Towards Plurilingualism in Montréal French Schools: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Current Governmental and School Board Policies

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October 10, 2017

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts, Educational Leadership in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Abstract

Many studies demonstrate that plurilingual practices in an educational setting have positive advantages on the social and cognitive development of a child. Initiatives within Québec research fields demonstrate that paying attention to language awareness and plurilingualism can facilitate the learning of French. Nonetheless, it is rare for Montréal French public schools to encourage these approaches. The socio-historical evolution of the province demonstrates that after a continuous fight to get French recognized as the language of the public sphere, legislation was used as a tool to ensure the learning of French by newly arrived immigrants as well as to improve the quality of French language-use among all Quebecers. Today, the *Charter of the French Language*[1] dictates measures that school boards must take to assure the vitality of the French language. These measures are articulated in language policies that are elaborated in each school board.

This study seeks to identify and better understand the facilitators and barriers of plurilingualism. Through a Critical Discourse analysis of the discourse in governmental and the Commission Scolaire de Montréal policies, this study aims to better understand the gap between the equity and cultural valorization discourse in policy and the unilingual practice currently privileged in Québec schools. The research will be used to inform school educators about ways to support education for plurilingualism in current educational policy, encourage education stakeholders to engage in professional self-development about education for plurilingualism, and offer equitable recommendations.

[1] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.)

Résumé

Plusieurs études démontrent que les pratiques plurilingues ont des avantages positifs sur le développement social et cognitif d'un enfant. Plusieurs initiatives de recherche au Québec démontrent aussi qu'accorder une importance particulière à l'ouverture aux langues et au plurilinguisme peut faciliter l'apprentissage du français. Cependant, il est plutôt rare que les écoles publiques franco-montréalaises encouragent ce type d'approche. Le parcours historique de la province démontre qu'après avoir milité longuement pour faire reconnaitre le français comme langue commune, une loi assez musclée a été créée afin de perpétuer l'apprentissage du français chez les populations d'accueil et améliorer la qualité de la langue chez les Québécois de souche. La Charte de la langue française dicte aujourd'hui les mesures que doivent mettre en œuvre les commissions scolaires pour assurer la vitalité du français. Ces mesures sont articulées dans des politiques linguistiques qui sont propres à chacune des commissions scolaires.

Cette étude vise à mieux comprendre et identifier les facilitateurs et les barrières au plurilinguisme. Avec une analyse critique du discours intégré dans les politiques gouvernementales et des commissions scolaires montréalaises, j'aspire à mieux comprendre le hiatus entre les discours d'équité et de valorisation culturelle de cette commission et les pratiques unilingues actuellement privilégiées à l'école. Le but de cette étude est d'informer les éducateurs au sujet des facilitateurs du plurilinguisme dans les politiques en place, d'encourager les intervenants en milieu scolaire à participer à des activités de perfectionnement professionnel et d'offrir des recommandations équitables qui respectent les droits de la personne afin d'informer la révision de la politique.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank both of my thesis advisors, Dr. Naomi Nichols and Dr. Mela Sarkar of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education Faculty at McGill University. Both did not only offer insightful advice, but supported me whenever things got difficult. They answered promptly to the questions I had about my research and steered me in the right direction whenever required.

I would also like to thank the archivist that helped me gather the information I needed in the archives of the Commission Scolaire de Montréal, my colleagues who gratefully accepted to answer my questions in informal conversations and the experts I met along the way and who helped fill the gaps in my research activities. I would like to write a special thanks to my brother, my Anglophone friends and my corrector as their passionate participation and input helped me convey the results of my findings.

I would also like to acknowledge professor Geneviève Audet of the Département d'éducation et formation spécialisées (DÉFS) at Université de Québec à Montréal as the external evaluator of this thesis, and I am grateful for her insights and very valuable comments on this thesis.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents and to my partner for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you.

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Introduction

Situating the Researcher

I grew up in New Brunswick, Canada's only officially bilingual province (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages for New Brunswick, n.d.), although the predominant language spoken there is English. I was raised in a town bordering Québec with little ethnic diversity, where 94% of the population report speaking only French (Statistics Canada, 2016). Despite the high ratio of Francophones, as children we were constantly reminded that French was an endangered language, under constant threat from the English culture that surrounded us. We were told that we must fight to keep the French language alive and strong. This deeply instilled ideology made me proud of being Francophone: I always tried to share my love for my language and my culture, and eventually it inspired me to become a French teacher.

Because of my interest in cultures and languages, I dedicated some optional courses of my education degree to studying diversity and learning new languages. Through these experiences, I developed a passion for promoting multiculturalism within society. Admittedly, at the time, I did not fully understand all of the nuances of multiculturalism nor was I aware of critiques of this framework. For me, multiculturalism consisted of acknowledging the presence of different cultures and celebrating them by promoting stereotypical aspect of these cultures (i.e., historical clothing, food and language). According to Caleb Rosado (1997), I am not the only one, as people use the term, multiculturalism, differently depending on their bias and self-interest. To rectify this confusion, Rosado proposes the following definition.

> Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviours that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution

> within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society. (Rosado, 1997 p. 2, underlining in the original)

I chose to present this definition because it clearly demonstrates that my vision of multiculturalism was narrow. I believed in acknowledging socio-cultural differences, but did not necessarily understand how to value them nor how to empower my students to contribute to an inclusive context. I also did not realize that some definitions of multiculturalism do not necessarily balance social inequalities or account for the history of violence perpetrated by majority groups against minorities. During my first year as a teacher in Montréal, I hosted international weeks with my students to celebrate their various cultural traditions, food, and clothing. I celebrated their ability to speak many languages and after seven months, I thought I understood multiculturalism. The following year, I discovered the possibilities that international teaching presented and had the privilege to become a French language teacher in Kuwait. After spending a few years working abroad and travelling to multiple countries, I understood there was more to respecting diversity than celebrating what people wore and ate. I realized it was important to make an effort to get to know people's history, the struggles that they are living with and the values each individual believes in. This realization led me to start questioning some of the educational practices in place at the school I was working at.

While working in an American International school in Kuwait, the teaching practice that I found to be the most troublesome as a language teacher was the one forbidding students from using their native language when learning a foreign language, such as French. I was told during my orientation week by the administrative team and teachers that forbidding Arabic was necessary because students needed to improve their English proficiency, because it was easier for classroom management and because that is what their parents requested. The last argument is

consistent with the findings of Maurice Carder, (2007) and Robert Kirkpatrick, (2016) who explain that parents often send their children to international schools because they believe learning English will give them better opportunities in developed countries. Despite this directive (having to ask students to speak solely in English when not practicing French), I decided to experiment and occasionally propose activities allowing the students to use their native language in class. When I did, I found that my students were more motivated when I was able to compare their mother tongue to French because there are commonalities, for example, between French and Arabic (e.g., grammatical gender). I also realized that my students were more attentive when I would let them experiment with words in all the languages known in my class: Arabic, Spanish, Greek, French, English, etc. Some of the students became more curious about the construction of languages. These students began to develop a greater awareness for their peers' cultures and better understand why different people had different accents when learning languages. Teaching overseas gave me the opportunity to grow as a teacher, but I realized that some of the common suggested practices I was following contradicted my core values as an educator. My questioning of the current structures eventually pushed me to pursue graduate studies.

Four years after my posting in Kuwait, I moved back to Montréal to start a program in Educational Leadership. I chose this program because I thought becoming a school principal would give me the opportunity to change the rules so that I might hire educators with a contemporary vision of education. I quickly realized that the program was about more than learning managerial skills. For the first time I encountered the term *social justice education*—an educational philosophy and practice that advocates for equity, a shared sense of democracy, the respect of cultures, and an individual's physical and psychological security in education. As I was learning about this approach, which resonated strongly with me, I realized that many

researchers were discussing how students could become marginalized in education linguistically, because their inability to master the language of the majority had the potential to affect their participation in class, and provided them with fewer opportunities for academic success (Brock-Utne, 2001; Cummins, 2000; Henry, 2012; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). To counter further marginalization from the majority language group, other scholars in the field recommend a plurilingualist approach to promote social justice (Labrie, 2010; Lawton, 2008; Moore & Gajo, 2009; Parijs, 2011). The practice of plurilingualism—an ability to speak and move fluidly in use between at least three languages—promotes respect for multiple languages, cultures and their diversity and provides students with tools to develop a democratic citizenship. Researching the importance of plurilingualism in an educational setting allowed me to better understand the tension between my intrinsic desire to let children speak in their mother tongues/explore language and the commonsense practice of coercive language immersion, I had experienced as a teacher in an international school. I started to wonder if there were also similar monolingual language policies in place in Montréal, where I was living.

To begin my investigation, I started speaking with the students I was working with in a youth organization about language use in schools. The students told me that they were often reprimanded for speaking a language other than French. I asked to see their school agenda to explore their school's code of conduct and official language policies. I repeatedly found the same sentence asking students to speak in French at all times during school hours except during other language classes (École Internationale de Montréal, 2016; École Louis-Joseph Papineau, 2016; École Margerite de Lajemmarais, 2016; École Marie-Anne, 2016). Some codes of conduct justified a French only policy by linking the statement to the school board policy (e.g., "Tel que mentionné dans la politique culturelle et linguistique de la Commission scolaire de Montréal, la

