Canada:

> “compile a list of names that reflects the cultural diversity of their community” (OME, 2013a, p. 136)

The “such as” conjunction leaves teachers with flexibility to ignore these festivals in favour of Québec’s Carnaval d’hiver which has been a common focus for FSL programs in my experience as a working teacher (see also the news article by Forsyth, 2019) despite its absence from the FSL curriculum documents.

If historical figures are important to the understanding of history, and if diversity and inclusion are fundamental to the instruction of FSL in Ontario, it is curious that only one black historical figure (Marie-Josèphe Angélique) is identified as a historical figure and that her legacy was enslavement and destruction of property. Her legacy is not connected with Black history and the struggle for rights and freedoms in Canada.

A brief search of the suggested designated people in Canada produces Matthew Da Costa, a free Black man, who acted as a translator for French and Dutch traders and

colonizers, and Marie Marguerite Rose, a Black woman who was emancipated from slavery and opened a business in New France, and who was designated as a historical person in 2008. Including Marie-Josèphe Angélique is not a problem, except that she is the only representative of Black people in historic Canada.

Similarly, the FSL curriculum expectations frequently associate Indigenous groups in modern times with social and environmental injustices, as Kunnas (2019) previously noted. Consider this Grade 5 EF example: "create a video clip on a social or environmental movement or campaign, such as Shannen's Dream" (OME, 2013a, p. 144). Shannen's Dream, a social movement seeking equitable education funding for First Nations children, is addended as a subordinate clause to the main example following the subjunctive "such as". Students and teachers are encouraged to find social and environmental movements that fight for the rights of Indigenous children to access education. The causes of discrimination and disparity are conspicuously excluded until Grade 12 FI, UP when students are encouraged to "produce an informational webinar about the history and culture of First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples or issues related to residential schools" (OME, 2014, p. 353). In this example, the use of the conjunction "or" treats the history and culture of First Nations, Métis, or Inuit people as equivalent to issues related to residential schools. The history of First Nations, Métis, or Inuit people in relation to Canada is one of being the tokenized helpers (e.g., Chief Pontiac, Joseph Brant, Métis and coureur de bois), nationalist heroes (e.g., Louis Riel), and then being absent from view until they emerge as a stigmatized population characterized by poverty. The inclusion of Indigenous perspectives is tokenistic and performative as a

manifestation of domesticated decolonization (Masson et al., 2022a, p. 403).

When suggesting literary texts, secondary Extended and Immersion French programs privilege French writers from France and Québec (e.g., Molière, Jean-Paul Sartre, Victor Hugo, Marcel Dubé, Gabrielle Roy, Roch Carrier, Michel Tremblay). They also privilege white writers with exception of Angèle Bassolé-Ouédraogo, an Ivoirian-Canadian poet. Though the references to literary figures in younger grades are more balanced in terms of race, the exclusion of literary figures from the Global South, and contemporary writers from the diaspora living in France are egregious exclusions. These include Frantz Fanon, Ousmane Sembène, Patrick Chamoiseau, Leïla Sebbar, Aimé Césaire, Ernest Pépin, Maryse Condé, Mariama Bâ, Ernest Moutoussamy, Assia Djebar, Mehdi Charef, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Paulette and Jeanne Nardal, Kim Thúy, Véronique Tadjo, Linda Lê, Soth Polin, and Anna Moï. The curriculum writers failed to challenge the French literary canon in offering texts for the 'elite' programs. Thus, the inclusion of French-language writers who are racialized or who come from the Global South are tokenistic.

12.1.2.3 Acknowledging sociocultural groups and internal diversity

When the Front Matter discusses the idea of internal diversity, it is a disclaimer, rather than a commitment to challenging generalized representations of culture. In the section of the Front Matter explaining the 'enduring idea' regarding the interdependence of language and culture, the following statement introduces the OME's theoretical position:

> "students need to recognize that cultures are not homogeneous: diversity exists not only between but also within cultures" (OME, 2013a; OME, 2014, p. 10).

The document further explains that:

> "Teachers also need to expose students to the many social and geographical

> varieties of French through a range of authentic materials, as well as through speakers of different ages and geographic origins and from various sociocultural groups. This will help students develop an understanding and appreciation of the *diversity within French-speaking cultures*" (*my emphasis*, OME, 2013a, p. 13; OME, 2014, p. 13).

Based on my analysis to this point, these statements serve as disclaimers because the theoretical positions are not consistent with the position of the curriculum expectations throughout the FSL curriculum. There is no companion document for social positions beyond ELLs and students with special education needs (e.g., gender identity, racial identity, sexuality, socioeconomic status) and teachers are therefore responsible for analyzing the curriculum text with these identities in mind.

A rare example that encourages students to consider diversity within a community appears in the Grade 8 FI curriculum expectation example: "recount an important historical event and how it affected French people from diverse communities" (OME, 2013a, p. 311). The internal diversity applies to France. The implication is that European cultures have internal diversity, related to their contemporary and dynamic nature.

In Grade 12 CF, University Preparation, students are encouraged to "write a poem or speech on the struggles of various French-speaking minority groups" (OME, 2014, p. 179) where minority groups are qualified with the adjective "French-speaking" to mean that students should address the struggles of French-speakers in places where French is non-dominant. Students in grade 12 are invited to 'buy in' to the discourse that French must be protected because it is 'threatened' (MacCormac, 2016). Similar opportunities for Indigenous language minorities in African countries or Arabic-speaking minorities in French-dominant countries or regions are not encouraged. The presence of other

languages in French-dominant regions are not noteworthy to the curriculum writers, despite an interest in plurilingual citizens and the possibilities for exploring hybridity and status in these contexts, too.

While the FSL curriculum Front Matter explicitly calls for a focus on missing perspectives, these do not manifest in the FSL curriculum expectations in any meaningful way and emphasize the silences around sociocultural groups. The obligation to include perspectives from various sociocultural groups is predominantly addressed through examples and expectations that intertextually reference the Front Matter's description of critical literacy:

> "They are able to determine what biases might be contained in texts, media, and resource material and why that might be, how the content of these materials might be determined and by whom, and whose perspectives might have been left out and why" (OME, 2013a, p. 47; OME, 2014, p. 49).

In the FSL curriculum expectations, all the references to missing perspectives relate to perspectives or social positions absent from media representations (e.g., advertisements, news articles, documentaries and videos, and opinion pieces). Media Literacy expectations are limited to Extended and Immersion French program curriculum expectations, once again gatekeeping exercises in critical literacy from CF students, dependent on teacher pedagogy. As media provides access to representations of culture, challenging limited representation in these representations is important. Critical thinking does not extend to the normative representations of culture in the curriculum's constructions of universal behaviours, and privileging of 'standard' language registers, so the inclusion in media-related expectations is a strategy that acts as a disclaimer against scrutiny while distancing the content of the curriculum from

criticisms about homogeneous representations.

In Grade 9 FI, an example references the French Revolution:

> "listen to a clip from a documentary about the French Revolution and determine whose voices are represented as well as whose voices are missing" (OME, 2014, p. 261).

It is the only clear example in all the documents where historical representations are challenged by the possibility of missing voices. The example does not provide any guidance as to which voices might be missing or contextual information about what was happening during the same historical period. A preferred meaning for this expectation might limit consideration to voices directly implicated in the event (e.g., social classes, women, regions outside Paris, counterrevolutionaries). However, the Haitian revolution began two years after the start of the French Revolution, France was still an Empire, and the Transatlantic Slave Trade was at its height during this period. An instructional tip could encourage students in Grade 9 to consider the relationship between the French Revolution and France's colonies. Slavery was not abolished in France for another 49 years after the end of the French Revolution, and yet media clips might talk about the fight for "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité [Liberty, Equality, Fraternity]", and of democracy. Sociocultural differences acknowledged in the curriculum relate to gender most often, possibly reflecting the feminizing of the teaching profession and the relevance of feminist critique to the curriculum writers or to educators, relative to other sociocultural groups. Gender appears in expectations like this Grade 12 CF expectation: "compare gender roles, occupations, salaries, family structures, significant days, and naming customs among linguistic or cultural groups in various French-speaking communities"

(p. 173, 186) and in the examples from Table 32.

Table 32: Discourses of ‘gender’ as difference

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
FI, Grade 6, *Examples*	“explain how a television or radio advertisement might have a different effect on boys and on girls […] ‘Est-ce que l’information présentée s’applique à toutes les femmes/les cultures/les âges, et pourquoi? [Does the information presented apply to all women/cultures/ages, and why?]’” (p. 273)
EF, Grade 7, *Teacher prompts*	“Pourquoi penses-tu que différents types de public (personnes de différents âges, sexes, situations financières et cultures) réagiraient différemment au message présenté? [Why do you think that different audiences (people of different ages, sexes, financial situations and cultures) react differently to the presented message?]” (p. 171)
EF, Grade 9, *Examples*	“interpret the messages conveyed through the language used to depict gender roles in popular music” (p. 197)

The first two examples cited here create space for recognizing internal diversity of sociocultural groups, while the third accords music video representations of gender roles legitimacy as an ‘authentic’ representation. Ideological assumptions about gender roles in the Global South are often employed in liberal discourse to justify neocolonialism (for example, see Sheth, 2022) and music video representations are often ideologically constructed through the white gaze of media executives (Ibrahim, 2003). The FSL curriculum expectations use of the gender binary throughout the document (e.g., “Pardon, Madame/Monsieur [Sorry, Ma’am/Sir]”, his/her, boy/girl) and sediment of gendered grammar constructs by demanding accuracy in written forms. The FSL curriculum document is silent concerning gendered languages (those with gendered nouns and adjectives) and does not explore the role of colonization on gender.

The treatment of disability is even more concerning. Disability is the domain of the Special Education document (OME, 2015), but there are references to disability in three curriculum expectation examples (Table 33).

Table 33: Discourses of disability as difference

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
Grade 6 EF	“give a speech about accessibility in public buildings” (p. 157)
CF, Grade 10, Applied	“give a presentation on the importance of accessibility ramps in public buildings” (p. 119)
EF, Grade 12, UP	“formulate questions to ask a presenter after a lecture about Aboriginal rights, women’s rights, or the rights of physically or mentally challenged people” (p. 243)

Two of these focus on physically accessibility through ramps, and the final one labels people as “physically or mentally challenged”. The focus for all three is on left-essentialist rights-based discourse. None of these expectations represents consideration of disability in relation to culture or the missing voices of disabled people. “Physically or mentally challenged” was likely normalized at the time of publication, but it was a term applied by the ableist community as a euphemism for disabilities.

The FSL curriculum expectations do not address queer perspectives, despite a rich queer history in France nor do they explore the role of colonization on so-called ‘third’ genders. They do not address religious perspectives despite a marked historical relationship between the Catholic Church and Québec, Ontario, and France, and the role of Muslim faith in former colonies of France in Africa. They do not address class-based differences within identified groups (except maybe through the French Revolution in France). They do not meaningfully address capitalist and colonial/postcolonial systems and their relationship to dominance, discrimination, and disparity. The curriculum fails to achieve the theoretical aims outlined in the Front Matter and leaves this work to teachers without any adequate models for incorporating internal diversity into meaning-making about difference.

12.2 Recognition

In the Front Matter and FSL curriculum expectations, ‘respect’ is the act of allowing differences to exist (tolerating) and treating these differences as egalitarian. Respect is attached to otherness throughout the document. By proposing specific behaviours as intrinsic to performances of respect, these behaviours are codified as universal, when they are historically and socially contingent. The strategy of vagueness in relation to the concept of ‘respectful’ evokes assumptions of the universality of performances of respect and appeals to preferred meanings of a predominantly white, middle-class, non-disabled, and female workforce. There is an implicit valuing of ‘rational’ and devaluing of emotional responses to injustice that privileges politeness and the comfort of hegemonic positions. This rationalization often results in calling on students to prove that ‘other’ groups are deserving of respect, reflecting Dhamoon’s (2009) criticisms of Taylor.

The FSL curriculum and Front Matter documents demonstrate an alignment with liberal egalitarian ideology by encouraging respect for ‘different cultures’; in other words, these documents present cultures as structural equals, silencing critical consideration of dominance and disparity, implying that respect and recognition is enough to eliminate these phenomena. ‘Respect’ and its performances appear to be in service of managing criticisms of the nation-state and maintaining social cohesion.

The curriculum assumed a ‘closed’ orientation to difference as a starting point, which students must overcome through a development of cognitive understanding of difference. The FSL curriculum expectations propose that appreciation is the result of exposure to difference, however in practice, students are more likely to be invited to

develop appreciation and pride for their “own culture” in relation to that difference. Respect and appreciation of other cultures, romanticization and appropriation of other cultures, and generalizing and comparison of other cultures are all important with the caveat that they must not threaten the status of normative Canadian culture.

12.2.1 Respect

In the Front Matter, when discussing attitudes, “respect” was a key term. Variations of respect, including “respectfully” and “respecting”, are referenced most frequently among the attitudes recommended by the FSL curriculum expectations. There is no definition for ‘respect’ offered in the glossary terms or in the Front Matter.

The Front Matter of the curriculum includes a section titled Health Relationships which references a report titled *Shaping a culture of respect in our schools: promoting safe and healthy relationships* (OME, 2008); this document provides an illustration of a culture of respect that aligns with the function of ‘respect’ in the FSL curriculum expectations. According to the report, a culture of respect becomes the norm when the relationships within a school “are founded in mutual acceptance and inclusion, and are modelled by all” (OME, 2008, p. 1). Acceptance means the action or process of being received as adequate or suitable, typically to be admitted into a group. In the context of education, acceptance might be extended to mean the embracing of difference. The normative center remains intact but there is space for acknowledging variation.

When analysing specific curriculum expectations, respect is not represented consistently. In Grade 11 UP FI, teachers are provided an Instructional tip that includes ideological commentary about opinions:

> "Teachers can explain the use of conjunctions and expressions that are followed either by the subjonctif or the indicatif (e.g., 'Quoi qu'elle dise, il faut respecter son opinion [Whatever she says, we must respect her opinion]' [...])" (OME, 2014, p. 323)

Respect is represented as something that all opinions deserve; 'whatever' in this case could include hate speech, discrimination, dehumanization of specific groups. Though this phrase is included as an example of a grammar point, it is related to expectations in the curriculum and represents the point of view of the curriculum document regarding the respect of opinions. The imperative "must" implies that all opinions have a rational basis and that challenging those opinions is possible using logic.

However, in Table 34 the first and second examples call for students to question respect in certain circumstances.

Table 34: Discourses of rationality and respect

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
FI, Grade 10, Academic, *Examples*	"to express an opinion about respecting the religious beliefs of others, especially when they are different from one's own" (p. 299)
FI, Grade 11, Open, *Teacher prompts*	"Dans quelle mesure le respect de certaines conventions culturelles d'autrui est-il aussi important? [To what extent is the respect of certain cultural conventions of others important?]" (p. 346)
CF, Grade 8, *Examples*	"disagree with or challenge the ideas of others respectfully and without making it personal" (p. 111)

In the first example, the preposition "about" is used to indicate the topic on which a student expresses an opinion; the direct object of the preposition is "respecting", indicating that the student should call into question whether respect is deserved or not. The specific context for this example is "the religious beliefs of others". This example is the only instance of a curriculum expectation example encouraging students to express an opinion about "respecting". The *Ontario Education Act,* clause 264 (1) (c) states:

> "It is the duty of a teacher and a temporary teacher to inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and the principles of Judeo-Christian morality and

> the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues" (Government of Ontario, 2019).