langue d'usage dans l'école est le français, à l'exception des cours de langue" (École Joseph François Perrault, 2016 p. 2). I then investigated the Commission Scolaire de Montréal school board language policy (Commission Scolaire de Montréal [CSDM], 2009a), which redirected me to Québec's provincial language policy *Charter of the French Language*[2]. From my initial review of these sources, I became concerned that the educational policy context in Montréal hindered plurilingual practices in schools. Because my graduate program at the time focused on the English system in Montréal, I was unfamiliar with the particularities and intricacies of the French system. To continue my examination of the French system, one of my thesis supervisors recommended that I enroll in a class at Université de Montréal. Being in contact with experienced researchers in the field there made me realize that I had to privilege the term "interculturalism" over "multiculturalism" when talking about policies regarding the management of diversity in Québec because the Québec provincial government did not adhere to the principles of the Multicultural Act (Québec. Secrétariat aux affaires intergouvernementales canadiennes of the ministère du Conseil exécutif , 1999), having refused to sign the amended Canadian Constitution[3] in 1982. This meant that Québec was not, in fact, promoting multiculturalism—which respects the inclusion and importance of many languages—but rather interculturalism, a model that promotes the centrality of (in the Québec case) Francophone culture but works to "integrate other minorities into a common public culture, all while respecting their diversity" (Meer & Modood, 2012) This experience also helped me to clarify my guiding research objectives, which I will return to presently. Before I outline the research goals, however, it is important to provide an overview of the current context of language education in Québec, and describe the rationale for and object of the study.

[2] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.)
[3] Constitution Acts,1982, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11

Language Education in Québec

The Québec school system is comprised of both a public education network, and private education institutions that are recognized by the Ministère de l'Éducation du Loisir et du Sport [MELS] recognized since 2016 as the Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur [MEES]. At the local level, the public system is administered by elected members that constitute school boards. In 1988, the Québec Education Act[4] shifted schools from a religion-based to a language-based model. For reasons that will be presented in chapter two, this change was not applied to some school boards officially until 2000. Currently, according to the *Charter of the French Language* the main in-class instruction must be given in French.

> Instruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary and secondary schools shall be in French, except where this chapter allows otherwise …[5]

In order for students to receive an education in English, the following criteria must be respected.

> 1. A child whose father or mother is a Canadian citizen and received elementary instruction in English in Canada, provided that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary instruction he or she received in Canada;
>
> 2. A child whose father or mother is a Canadian citizen and who has received or is receiving elementary or secondary instruction in English in Canada, and the brothers and sisters of that child, provided that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary or secondary instruction received by the child in Canada[6]

These statements demonstrate how few students are eligible to obtain an education in English.

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[4] Loi sur l'instruction publique, Bill 107. First Reading, December 15, 1988 (Québec, 33rd leg. 1st sess.), c.84, s.111

[5] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.), c.5, s. 72

[6] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess), c.23, s.1

What is important to recognize is that in Montréal homes, 626,000 people report speaking a foreign language (Statistics Canada, 2012). Out of this population, 42.69% are allophone students, (whose native language is neither French, English nor an Indigenous language) (Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire, 2016). These students are required by law to attend French schools. Within the last year, Montréal alone has welcomed close to 4000 Syrian refugees seeking permanent status (Québec. Ministère Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion, [MIDI], 2016). Many of these refugees are students who must attend school in French, despite the fact that 98% of them arrive in Canada with no knowledge of French (Canada, 2016), which may accentuate academic delays and their linguistic marginalization by the majority group. According to Zembylas (2010), not acknowledging students' culture and history can affect the students' sense of belonging to a school and community and can lead educators to ignore students' identities and uniqueness. Furthermore, Mthethwa-Sommers (2014) explains that there can be considerable consequences to not recognizing different cultures, such as the oppression of people from minority groups and affirmation of people from majority groups.

As mentioned earlier, the law does not apply to Indigenous populations, therefore it is important that we include them in the population at risk of being marginalized on a linguistic basis, as for a long period in the history of Canada, Indigenous languages have been excluded from official language policy (Haque & Patrick, 2015). Today, many initiatives have been undertaken to ensure the vitality of Indigenous languages and more financial support has been allocated to encourage the teaching of First Nations cultural values (Baillairge, 2012; Sarasin, 1998). Nonetheless, a constant struggle continues within Canada to revive lost Indigenous languages and prevent the further decline of such languages. Because of the complexity and particularities of the Indigenous case and because few Indigenous students attend Montréal

public school it is with regret that I will not focus on the inclusion of Indigenous languages in public school.

While previous research has demonstrated that in Montréal, programs are being developed to help students learn and love French (Québec. Direction des services d'accueil et d'éducation interculturelle [DSAEI], 2017), a growing body of literature is supporting the promotion of plurilingualism for students and communities in Montréal (Armand, Dagenais, & Nicollin, 2008; Armand, Sirois, & Ababou, 2008; Dagenais, Armand, Walsh, & Maraillet, 2007; Prudent, Tupin, & Wharton, 2005). Despite evidence in support of plurilingualism in Montréal, I noticed during conversations with my colleagues and students that a lot of the school boards and schools still leaned towards unilingual practices. To investigate this contradiction, I began my examination of language policies on the school boards' websites. This preliminary research led me to clarify the objectives of this study.