The intertextual interaction here is that 'other' religious beliefs are outside the norm of Judeo-Christian religion. In other words, students are invited here to express an opinion on the worthiness of respecting religious beliefs that are not Judeo-Christian. The intention of the writers may have been to encourage students to express support and acceptance of other religions, but the linguistic construction of the question invites students to consider whether 'other' religions are deserving of respect and when it might be okay not to respect them. There are no other references to religion in the expectations of either FSL curriculum document, despite its explicit inclusion in the definition of culture used in the glossary for both documents.

Similarly asking students to determine whether 'others' are worthy of respect, the second example encourages students to respond to a question about the "extent" to which cultural conventions should be respected. 'Extent' means the degree to which something is believed to be the case; respect in this context can be gradated and can be withheld to a specific degree based on rationality of student arguments. Here, the influence of Kymlicka's (2003) call for 'reasonable accommodation' of difference is evident.

In the third example, 'respectfully' and 'making it personal' are positioned as opposites using the preposition "without"; the action of disagreeing or challenging should occur in a 'respectful' manner, which is a manner that is not 'making it personal'. Differences of opinion or perspectives are the resulted of lived experiences and social positions and

are therefore personal by nature (i.e. influenced by desires). The discourse aligns respect with rationality.

The curriculum emphasizes the importance of sharing opinions “en respectant les préférences et les opinions des autres [while respecting the preferences and opinions of others?]” (OME, 2013a, p. 93). This approach is fine when the preferences and opinions discussed are about tastes or personal preferences about clothing, but not during debates about the points of view related to structural or material oppression (e.g., global inequity). In this case, tone policing students whose lives are directly related to the debate that privileges the form of the message over the message itself and leads to silencing. Consider this example from Grade 11 CF, University Preparation: “role-play how to respectfully respond to an aggressive speaker” (OME, 2014, p. 143). An “aggressive” speaker is not adhering to nonverbal semiotic codes determined to be “appropriate” in the curriculum. In action, this “aggressive” speaker could be a customer in a work-related scenario. Privileging a “respectful” response, or rational emotion-free response, involves excusing the aggression or injustice perpetuating unequal power dynamics between the aggressor and the aggressed. Silva (2021) challenges the conception of anger as a hostile emotion proposing that “anger aims for recognition of harms done”. In the workplace, “formalized emotion display requirements limit self-determination by threatening the autonomy, competence, and belongingness needs of employees” (Grandey et al., 2015, p. 770). Further, this approach disproportionately burdens Black and/or female students. Invoking ‘respect’ in situations with an aggressor can be a form of control, making the aggressed responsible for the behaviour of the

aggressor, and responses to disrespect are often gendered in ways that put women at risk (Blincoe & Harris, 2011). Societal expectations for individuals to respond respectfully in the face of aggression stigmatize expressions of just ire and intersect with the trope of the "angry black woman" while in reality "younger [African American] women reported a greater tendency to experience and suppress intense angry feelings rather than expressing them either physically or verbally" risking their well-being (Celeste Walley-Jean, 2009). Valuing rationality over emotional responses to injustice is part of the patriarchal, white supremacist ideology that devalues the body as a source of knowledge and demands emotional labour from marginalized people, particularly Black women, not to disrupt the status quo.

12.2.1.1 'Culture-free' performances of respect

As "respect" is a valued student attitude, "respectful" performances are a recurring discursive substrand in the FSL curriculum documents. However, as explained in the literature review, performances are not necessarily an indication of any change; Moon's (2023) concept of 'passing' demonstrates that external behaviours can be used for survival. In the classroom where assessment can influence life outcomes, students can be motivated by external pressures to conform to normative behaviours. An emphasis on performances of 'respect' are not indicative of students' internal beliefs or attitudes. The curriculum ironically acknowledges this in Grade 10 EF:

> "Comment pouvez-vous vous intégrer dans une autre culture tout en respectant vos croyances? [How can you integrate yourself in another culture while respecting your beliefs?]" (OME, 2014, p. 216)

The concern is to perform respect in observable ways, without changing your beliefs.

This concern is reflected by the following grade 2 FI curriculum example: “Comment fait-on preuve de respect pour la culture des autres dans nos messages écrits? [How do we prove our respect for the culture of others in our written messages?]” (OME, 2013a, p. 227).

Students can signal respect using ‘vocal prompts’, body language, posture, and vocabulary (Table 35). What is a “respectful posture”?

Table 35: Performance of ‘respect’

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 7, *Examples, Teacher prompts*	“use respectful body language when participating in a discussion […] ‘Comment est-ce que tu utilises des gestes et des expressions visuelles d’une façon respectueuse quand tu participes à une discussion? [How do you use gestures and facial expressions in a respectful way when you participate in a discussion?]’” (p. 97)
FI, Grade 3, *Examples*	“adopt a respectful posture during conversations” (p. 231)
FI, Grade 9, Academic, *Examples*	“integrate respectful vocabulary and expressions of courtesy” (p. 262)
EF, Grade 9, *Instructional tips*	“Teachers can foster a climate of give and take during classroom discussions, encouraging students to *listen to each other respectfully*, share ideas, and consider alternative viewpoints” (my emphasis; p. 196)
CF, Grade 9, Academic, *Instructional tips*	“Teachers can suggest that students prepare a checklist of speaking strategies (e.g., [...] “Parler avec respect [Speak with respect]”).” (p. 64)
CF, Grade 12, UP, *Expectation, Examples, Teacher prompts*	“demonstrate an understanding of appropriate speaking behaviour when interacting with others in a variety of formal and informal situations (e.g., use verbal and non-verbal communication to encourage others to join a conversation; recognize and adhere to time limits and other constraints; provide a word or phrase to help out another student; agree with or politely challenge another speaker’s statement; in group discussions, wait for a short silence indicating the end of someone else’s turn before adding an opinion or question […] ‘Comment montre-t-on du respect? [How do we show respect?]’” (p. 172)

Some behaviours are clarified explicitly in the examples for an expectation. In the final example, “appropriate speaking behaviour” is explicitly defined, implying that the behaviours listed in the example are universal, rather than Eurocentric ableist hegemony “*posing* as universalism” (Appiah, 1993, p. 58 cited in Pennycook, 2021, p.

49). In the Front Matter, there is reference to “universal behaviours”: “Educators encourage students to develop their intercultural awareness by exploring diverse cultures and expanding their ability to differentiate between personal, cultural, and universal behaviours, traditions, and beliefs” (OME, 2013a, p. 10; OME, 2014, p. 10). The fourth example offers the vague invitation for teachers to “encourag[e] students to listen to each other respectfully”. Respectful listening is more explicitly outlined in the curriculum examples: “ask questions to verify understanding and indicate involvement”, “ask questions about, or respond to ideas”, “paraphrase instructions or messages to confirm comprehension”.

One of the most regulated behaviours is that of active listener.

Many of the behaviours described for appropriate active listening (Table 36), and the one that is the basis for assessment of FSL, is ‘culturally’ specific: it involves “eye contact” as well as “pointing, smiling, nodding, leaning forward” and turn taking.

Table 36: Normative active listening performances

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 4, *Examples*	“use visual, nonverbal cues such as gestures, facial expression, body position, and eye contact – pointing, smiling, nodding, leaning forward – and vocal effects such as changes in pitch, tone, pace, and volume to support and clarify meaning” (p. 57)
CF, Grade 5, *Instructional tip*	“Teachers can use a think-aloud to demonstrate how students might reflect on their listening behaviour (e.g., ‘J’écoute mieux quand je regarde la personne qui parle. Je peux regarder ses gestes et son visage. Je peux comprendre l’idée principale de son message. [I listen better when I watch the person speaking. I can see their gestures and their face. I can understand the principal idea of their message.]’)” (p. 69)
FI, Grade 1, *Teacher prompts*	“Comment montres-tu que tu écoutes bien pendant une conversation? [How do you show that you are listening well during a conversation?]” (p. 203)
EF, Grade 9, *Expectation, Examples*	“Using Interactive Listening Strategies: identify and use a range of interactive listening strategies to suit a variety of situations while participating in social and academic interactions (e.g., when conversing with a peer, ask questions to verify understanding and indicate involvement in the conversation; clarify, ask questions about, or respond to the ideas heard in a group discussion; paraphrase instructions or messages to confirm comprehension)”

Listening strategies that require smiling and eye contact are erasing expectations related to status or respect in some contexts and communication preferences for some autistic individuals, for example. Listening strategies requiring turn taking are not universal, either; talk story is one example of this variance in approaches to listening and communicating (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2010). The curriculum expectations in Table 35 and 36 create an imagined community where listening norms are universal without naming this process or acknowledging internal differences; these listening norms represent normative Canadianness. Alternative sociolinguistic practices are tokenistic.

12.2.1.2 Inclusive Language

The Front Matter and FSL curriculum expectations propose that one way to demonstrate respect is through inclusive language; this approach adds to the rationalist orientation to stereotypes in Chapter 11. The approach equates discrimination with misunderstanding. Inclusion is presented as something that is possible through increased awareness/recognition. It is also contingent on school/teacher assessments about whether that inclusion is feasible; the 'core' does not change, and if accommodations are too expensive or too difficult, the managers of the classroom can decide that inclusion is not possible. In other words, inclusivity is a superficial response to dominance, discrimination, and disparity, and it does not address systemic issues.

Table 37: Strategy of inclusive language

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 9, *Instructional tips*	"Teachers can model and encourage students to use inclusive language and to avoid stereotypes and overgeneralizations in their descriptions of other cultures." (p. 200)
FI, Grade 12, UP, *Instructional tips*	"Instructional tip: Teachers can remind students of the importance of avoiding stereotypes and overgeneralizations when participating in discussions about the culture of different French-speaking countries and/or regions. (p. 354)

Teachers are advised to model and to encourage students to use ‘inclusive language’ (Table 37). The documents define inclusive language in the Glossary:

> “inclusive language[/le langage inclusif]. Language that is equitable in its reference to people, thereby avoiding stereotypes and discriminatory assumptions (e.g., fire fighter includes both males and females, whereas fireman refers only to males.)[/(e.g., le directeur/la directrice [the principal (male)/the principal (female)])” (OME, 2013a, p. 315; OME, 2014, p. 381).

These glossary definitions use examples of gendered language that privilege male-coded language for professions. The discussion of bias also focuses on gender-neutral language (e.g., “identify wording that conveys gender bias, and substitute gender-neutral language by using the pronoun ‘on’” in OME, 2014, p. 165). Bias is otherwise addressed when students write to “express an opinion about the effects of inappropriate or biased language on the Internet” (OME, 2014, p. 164). There are other social positions that can be stereotyped in media representations and in biased language on the internet, though none are explicitly named in the same way. Here, “inappropriate and biased” contextually refer to harassment based on social position or hate speech. The euphemistic treatment of discrimination as stereotyping and bias contrasts the use of words like ‘préjugé” (prejudice) and ‘vocabulaire discriminatoire’ (discriminatory vocabulary) that the teacher prompts invite students to reflect on in their own writing in the second example of Table 38.

Both terms, however, are rooted in rationality (a pre-judgment, lexical choice) rather than understanding relations of power or desire (e.g., fear). The term ‘unfounded claims’ (‘affirmations non fondée’), also privileges rationality in the search for an objective truth (i.e. facts) and places the burden of proof for material consequences of these claims on

the individuals who are subject to them, rather than the writer.

Table 38: Discourses of inclusion

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 11, UP, *Examples*	"review their writing to ensure that the language and ideas are inclusive and nondiscriminatory" (p. 152)
CF, Grade 11, UP & Open CF, Grade 12, UP, *Teacher prompts*	"'Comment t'assures-tu que ton texte ne contient pas de préjugé, d'affirmation non fondée, de vocabulaire discriminatoire? [How do you assure yourself that the text doesn't contain prejudice, unfounded claims, or discriminatory vocabulary?]'" (p. 152, 165, 177)
CF, Grade 12, UP, *Teacher prompts*	"'Comment est-ce que l'on exerce son esprit critique pour écrire des textes d'une teneur appropriée au contexte (p. ex., absence de préjugés, d'affirmations non fondées, de vocabulaire sexiste ou raciste)? [How do we exercise a critical mindset to write texts with an appropriate tone for the context (e.g., absence of prejudice, of unfounded claims, of sexist and racist vocabulary)?]'"
FI, Grade 10, Academic	"use inclusive, bias-free language to show respect" (p. 294)
FI, Grade 11, UP, *Examples*	"check for bias and ensure that their language and ideas are inclusive and non-discriminatory" (p. 331)
FI, Grade 12, Open, *Examples & Teacher prompts*	"an analysis of why certain groups are, or are not, featured in advertisements […] 'Croyez-vous qu'on exclue certains groupes des publicités? Pourquoi? [Do you believe that certain groups are excluded from advertisements? Why?]'" (p. 375)

The image of an inclusive person created by the discourse fragments in the curriculum is one that does not have bias and is objectively accurate (e.g. "inclusive, bias-free", "check for bias and ensure their language and ideas are inclusive and non-discriminatory", "explain contradictions, factual errors, and bias").

The FSL curriculum documents call for inclusive teacher instructional and assessment practices: "Whatever the specific ways in which the requirements outlined in the expectations are implemented in the classroom, they must, wherever possible, be inclusive and reflect the diversity of the student population and the population of the province" (OME, 2014, p. 21). Educators are burdened with adapting the curriculum expectations to meet the needs of those students who do not represent the 'norm' presented in the curriculum document, as demonstrated in the first example. Teachers

are given (or burdened with) the autonomy to implement the requirements of the expectations in “specific ways” that “must, wherever possible, be inclusive and reflect the diversity of the student population” (OME, 2014, p. 21). The use of the imperative “must” means that this accommodation of difference is the teacher’s obligation. Being inclusive means not structurally altering the expectations to recognize all students already, but to add students to the existing structure through accommodations “wherever possible”. The contradiction between “must” and “wherever possible” undermines the imperative mood. Who decides when inclusion is possible?

12.2.2 Appreciation

Throughout the documents, students are encouraged to appreciate, recognize, and affirm culture and difference. ‘Appreciate’ is sometimes used to mean ‘understand fully’, as in the third example of Table 39 where ‘diversity’ means ‘variety’ because both are deriving their meanings from the previous sentences (e.g., ‘range’, ‘various’).

Table 39: “Appreciation” of difference in the Front Matter

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
French as a second language programs (2022)	“Learning FSL helps students: […] develop an appreciation of French culture”
Interdependence of Language and Culture	“It is important for FSL educators to help students develop their understanding of, and appreciation and respect for, diverse cultures” (p. 10)
Roles and responsibilities in the French as a Second Language programs, Teachers	“Teachers also need to expose students to the many social and geographical varieties of French through a range of authentic materials, as well as through speakers of different ages and geographic origins and from various sociocultural groups. This will help students develop an understanding and appreciation of the diversity within French-speaking cultures” (p. 13)

It is also used to mean ‘understand the full worth of’, as in the first example and in the second example where ‘appreciation’ works interdiscursively with respect.