Outlining the Objectives and Research Questions of the Study

The following research focuses on the language policies and practices of the Commission Scolaire de Montréal [CSDM]. Before I explain why I chose to use the CSDM, it is important that I clarify what a school board is comprised of in Québec and how it is governed. School boards here are intermediate structures between the MELS and the school establishments. The city of Montréal is composed of five school boards: three French and two English (Le directeur général des éléctions du Québec, 2017). The school boards are administered by public elected trustees who are officially called 'commissioners' in Québec (Ministère de l'Éducation et Enseignement supérieur [MEES], 2017a). These commissioners decide on the orientation of the school board, consult with their communities, adopt resolutions and evaluate the actions they have taken. The commissioners must also report annually to the MEES on their management

systems, as well as the measures they take to attain their objectives. The main responsibility of the commissioner's council is to: ensure educational services that are of quality; distribute human and financial resources fairly; and create committees to foster relationships between schools and their communities. At the CSDM, one president and sixteen commissioners are elected (CSDM, 2017a), which makes it the largest school board in Montréal. Because of this, and the following criteria, I decided to focus on the CSDM as the object of my study.

1. The CSDM's predecessor, the Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal [CÉCM] is one of the oldest school boards in the Montréal area
2. The CSDM has evolved to be the most important French school board in all of North America
3. Its student population has become increasingly diverse over time (CSDM, 2017b).
4. Historians such as Gagnon (1996) and Leclerc (1989) suggest that the CSDM has been at the heart of all the debates concerning Québec's public education, particularly on the topic of schooling democratization and the emergence of new ideas.

Statistics concerning the student population, and the preliminary findings in the following section were also significant in my decision to choose the CSDM as an object of study. According to the most recent annual commissioners' report, the CSDM represents 109,401 students distributed across 191 school establishments. Fifty point five percent of the students, including preschool, primary and secondary students, are allophone students (have a native language that is not French, English nor Indigenous). Twenty-six point five percent of the students are not born in Québec. Four thousand, two hundred, twenty-one students go to a welcoming class—a concept that is clarified in chapter two—or receive a form of linguistic

support to learn French (CSDM, 2016). These statistics demonstrate that many students risk being affected by the discursive nexus (i.e., complex of discourses and rationalities within which language policies are constructed, applied and acquire meaning) around language education in Montréal. Relevant to this research was also one of the key elements of the mission of the school board: *contribuer au développement social, culturel et économique de la ville de Montréal* – to contribute to the social, cultural and economic development of the city of Montréal. According to this mission, it is essential for the school board to consider the cultural diversity of the population and it is paramount to place an importance on language and culture (CSDM, 2017c). This is significant to the study because in this research I intend to identify the barriers to and facilitators of plurilingualism, and ways to promote cultural diversity through languages.

For the research project, I was also interested in exploring the documentation regarding language usage at the CSDM, because it has a set policy regarding language usage in schools i.e., "la Politique culturelle et linguistique" which appears to encourage French unilingualism in its establishments (e.g.,"Promouvoir l'usage unique du français au sein des établissements de la CSDM" (CSDM, 2009a p. 9). At the same time, the CSDM has a distinct intercultural policy i.e., "La Politique interculturelle de la CSDM" that encourages the maintenance of native languages and plurilingualism practices for all students. For example, it states;

> La Commission encourage l'apprentissage des langues maternelles des élèves de toutes origines de même que l'ouverture interculturelle ainsi que le plurilinguisme chez l'ensemble des élèves par l'apprentissage d'une troisième langue internationale autre que le français et l'anglais (CSDM, 2006 p. 4).

It seems that these policies are able to co-exist because while French language education is vital in Québec, education stakeholders recognized that research has demonstrated that when the

native language of the student is mastered it can serve as a basis for learning other subjects and help the student achieve the standards faster.

> En effet, la langue d'origine, lorsqu'elle est mieux maîtrisée que le français, peut servir d'assise aux apprentissages qui n'ont pas été effectués dans les autres matières et contribuer à accélérer la mise à niveau de l'élève. (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation 1998, p. 22)

While looking at both research in the field and the primary policy documents, I noticed that most of the research conducted at the CSDM was historical, and mainly served to describe its evolution (e.g., Robert Gagnon (1996) wrote a historical book to describe the evolution of the school system and the school board from 1846 to 1996). Other sets of educational studies had focused on the provincial language policy (Calinon, Allard, Denault, & McLaughlin, 2015; Dansereau, 1999) and on the interculturalism concept (Salée, 2010; Taylor, 2012), but none that I have explored examined how the discourse surrounding these policies impacted school board language policies and language usage in schools. Additionally, even if initiatives are now being done by researchers to promote plurilingual practices in Montréal (Éveil au Langage et Ouverture à la Diversité Linguistique [ELODiL], n.d.) no recent initiatives have mapped and analyzed the relationship between school boards, provincial education and other provincial linguistic and intercultural legislations and policies in order to identify institutional and systemic barriers to and facilitators of plurilingual education.

Research questions. Following this preliminary period of document gathering, I developed these questions to direct the study:

1. What are the mandates of the school board language policy and in what socio-historical, cultural, economic and political context were they created?

2. How are the Commission Scolaire de Montréal and its representative schools' policies part of a wider policy and discursive nexus shaping the provision and management of language usage in Montréal?
3. How can current school board policies be amended to prevent the risk of further marginalizing students on a linguistic basis within the current framework, to offer more room for plurilingual education?