Throughout the secondary course descriptions, the curriculum claims that students will

“enhance”, “increase”, “deepen”, “broaden”, or “enrich” their “understanding and appreciation of diverse French-speaking communities” (OME, 2014), meaning that the valuation of worthiness can be changed.

Table 40: “Appreciation” of difference in FSL curriculum expectations

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
CF, Grade 10, Academic, *Teacher prompts*	“Comment pouvez-vous éviter de laisser vos expériences personnelles influencer votre perception et votre appréciation d’une autre personne ou culture? [How can you avoid letting your personal experiences influence your perception and appreciation of another person or culture?]” (p. 103)
EF, Grade 12, UP, *Teacher prompts*	“Quelles étapes prenez-vous pour apprécier une autre culture que la vôtre? [Which steps do you take to appreciate another culture than yours?]” (p. 256)
CF, Grade 10, Applied, *Examples, Teacher prompts*	“listen to songs from a variety of French-speaking cultures to determine and appreciate how they convey messages […] “Qu’est-ce qui t’aide à être plus ouvert aux autres? [What helps you to be more open to others?]”” (p. 117)

In Table 40, the first example uses the meaning related to worth. In this example, “letting” acts as a noun and “letting your personal experiences influence your perception and appreciation of another person or culture” is the subject of the sentence, which one is encouraged to avoid. ‘Avoid’ means to stop oneself from doing in this sentence. Taken together, the sentence asks how it is possible to stop oneself from allowing personal experiences to interfere when assessing the full worth of another human being or their culture.

The second and third example also assumes a ‘closed’ orientation to difference as a starting point. The implication is that it is natural to dehumanize others and their cultures, and one must think about stopping themselves from doing it.

The solution offered in the text is exposure (Table 41). Students listen to and read materials from specific groups, write about those group, identify and discover unique language or cultural aspects of those communities, inform themselves of the meaning of cultural practices, and promote appreciation.

Table 41: Developing appreciation

Document Section	Specific examples of discourse fragments
EF, Grade 5	"in their written work, communicate information about French-speaking communities in Quebec [...] 'Comment l'identification par écrit des aspects culturels d'une communauté t'aide-t-elle à apprécier la tienne? [How does identifying a community's cultural aspects in writing help you appreciate your own?]'" (p. 151)
CF, Grade 9, Open, *Examples, Teacher prompts*	"identify words and expressions unique to certain regions while reading) […] 'Comment est-ce que le vocabulaire t'aide à apprécier les diverses cultures? [How can vocabulary help you to appreciate diverse cultures?]'" (p. 97)
CF, Grade 11, UP, *Teacher prompts*	"Comment le fait de découvrir la culture de quelqu'un d'autre t'aide-t-il à mieux apprécier la tienne? Qu'est-ce qui t'aide à mieux interagir avec eux? [How does learning about someone else's culture help you better appreciate your own? What helps you interact better with them?]" (p. 144)
FI, Grade 10, Academic, *Examples, Teacher prompts*	"compare and contrast texts on the same topic from Franco-African and Franco-Asian communities; [...] 'Comment la lecture de divers textes sur une région peut-elle vous aider à développer une appréciation de sa culture? [How can reading diverse texts about a region help you to develop an appreciate for its culture?]'" (p. 297)

The appreciation students are invited to develop is frequently for their own culture. For example, "t'aide-t-elle à apprécier la tienne? [help you appreciate your own?]'" (OME, 2013a, p. 151) and "t'aide-t-il à mieux apprécier la tienne? [help you better appreciate your own?]" (OME, 2014, p. 144). The appreciation enhances the value of students' own culture and enriches them with knowledge of other cultures that can be used as cultural capital.

Consider a final example from Grade 12 UP FI:

> "participate in a group discussion about how to express pride in one's own culture while respecting other cultures" (OME, 2014, p. 354).

The underlying assumption of this prompt is that pride in "one's own culture" is a form of ethnorelativism that leads to glorification of one's own culture while disparaging another culture or viewing it as inferior. Alternatively, there is the implication that "one's own culture" might not be a source of celebration for others and that "one's own culture" might have been involved in harming other cultures in some way. Though it is possible

to interpret the phrase “one’s own culture” in general terms that apply to any student’s cultural background, representations of the ‘core identity’ of the Front Matter and FSL curriculum expectations imply that this question is about pride in Canadian culture and pride in the social positions with status in society; how can one celebrate superiority of their own cultural identity without disparaging that of others? How can one be patriotic while ‘respecting’ (without offending/hurting the feelings of) those who were harmed and continue to be harmed by the nation-state?

Chapter 13. CONCLUSION

Discourses of intercultural understanding in Ontario French as a Second Language curricula employed CDA to investigate the ideologies underpinning the FSL curriculum. Using a critical frame informed by anti-racist and anti-colonial orientations and that considered Pennycook's (2021) five dimensions of critical work – domination, disparity, discrimination, difference, and desire – I conducted a situated analysis to the extent possible when engaging with text in document analysis. The stages of fine detail analysis involved linguistic analysis, an understanding of contextual preferred meanings (ideologies), examining intertextual relations, and using sociohistorical and political information to determine subtextual implications. Bringing these analyses together, I suggested what implications the discourses of the FSL curriculum and surrounding documents might have on the lived curriculum.

This chapter uses findings from this study to respond to the research questions, makes suggestions for future research, outlines contributions of this study, and makes recommendations for policy makers and educators based on the findings.

7.1 Responding to the research questions

The research questions outlined at the beginning of this study are as follows:

1. What subjectivities might the curriculum text envision for an intercultural learner?
2. Which discourses of culture are evident in government policy documents including curriculum text? and
3. Which political paradigm(s) might underpin the curriculum's orientation to culture?

Repetition in discourses throughout the documents supported identification of ideological positions of the OME related to these questions. Contradictions were

uncovered between the ideological positions presented in the Front Matter compared to the FSL curriculum expectations.

7.1.1 Subjectivities for an intercultural learner

Students are encouraged by the documents to assume subject positions that would make them complicit in mythmaking and sanitizing colonization (e.g., by accepting the status of Indigenous people as an object of study and as a historical presence that supported the development of Canada), and in perpetuating relations of domination with former colonies.

Students are encouraged to accumulate ‘savoirs’ (cultural knowledge) and to apply this knowledge in media or role-play tasks. Students act as cultural tourists into the lives of racialized figures (historical and contemporary), dispossessing these represented groups of narrative control. When these cultural tourism tasks are combined with applying awareness of ‘non-standard’ sociolinguistic conventions, “[u]sing local languages constitutes just another form of playful activity on a par with trying different culinary specialties or learning new skills such as sailing, horse-riding, skiing, and so on” (Thurlow, 2023, p. 156). The use of these ‘non-standard’ varieties of French “serve to elevate the identities and Whiteness of many Anglophones” (Thurlow, 2023, p. 156) or French-language learners. The curriculum writers appeal to European linguistic codes (through the implementation of the CEFR as an organizing framework and through the discursive construction of standard language) and, thus, Whiteness (Makropoulos, 2004 cited in Masson et al., 2022a, p. 388) to increase legitimacy of the “global language” they are mandating, even though “most daily French speakers in the

world are not White" (Quéméner & Wolff, 2019 cited in Masson et al., 2022a, p. 388). White students, then, are invited to recognize themselves in Francophonie, while Black, Indigenous, and racialized students are not, reinforcing Kunnas' (2019) findings. Resistance to ideological discourses about who belongs in the "center" of Canadian identity and culture and rejecting sanitization of Canada (and France)'s colonial history and present are attributed to a failure in attitude (e.g., openness). In disincentivizing critical thinking about the Canadian mythology perpetuated in the FSL curriculum documents, the OME participates in a racial formation project that may alienate students who occupy social positions marginal to the assumed 'normative' FSL student.