In the following pages, I discuss plurilingual education as a possible means to fight students' marginalization based on their language usage, and suggest that plurilingualism can help educators develop more open-minded and socially just practises. I begin by constructing a theoretical framework for the research by clarifying the term plurilingualism—explaining that I privilege the term *education for plurilingualism* because of its close ties with social justice education (Moore & Gajo, 2009)—address the sociolinguistic advantages of plurilingualism, and present critical initiatives made by other Montréal researchers that promote language awareness and educational methods that allow the use of multiple languages in class. Here I seek to demonstrate how education for plurilingualism can have positive repercussions for students' academic results, promote respect for culture and diversity, and can help develop a democratic citizenship. In the following chapter I decided to undertake an historical review of the literature to better demonstrate the socio-economic and socio-political factors that led to the creation of pro-French language legislation in Québec and a school system separated on a linguistic basis, and examine how the intercultural model emerged for managing diversity in Québec. It is important to consider these historical factors because they all affect the provision of language education in Montréal French schools, and impact the way intercultural education is being developed. Through archival research and critical discourse analysis of policy I set out to identify

the barriers to and facilitators of plurilingualism within Montréal's current educational system, demonstrate the possibilities of education for plurilingualism, present educators with tools to engage in professional self-development about education for plurilingualism, and make recommendations for policy makers to improve governmental and institutional policy.

Outline of the Chapters

In chapter one, I define key research terms and explain the rationale for the study by undertaking a review of the literature concerning plurilingualism. With this chapter, I hope to clarify the concept, explain its benefits, and highlight the detriments of not implementing plurilingual educational practices.

In chapter two, I address the first research question (What are the mandates of the school board language policy and in what socio-historical, cultural, economic and political context were they created?) by presenting a review of the literature concerning the emergence of the overarching school system in Québec, the evolution of a language policy, and the construction of an intercultural model to manage diversity in Québec. I conclude the chapter by demonstrating how they are interrelated today.

Chapter three outlines my methodologies for research and analysis. To answer the last two questions, I use a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology, which allows me to conduct an analysis not only of the texts but of the relation between: (a) texts: particularly policies; (b) processes of production and interpretation: how they are produced and transformed, how they evolve, what discourse surrounds them; and (c) social conditions of production: who has power and to what extent (Fairclough, 2013).

Chapter four details key findings: Using the Fairclough (1995) model for analysis and the policy cycle developed by Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992), I identify problematic elements with the

timing of policy production, with the CSDM policy creation process and with the diffusion and implementation of policy at the school board. However, my analysis of social practices demonstrates that despite conflicting elements in policy, and the powerful discourse of the majority group, there was always, and is still today, room and resources in Québec that can encourage plurilingual activities.

In chapter five, I identify significant plurilingual activities that I have encountered during this research that can inspire educators to implement education for plurilingualism practices.

I conclude the study with a summary of the research, identify limitations of the research, provide a set of recommendations for education stakeholders as well as policy makers, and point to avenues for future study.

CHAPTER 1

Plurilingualism and Québec

Plurilingualism refers to the social use of a repertoire of languages (Council of Europe, 2001). For this research I chose to use the term plurilingualism rather than multilingualism to talk about language use in Québec, because in the Francophone literature plurilingualism is viewed as a more holistic approach to language acquisition that focuses on the interconnection of languages. Plurilingualism as a practice also has the potential to evolve with time because it recognizes that languages are not set in time or in space (Moore & Gajo, 2009). The concept of plurilingualism recognizes that learning a language does not happen in a vacuum. This point of view also illustrates how bilingual or plurilingual individuals may possess varying competencies in different languages. Multilingualism, on the other hand, traditionally acknowledges that multiple languages are present in a society, but does not imply that they are interconnected (Payant, 2016 p. 108).

As Moore and Gajo (2009) point out, it is important to make a distinction between plurilingual education and education for plurilingualism because they often have different meanings in current language policy research. In this research, I will use both terms since I believe they are complementary to describe practices in Québec and to link social justice education to plurilingualism. Plurilingual education supports students' abilities to become plurilingual and encourages the awareness of language learning and an integrated approach to language education. As seen in the previous chapter, this approach seems to be the one privileged by government legislation. Students' native languages are thought to enhance the learning of French and to increase the academic success of students with difficulties. On the other hand, education for plurilingualism, aims to "promote respect for languages, cultures and their

diversity, mutual understanding, social cohesion and participation in democratic citizenship" (Moore and Gajo, 2009 p. 145). In the context of this research it is important to also use the term "education for plurilingualism" as it is closely tied to social justice education. By using both of these terms I will be able to demonstrate that when plurilingual education and education for plurilingualism are both taken into consideration, there are more opportunities for students to have access to pedagogical teacher practices involving multiple languages and practices involving social justice.