7.1.2 Discourses of culture valued by the Ontario Ministry of Education

The 'culture' valued by the OME reflects the shortcomings of the field of foreign language education in theorizing culture's role in language instruction. The representations of culture in the FSL curriculum expectations do not match the OME's own theorizing of culture in the Front Matter by privileging functional representations of culture that are based on structural understandings of groups as bounded wholes with minimal internal diversity. Tension between functional and humanitarian aims (e.g., eliminating prejudice) for the inclusion of culture result in contradictions throughout the curriculum.

The document writers appear to try to ensure that students are not represented as culturally neutral, but the necessary use of media representations encourages lopsided comparisons leading to generalizations and the development of 'us' vs 'them' discourses. The flattened representations of groups into identifiable traits – "facts, food,

folklore and festivals" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 24) and folk dances – are functional. The tendency of the curriculum to explicitly describe the kinds of cultural representations (e.g., etiquette or sociolinguistic performances) that students encounter invites teachers to enforce foreignness and may limit student exposure to versions of a culture that match the expectations built by culturalist descriptions of those cultures.

Fielding et al. (2023, p. 4) warn that "[t]here is a risk that in exploring 'difference and diversity', such difference is over-emphasised and the 'othering' of particular groups becomes more firmly embedded in students' understandings" (Fielding et al., 2023, p. 4). The complexity afforded to representations of Canadian and European French 'cultures' due to their narrow focus in early grades (see Table 4) is not extended to racialized Francophones who have multiple continents addressed in a single grade while the grades contending with the "world" as a geographical context for learning privileges European literature and current French colonies. The inclusion of non-White Francophone cultures in the curriculum is tokenistic and so the risk Fielding et al. (2023) warn about is realized in the subject position of cultural tourist students are encouraged to take. Examples encouraging appropriation of voice increase in frequency and intensity in Extended and Immersion French, indicating that concerns about language proficiency are not the only reason that the FSL curriculum expectations' approach to culture are problematic.

Maintenance of French as the language of instruction limits students' critical engagement with culture because the conversations necessary to address the complexity of situated lived experiences and a politics of difference is not accessible at

"Basic" proficiency levels. Students are only expected to approach proficiency by the end of Grade 12. Representations of culture that make their way into the classroom will necessarily be oversimplified to ensure they are functionally accessible. Coupled with the assertion that French must be the language of communication for students (and for instruction in Extended and Immersion French), the quality of critical conversations is severely restricted.

All Teacher prompts and many Instructional tips throughout both documents serve as the manual for “standardized” French, and as the manual for standardized cultural narratives. Sociolinguistic varieties in closer proximity to this ‘standard variety’ of French are associated with youth culture and technology (e.g., texting language) while sociolinguistic varieties that are associated with former colonies and racialized populations are fixed in the FSL curriculum expectations. Teacher adherence to grammar-abundant practices (Viswanathan, 2019) and documented requests for grammar structures in the FSL curriculum (Myers, 2012) demonstrate an unwillingness to engage in critical thinking about the status afforded to specific varieties of French. The geographically bound *imagined community* (Anderson, 2016) of *la francophonie* extends to imagined international relations of trade and tourism as power-neutral mutually beneficial relationships. The relationship between French language and the geographically bound regions in the curriculum expectations demonstrate the value the OME places on eliding the role of dominance in historical relationships between cultures, and on eliding the role of disparity as a form of violence maintained by settler-colonial states. Disparity and tools of dominance such as slavery are positioned as an

inherent trait of certain cultures rather than the result of brutality, genocide, and exploitation because there is no invitation for students to investigate their cause. Homogeneous and structural representations of culture are presented as the truth of culture. For racialized students or students different from the 'immutable core' of Canadian culture, the OME's ideological position may grate against their self-concept and encourage resistance to the hegemonic depictions of cultural groups (Tatum, 1992). The complexity with which students engage in culture extends in later grades to low-stakes investigations into stereotypes that are based in rationality rather than criticality. The OME values awareness of cultural difference rather than efforts to overcome hegemonic discourses and material inequity. The role of gender, sexuality, disability, and class in relation to the development and evolution of language are reserved (implicitly) for Grade 12 Open FI students – and even then, "difference" is categorized into "ethnic" or "social" changes to language. Intersectional and situated understandings of language and culture are effectively silenced by the text. Status is not explored at all. Complexity in understandings of culture is reserved for students in 'elite' FSL programs (EF and FI), presumably because of the linguistic demands of this kind of critical engagement. The consequence is that students in the CF program and students in the other FSL programs that discontinue with FSL courses before upper grades, are not explicitly encouraged to engage in critique of the limited representations that the curriculum offers.

Standardized representations of language and culture are governed by the elevation of the DELF exam as a recognized measure of proficiency. The washback effect from the

test contributes to greater focus on France's perspective on culture and valued cultural examples.

Overall, the OME values representations of culture that are visible, functional, and do not threaten the *imagined community* of Canada. The result is the risk of increased in-group preference for students of the ruling class as well as a violent toolkit of dispossession while 'other' students are likely to feel alienated by FSL programming and less likely to access the avowed benefits of the program for social mobility.

7.1.3 Political paradigm(s) to managing cultural difference in the curriculum

The findings uncovered a contradictory orientation to political paradigms for managing cultural difference which oscillate between conservative multiculturalism interested in preserving myths that form the basis for the Canadian nation-brand, and liberal multiculturalism that privileges performance of appreciation and respect as a response to discrimination and disparity. By rationalizing the selection of French as a second language for Ontario's curriculum, questions about teaching Indigenous languages and 'heritage' languages that could pose a threat to Anglophone dominance are disclaimed and the selection of French is treated as a consensus decision, instead of a racial hierarchization (Haque & Patrick, 2015).

The FSL curriculum addresses the threat to its status by claiming French-speaking Indigenous folks as Canadian heroes and historical figures and by treating Indigenous oral history as folklore, myths, and legends. Indigenous languages have been affirmed as "the medium through which oral traditions and the 'historic continuity' of Indigenous peoples were transmitted and treaties and other historical events related to the land

were interpreted" (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 36). Indigenous oral traditions expose the neglect of treaty relations that give Indigenous nations legal status within the colonial state's institutions. In the curriculum, Indigenous nations are treated as a monolith (through collocation) and as 'communities' that are absorbed into the body politic rather than as sovereign nations. The preservation of a mythology of a bilingual nation helps to maintain the racial hierarchy over Indigenous nations and prevent these nations from being perceived by the majority of the population who went through Ontario schooling as legitimate. In some ways, it does not matter if students are successful at learning French; in fact, it benefits the country if they can maintain a narrative of crisis around bilingualism targets (MacCormac, 2016) so that they can redirect from conversations about the legitimacy of a bilingual project in Ontario.

Issues of disparity and discrimination are addressed through an appeal to developing student attitudes of openness, respect, and appreciation. None of these attitudes fundamentally disrupts the hegemonic discourses or structures supporting the perpetuation of difference. In education, acceptance and respect do not challenge the "centre", they only create space for "others" to be included on condition that they engage as "full" citizens. A liberal multiculturalism that privileges rationality in relation to stereotypes ignores the non-cognitive aspects of discrimination, domination, and disparity. It also appeals to accepting the logic of colonialism.

The overall understanding of difference presented in the curriculum and related documents is one that uses poststructural language and language reflecting movements related to justice in ways that do not disrupt the deeply entrenched belief in a 'normal'

student as characterized in Kunnas (2019). It emphasizes a limited form of recognition without redistribution, as funding was dedicated to developing resources for adapting the CEFR to Canadian contexts. Redistribution might have involved investing in resources that diversify cultural representations for educators. The curriculum writers also fail to disrupt the belief in ‘cultures’ as discrete structural entities that have innate characteristics that make them distinct from Canadian culture. The effect is to represent cultures as monoliths with negligible internal differences, while emphasizing differences between groups through comparison, and to value ‘Canadian’ culture as superior. Activities or preferences that may vary widely within a defined group are treated as consistent across the group to expose students to difference and generate acceptance of these differences. The acceptance of differences is limited to recognizing them, rationalizing that they are worthy, and avoiding the use of bias and unfounded stereotypes. The approach reflects Banks & Banks’ (2010) curricular integration level for reducing prejudice which is insufficient for an anti-oppressive approach to curriculum. The FSL curriculum uses language status and an image of ‘multicultural’ identity to enforce the nation-state as an organizing paradigm. The Canadian nation-brand depends on a sort-of ‘ancestral claim’ to the land through the association of French-Canadian heritage with Indigeneity and on contending with the “specters of colonialism” that trouble the presence of Canada. These specters are sanitized through strategies of euphemism, lexicalisation, and invoking ‘logical’ explanations for linguistic imperialism. Indigenous nations are cast in the role of the mythical helper in the development of Canada as a nation. Participation in this mythmaking process and complicity in

maintaining this myth is regulated and coerced through the image of the ideal plurilingual citizen and the positioning of French bilingualism as a moral responsibility of someone who wishes to “participate fully” in Canadian citizenship.

7.2 Suggestions for future research

Based on the findings of the present study, I hope that researchers continue to engage in CDA with teachers and students to understand what resistances to the ideologies of the FSL curriculum documents may appear in practice. Echoing Kunnas (2019), “the need to understand why nondominant races are in immersion [or FSL programs beyond grade 9], and why they remain or demit, succeed or fail, is still required” (my addition, p. 91). Also of interest are the ways that media is employed in the classroom and how it could be used by teachers in practice to reinforce or resist ideologies uncovered in the FSL curriculum. I am interested in understanding the relationship between for-profit teacher-made resources (e.g., Teachers Pay Teachers) and representation of culture in the classroom. How and why might teachers be engaging with this content, how is culture represented in these resources, and what might be the impacts on lived curriculum? Finally, the appropriation of dramatic arts conventions for FSL because of their assumed utility for the action-oriented approach to teaching language, without a critical understanding of the ethics involved in role-taking, deserves attention.

7.3 Contributions of the study

The present study responds to Haque & Patrick’s (2015, p. 39) call to recognize how language policies “operate to embed and reinscribe the racial hierarchies at the heart of Canada’s ongoing national project” by illustrating the strategies that the current FSL

document employs to recirculate a myth of social cohesion, multiculturalism, acceptance, and respect while sanitizing the harms of colonial logic that can be acted on all students in FSL programs. This study demonstrates the ways that findings from Haque (2000; 2014), Haque & Patrick (2015) about French-Canadian and Indigenous political status manifest in curriculum text. My hope is that it contributes to the work of decolonizing the "the exclusion of indigenous languages, cultures, and peoples in Canada" (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 39).

Kunnas (2019) investigates the way that Eurocentric FSL curricular content contributes to the overrepresentation of White middle-class students in FI; my research project looks at all FSL programs to explore how culture is used to construct Others in relation to the normative student identified by Kunnas and extends the investigation into the use of culture to reinforce a normative centre in the curriculum.

My analysis points to potential catalyzing moments in any FSL program that may lead to disengagement, disruption, and resistance from students. In that way, this study challenges assumptions about the causes of the perceived lack of "respect" for French language educators that is widely reported (Lapkin et al., 2019). It challenges the contradiction of assuming a relationship between language and culture and then ignoring the cultural underpinnings of a Eurocentric standard language.

7.4 Recommendations for policymakers and educators

The focus of working groups and curriculum writing teams needs to shift from maximizing bilingualism to maximizing the well-being of students experiencing FSL programs. What would UDL look like if the FSL programs were built considering ELL

and ‘special education’ students as ‘normative’ participants in the program, rather than capable of being included through accommodation? A decolonial approach is central to making students’ experiences of language learning meaningful, which might end up supporting the Government of Canada to achieve its language goals overall.

When considering how to conceptualize ICC in future curriculum documents, I argue for critical interculturality in line with Masson et al. (2022a, p. 403) that contends with intersectional invisibility and Pennycook’s (2021) dimensions of criticality, and that ensures that self-categorization leads students towards an anti-oppressive orientation to that which is different from themselves. Homogenous accounts of groups need to be challenged, and students need opportunities to explore diversity within diversity. “Culture” can be taught without teaching a subsequent language, with the potential to engage critical use of students’ languages, while language instruction requires themes or context to be taught. Cultural difference and language can also be taught without referring to bounded groups; the field of second language acquisition is beginning to consider discourse awareness and anti-racist education as alternatives to the models for intercultural, transcultural, and pluricultural understanding (Viebrock, 2018).

Dervin (2016) discusses the possibility of ‘liquid’ realistic orientations to interculturalism as a form of situated engagement, and this is reflected in Wright & Xiao’s (2023, p. 10-11) engagement with Australian youth who are “already learning and living in a rapidly changing world of “liquid” communities [Bauman, 2000, 2006] and multiple belongings, where border-crossing, digital technologies, transnational communication are integral to their lives”; they “signify new experiences of belongings and emerging cultures beyond

what multiculturalism usually defines as diversity (e.g., […] discrete identity groups in the case of Canada)."

The assumed center of Ontario society needs to be interrogated openly by curriculum documents. Additionally, the presumed normative FSL student (Kunnas, 2019) - White middle-class students – needs to be addressed. How does gendered language function? Why are there distinct dialects associated with queerness? How do social positions influence language use? What might a curriculum that openly acknowledges race look like? What is the relationship between linguistic imperialism and patterns of language among racialized groups? How is language used to resist? How is language used to dominate? These are all questions with which students could engage. Educational stakeholders, including teacher education programs and practicing teachers, should consider how Paris & Alim's (2017) culturally sustaining pedagogies can create a critical frame from FSL programming; this orientation seeks to perpetuate and foster linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the project of schooling through culturally sustaining pedagogies. It calls on educators to reflect all racial and ethnic communities equally in their pedagogy, supporting students to critique and question dominant power structures in society. A course that examines languages simultaneously and focuses on local differences (i.e., those present in the classroom and immediate community) in critical ways that reflect Harper's (1997) orientation "critiquing difference" will support students in interrogating power and identity in Ontario society. Engaging with stereotypes is not a skillset that should be limited to upper grades and intensive programs.

Williams-Gualandi (2020, p. 238) cites “Hill’s (2007) inclusion of world issues and social issues in his description of the types of knowledge” as a potential for developing situated understandings of difference. However, the development of intercultural understanding must be based in lived experiences of domination, disparity, difference, discrimination, and desire. World issues and social issues cannot be collocated predominantly with “global” (Global South) communities and must avoid performative inclusion of “diverse” issues.

Rethinking FSL pedagogy with the findings of this study in mind should involve considering the recommendations of Faroogh (2021), exploring the work of the teacher engaging in Culturally Responsive and Relevant pedagogical practices in Masson’s (2021) study, and engaging in the FSL Disrupt project online which aims to support teachers with the implementation of diverse texts (Masson et al., 2022b, p. 35).