The Sociolinguistic Advantages of Plurilingualism

From a sociolinguistics perspective, using a plurilingual approach in education can facilitate students' inclusion, participation and academic success (Lee & Oxelson, 2010; Thomas, 2009). It can be an effective means to enhance cohesion and social solidarity (Corson, 1992 p. 53), and can encourage respect for and promotion of linguistic diversity (Moore & Gajo, 2009 p. 145). Other authors suggest that implementing plurilingual approaches in different aspects of the curriculum can help students from K-12 embrace and value diversity by developing *cosmopolitanism*—an understanding of the relationship between local, national and global structures that are developed through an ability to recognize cultural systems and see the world through multiple lenses. This can foster global citizenship (Guardado, 2013; Lamarre, 2002). The Council of Europe (2001) argues that a plurilingual approach in education promotes respect for different cultures, and empowers students by giving them a voice.

Research also demonstrates that plurilingualism can have positive effects on the cognitive development of children. Letting students use multiple languages in class can present advantages when learning a second language because students are able to make cross-linguistic comparisons (Kim & Elder, 2005). Cook (1992) suggests that plurilingual individuals have a different

metalinguistic awareness and cognitive processes that facilitate language acquisition because they have *multicompetence* –the ability to use two or more elements of grammar simultaneously (p. 574). Plurilingualism has also been proven to help students use transferable skills such as decoding techniques that utilize native language expertise in learning. This transfer of skills from one's mother tongue can also have a positive effect on students' self-esteem and success when they are learning a new language (Thomas, 2009: Piccardo, 2013; Yazıcı, İlter, & Glover, 2010). Despite these recent studies, preconceived perceptions make many educators reluctant to engage in plurilingual initiatives. For example, some parents think that bilingualism is associated with linguistic delay and confusion (Thomas, 2009). Another myth is that formal education means undertaking education in the majority language, which leads parents and educators to believe that it is in their children's best interest to forget their mother tongue and learn the majority language in order to receive a better education and opportunities in life (Brock-Utne, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

In a recent study Californian educators admitted that they did not think it was the school's role to help maintain students' mother tongue. They did not have time to address the issue in class and affirmed that they did not know how to support plurilingualism in the classroom (Lee & Oxelson 2010, p. 465). Thomas (2009) states that this attitude is linked to a lack of training in the field of plurilingualism, and is also due to a shortage of teachers with skills in different languages. In Europe educators are attempting to mediate this situation by developing resource kits to promote "l'éveil aux langues", an approach that serves to create an awareness amongst students with regard to linguistic diversity (European Center for Modern Languages, n.d. para. 11) that can be easily used in a classroom (European Center for Modern Languages, n.d.). To implement the concept, "l'éveil aux langues" students are introduced to a

variety of languages through visual and interactive activities that allow them to discover, explore and compare languages. These initiatives have been shown to trigger students' interest in language learning, and have helped to raise their awareness of other cultures, which helps to prepare students to live in pluralistic societies.

Plurilingualism in Montréal

In the Francophone community of Montréal, most of the research linked to plurilingualism was inspired by the European "éveil aux langues" or language awareness research. After conducting multiple experimental studies in this field, Françoise Armand and her research team developed three innovative guides to facilitate the inclusion of multiple languages in the primary schools of Montréal. The first, *Éducation interculturelle et diversité linguistique* (2013) proposes twenty activities that can be adapted to multiple school subjects and varying age groups of diverse environments. Most of these activities require little preparation and do not require a knowledge of foreign languages. The second guide (Vatz-Laaroussi et al., 2013) focuses on a specific project linked to the elaboration of multilingual stories in collaboration with students' families. The final guide (L'Équipe de recherche et d'intervention transculturelles [Érit] & L'Équipe Éveil au langage et ouverture à la diversité linguistique [ÉLODiL], 2013) acts as a training tool that invites teachers to use plurilingual theatre activities to help smooth students' transition into Canadian society when they arrive, or if they experience difficulties within their school systems. Researchers observed during the development of these guides that plurilingual methods are effective ways to foster community involvement (Armand, 2005).

In the particular context of Montréal, these guides have numerous advantages such as legitimizing the mother tongue of allophone students (students who don't have French or English as a mother tongue) and helping students transfer knowledge from their mother tongue as they

learn French. According to plurilingualism researchers in Montréal, developing positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity can also help educators avoid the pitfalls of intercultural education which include the ghettoization and folklorisation of immigrant culture (Armand, 2005, Armand, Dagenais, & Nicollin, 2008; Dagenais, Armand, Walsh, & Maraillet, 2007; De Koninck & Armand, 2011; Prudent, Tupin, & Wharton, 2005). As a result of these studies and additional research on plurilingualism, Armand, Dagenais and Nicollin (2008) concluded that it is necessary to promote plurilingual education in Québec and to persuade the education community of its benefits. To promote plurilingualism, the authors suggested engaging educational stakeholders in professional development to promote the advantages of plurilingual practice, and having them experiment with language awareness guides.

A Critique of the Plurilingual Movement

As demonstrated in the previous discussion, the research on plurilingualism in Montréal is deeply inspired by the European plurilingual movement, which has had its critics. For example, Flores (2013) suggests that there are hidden and problematic links between neoliberalism and plurilingualism. At its simplest, neoliberalism can be understood as the merging of state and market—a way of assigning market value to all institutional and social actions (Orlowski, 2012, p. 175). Flores (2013) suggests that even the neoliberal subject can be assigned market value – referring to a process he describes as the *corporatisation of individuals* (p. 503). He identifies parallels between the perfect neoliberal subject and the perfect plurilingual subject, suggesting that the neoliberal subject needs to: adapt rapidly to the current socio-historical period; adopt a lifestyle that fits an increasingly diverse workplace; and engage in fluid language practices in order to make the best decisions for his/her corporation (which fits the needs of global capitalism) (p. 510). Individuals accumulate human capital to maximize the

profits of companies; similarly, the perfect plurilingual subject is always working to access linguistic capital, especially English. I would posit that this is also related to the acquisition of French in Québec, as it is by law the established common tongue of the province. Flores' research is one reason I advocate education for plurilingualism rather than plurilingual education.

Flores' critique connecting neoliberalism and plurilingualism does not undermine all of the positive effects associated with education for plurilingualism, but plurilingualism for social justice requires that one is aware of these critical arguments and the links between language, culture and capital. To shift the narrative towards approaches that challenge societal inequalities, Flores suggests relying not only on European discourse about plurilingualism, but expanding pedagogy to help students recognize the limitations imposed by such systems, and to push boundaries to better understand power relations. He states that we must let students experiment with news ways of using languages to empower them to develop new positions.

Plurilingualism for Social Justice

Flores' suggestions are in line with the goals of social justice education—an approach that recognizes that current school systems mainly serve to transmit dominant cultural values and perpetuate inequalities between the majority groups and minority groups. Social justice education advocates to "unveil issues of domination and subordination and seeks to achieve equity and social justice by eliminating domination and subordination of people." (Mthethwa-Sommers, 2014 p. 22). By emphasizing the evolution of a system rather than assimilating students into a current system, and considering diverse socioeconomic and cultural realities, social justice education teaches students about social injustices and helps them to find their place in the world by empowering them to disrupt oppression (Feldman & Tyson, 2014 p. 55). Studies have repeatedly argued that students can be marginalized because of their limited language

competency in the language of the majority (Bogotch & Shields, 2014; Stokke & Lybaek, 2016; Zembylas, 2010).

Critics of "English only" language policies and movements have also repeatedly argued that teaching English as the primary language can lead to: marginalization; the neglect and dispossession of national languages; historical amnesia in post-colonial education; nationalists' desire to protect the power of the majority group; and the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of plurilingual education (Brock-Utne, 2001 p. 119; see also Lawton, 2008 p. 81). Henry (2012) suggests that programs using English-only as means of communication led to language loss and intergenerational alienation (p. 44). Not considering students' mother tongue also contributes to the exclusion of people from education, political life and access to justice (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008, p. 107). In *Social justice through multilingual education*, Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), goes as far as saying that we are committing linguistic genocide, and uses the definition of the United Nations (1948), to support her argument.

> Genocide means any of the following act committed with *intent to destroy* in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group … forcedly transferring children of one group to another group… causing serious bodily *or mental* harm to member of the group. (p. 40)

Brock-Utne (2001) explains that supported use of the mother tongue is the key to the emancipation of historically disadvantaged populations. She claims that students who master their mother tongue become higher achievers, and that when students learn in their mother tongue it is easier for them to access scientific knowledge. She explains using a statement from Harlech-Jones (1998), that on the other hand, individuals who do not have access to the language of the majority (because of their rural location, financial situation, etc.), cannot achieve social

progress (p. 117). Corbeil (2007) starts his book *L'embarras des langues* by exposing why the languages we learn become such an important part of who we become. He states that a language is a heritage that has been received and will be transmitted to another generation; it gives the speaker a sense of belonging to a group, a community; it is original, different, rich, and worth respecting. Speaking a language also gives access to culture, literature, and media; it allows for social cohesion with people from the same mother tongue. According to Corbeil (2007), speaking in one's mother tongue is spontaneous and speakers of this language have access to all the language nuances. Speaking in one's mother tongue helps when dialoguing and it allows people to fully express themselves during conflict resolution. Not making significant efforts to preserve one's mother tongue often leads to assimilation by the third generation. (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults). This new generation who is now monolingual, does not only have a different mother tongue from their parents, but belongs to a different culture which can lead to intergenerational alienation (Henry, 2012).

In sum, we have seen in this chapter that multiple researchers have stated the socio-linguistic advantages of plurililingualism. Some of these advantages empower students by giving them a voice, enabling better cognitive development of the child, and promoting greater academic success, as well as developing opportunities for students in their future workplaces. What is important to take into consideration for this research, bearing in mind my stance for social justice education, is that that there are advantages associated with an education for plurilingualism that go beyond the personal development of a student. These advantages include developing a society that is more open-minded and that promotes the respect of culture – a society where everyone can have an easier access to scientific knowledge, political life and judicial systems. As demonstrated in this chapter, acknowledging languages, their

interconnection, complexity and nuances can lead to better understanding of each other, promoting democratic citizenship and social cohesion. Therefore, if we want to evolve in a world that is more socially just, participating in communities that demonstrate empathy, we have to assess what is put in place by the education system and consider more inclusive ways of communication. Shahjahan (2011) states, "we need more time to come together, dialogue, heal, build reciprocity, understand difference, and reimagine educational policy and practice for the benefit of future generations" (p. 201).