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Appendix A. Named figures and groups mentioned in the FSL curriculum documents

Document/ Document Section	Identification in the Curriculum	Individual	Characteristics
CF, Grade 4, p. 62 EF, Grade 4, p. 132	Franco-Ontarian Métis	Marcel Labelle	Canoe builder, Métis, Man
CF, Grade 4, p. 62 EF, Grade 4, p. 132	Franco-Ontarian Métis	Christian Pilon	Canoe builder, 'Voyageur' tour guide and TV personality, Franco-Ontarian and Métis, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 69 FI, Grade 5, p. 260	Québécois artists and authors	Anthony Phelps	Writer, Haitian Canadian, Black, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 69 FI, Grade 5, p. 260	Québécois artists and authors	Laïla Héloua	Writer, Egyptian-Canadian, Arabic, Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Michaëlle Jean	Governor-General of Canada, reporter, journalist and broadcaster, Haitian Canadian, Black, Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Maurice Richard	Hockey player, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Mario Lemieux	Hockey player, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Boucar Diouf	Senegalese biologist, oceanographer, and comedian, Black, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73	Famous Québécois[es]	Nikki Yanofsky	Musician, White, Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145 FI, Grade 9, D, p. 268	Famous Québécois[es] Poet and songwriter	Gilles Vigneault	Writer, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	William Shatner	Actor, Jewish, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Simple Plan	Musicians, White, Men
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Pierre Trudeau	Prime Minister, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73, 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 145 FI, Grade 6, p. 280 FI, Grade 11, UP, p. 321	Famous Québécois[es] Québécois artists and authors Musician	Samian	Rapper, Abitibiwinni, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73	Famous Québécois[es]	Emmanuelle Chriqui	Actor, Sephardic Jew, Moroccan (Arabic), Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Alexandre Bilodeau	Olympic athlete, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Julie Payette	Astronaut, White, Woman

Document/ Document Section	Identification in the Curriculum	Individual	Characteristics
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Marc Garneau	Astronaut & politician, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 73 EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Guy Laliberté	Founder of Cirque du Soleil, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois artists and authors	Alain M. Bergeron	Writer, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois artists and authors	Sheldon Cohen	Illustrator, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois personalities	Régine Chassagne	Musician (Arcade Fire), White, Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois personalities	Céline Dion	Musician, White, Woman
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois personalities	Gilles Pelletier	Actor, White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 76 EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois personalities	Marc Favreau	Le clown clochard (the “hobo” clown), White, Man
CF, Grade 5, p. 76	Québécois personalities	Bruny Surin	Olympic athlete, Haitian Canadian, Black, Man
EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Oscar Peterson	Musician, Black, Man
EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Historical Figures	George-Étienne Cartier	Father of Confederation, White, Man
EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Québécois artists and authors	Oliver Jones	Musician, Barbadian Canadian, Black, Man
EF, Grade 5, p. 145	Famous Québécois[es]	Marie-Mai	Musician, White, Woman
EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Historical Figures	Marguerite Bourgeoys	Nun during colonization, ministering to the poor, first female saint of Canada, educated young girls, the poor, and children of First Nations, set up a school in Kahnawake for converted Mohawks, White, Woman
EF, Grade 5, p. 148	Historical Figures	Marguerite D’Youville	Catholic nun, first Canadian-born saint, slaveholder, established a hospital that used enslaved laborers in the hospital, including Indigenous slaves and British soldiers or prisoners of war, White, Woman
FI, Grade 5, p. 266	Québécois personality	Senaya	Musician, Afro-antillais (speaking Creole, Wolof, French, English), Black, Woman
CF, Grade 6, p. 86 EF, Grade 6, p. 159	French Canadian artists	Leah Fontaine	Artist, Dakotah/Metis/Anishinaabe (Long Plains, Sagkeeng First Nation), Woman

Document/ Document Section	Identification in the Curriculum	Individual	Characteristics
CF, Grade 6, p. 86 EF, Grade 6, p. 159	French Canadian artists	Marcien Lemay	Sculptor of Louis Riel's monument, Franco-Manitoban, White, Man
CF, Grade 6, p. 86 EF, Grade 6, p. 159	French Canadian artists	Derek Letourneau	Carving artist, New Brunswick, Indigenous, Man
CF, Grade 6, p. 90 CF, Grade 8, p. 113, 116 EF, Grade 6, p. 159, 162 FI, Grade 6, p. 277, 280 FI, Grade 8, p. 309	Comic book protagonist Significant individuals in French Canadian history Historical Figure Historical Character	Louis Riel	Métis, Man
CF, Grade 6, p. 90	N/A	Sarah Riel	Louis Riel's sister, Métis, Woman
FI, Grade 6, p. 280	French Canadian and Aboriginal artists	Elisapie Isaac	Musician, Inuk, Woman
FI, Grade 6, p. 280	French Canadian and Aboriginal artists	Florent Vollant	Musician, Innu, Man
FI, Grade 7, p. 295	Historical Figure	Marie-Josèphe Angélique	Black runaway slave, burned down Old Montreal, Black, Woman
FI, Grade 7, p. 295	Historical Figure	Joseph Brant	Mohawk military and political leader, British ally, Mohawk, Man
FI, Grade 7, p. 295	Historical Figure	Chief Pontiac	Anishinaabe war chief, fought British at the Great Lakes, former ally of New France, Odawa, Man
CF, Grade 8, p. 111	European artists and authors	MC Solaar	Rapper, Senegalese French, Black, Man
EF, Grade 9, p. 197	N/A	Les Négresses Vertes	Musicians, French, White, Men
FI, Grade 9, D, p. 268	Novelist	Roch Carrier	Writer, White, Man
FI, Grade 9, D, p. 268	Novelist	Gabrielle Roy	Writer, White, Woman
FI, Grade 9, D, p. 268	Playwright	Michel Tremblay	Playwright, White, Man
FI, Grade 10, D, p. 220, 292, 296	Fable Writer	(Jean de) La Fontaine	French, White, Man
FI, Grade 10, D, p. 297	Writers of African fables	André Davesne	French, White, Man
FI, Grade 10, D, p. 297	Writers of African fables	Joseph Gouin	No information available online, Man
FI, Grade 10, P, p. 309	French-speaking African musical artist	Youssou N'Dour	Senegalese, Black, Man
CF, Grade 11, UP, p. 144	French-language songs of artists	Patrick Bruel,	Musician and actor, Algerian-French, Jewish, Arab, Man

Document/ Document Section	Identification in the Curriculum	Individual	Characteristics
CF, Grade 11, UP, p. 144	French-language songs of artists	Christophe Maé	Musician, French, White, Man
CF, Grade 11, UP, p. 144	French-language songs of artists	Wyclef Jean	Rapper, Haitian, Black, Man
FI, Grade 11, UP, p. 320	Literary Writer	Émile Nelligan	Canadian Poet, White, Man
FI, Grade 11, UP, p. 320 Grade 12, UP, p. 358	Literary Writer	Charles Baudelaire	French, White, Man
FI, Grade 11, UP, p. 321	Musician	Nicolas Ciccone	Italian Québécois, White, Man
FI, Grade 11, UP, p. 327	Historical Figure	Jacques Marquette	Jesuit Catholic priest and missionary, explorer who mapped the Upper Mississippi River, White, Man
FI, Grade 11, O, p. 346	N/A	Pierre Desproges	Comedian, French, White, Man
EF, Grade 12, p. 249, 250, 251, 253	Playwright Literature	Molière	Playwright, French, White, Man
EF, Grade 12, p. 249	Playwright	Marcel Dubé	Playwright, White, Man
EF, Grade 12, p. 249	Writer	Jean-Paul Sartre	Writer, White, Man
EF, Grade 12, p. 249	Poet	Angèle Bassolé-Ouédraogo	Poet and journalist, Ivoirian-Canadian, Black, Woman
EF, Grade 12, p. 250	Literature	Victor Hugo	Writer, White, Man
FI, Grade 12, UP, p. 349	Conservationist	Philippe Cousteau	French, Diver, White, Man
FI, Grade 12, UP, p. 358	Novelist	Dany Laferrière	D, Writer, Director, Haitian, Black, Man
FI, Grade 12, UP, p. 358	Author(s) of Roman de Renart	Unnamed	French, White, Men