The research brought forward in this literature review convinced me that education for plurilingualism is necessary in a context like that of Montréal. With this review, I also started to better understand the discourses surrounding the provision of language education in Montréal. To deepen my understanding of these discourses, further investigation of the history of education, language legislation and interculturalism in Québec was required. In the next chapter, I describe the historical context, which shaped the development of contemporary discourses as well as the current board-level and provincial education legislation and policies, and other significant provincial linguistic and intercultural legislation and policies in Montréal and Québec.

CHAPTER 2

An Historical Context for Québec's Education Policies

This section will explain the institutional matrix supporting the governance of educational policy in Québec in order to outline how policy history has shaped the education system in Montréal today. It will also address the socio-economic context in which the education system was forged, because this has influenced the enactment of critical language and intercultural policies (Andrade, 2007; Gagnon, 1996). In the second part of this chapter, I explain how the *Charter of the French Language* emerged and the reactions it generated from both the Québec "nationalists" as well as other cultural communities. Throughout this research I use the term Québec "nationalist" for individuals who can be "characterized by the importance given to respect for provincial jurisdictions, the autonomy of Québec, the preservation of the French language and the affirmation of the distinctive character of Québec society" ("Le nationalisme québécois," n.d. para.1). The third section describes Québec's approach to managing diversity: the interculturalism model. Here, I present an historical review of the model's orientations and explain why it has been the object of criticism over time. To conclude the chapter, I discuss interconnections between language education and interculturalism in Montréal.

The History of Education in Montréal

Robert Gagnon is one of the rare historians who wrote about the history of the Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal [CÉCM]. In *Histoire de la Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal* (1996), he meticulously described the socio-economic and political contexts in which school programs were created, and examined how the school board ensured the education of new immigrants arriving in Montréal. According to Gagnon (1996), schools existed before the CÉCM was founded, but they were precarious i.e., difficult to access

physically, disorganized, and teaching basic knowledge only. Leclerc (1989) clarifies that schools at the time had few educational resources and funding and were influenced by the differing educational philosophies held by the French and English colonists (p. 26). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, because of economic prosperity and an increasing population, educational laws began to emerge in the Québec Territory. To ensure economic prosperity, governing bodies decided it was necessary to provide free public education, and the Ministère de l'Éducation Publique was created in 1964 (MEES, 2017b).

It was difficult, however, to enact new education policies because in French Canada at the time, there were two powerful governing bodies that each had their own motivations concerning education. Firstly, the Church believed it was essential to educate people in order to make them good Christians. On the other hand, the state wanted to ensure its citizens were socially responsible, and prepared for the changes associated with industrialization (Gagnon, 1996 p. 67-71, p. 95). Gagnon explains that to bring order to the educational system, it was decided that schools would be administered by commissioners elected by the public and counselors named by the government. Some state representatives also suggested that schools should be neutral, without any ties to any religion. Despite these recommendations, Gagnon (1996) states that at the end of the nineteenth century, Church figures were able to gain power over the education system (p. 102). According to Gagnon, they were able to obtain positions of power because most educators had a religious background, and because members of the clergy were eligible to be elected as commissioners.

The constitutional act of 1867 also played an important role in the emergence of a denomination-based public education system in Québec. Although it permitted each province to

implement legislation regarding education, article 93 of the Constitutional Act included a section stating that educational laws preexisting the act needed to be respected.

> In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions: …. All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Québec; Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education.[7]

This specific article granted Quebecers the right to have an education grounded in the two recognized Christian denominations in Canada: Protestant and Catholic (Woehrling, Arbour, Fortin, & Goubau, 1994). Between 1869 and 1875, laws were created to divide the school systems into programs based on these two denominations. The Commission des Écoles Catholique [CÉCM] and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal [PSBGM] were formed to ensure the education of young pupils in Montreal. Over time, this system evolved to welcome students from different religious denominations, and students with different linguistic knowledge. Because this research seeks to understand the discourse around language practice in

[7] Constitution Act, 1867 (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, reprinted in R.S.C. 1985, App. II, No. 5, s.93

Montréal French public schools, I believe it is essential to discuss how the school boards dealt with language education during the period that schools were divided by religious denominations.

Immigration and Language-Learning in Schools. When Montréal's original education system was enacted, religion was seen as more important than language by educators of the Catholic school board (Levine, 1991 p. 57). Because of their history, the PSBGM offered education in English while the CÉCM offered students the choice between a bilingual, French, or English education. Since language did not interfere with the Catholic religion, Gagnon (1996) explained, many immigrant communities made requests to the commissioners of the CÉCM about opening special classes for their pupils. These requests were partly granted. Italian schools emerged at different times and other classes were put in place for Syrians, Poles, Lithuanians, Chinese and "Ruthenian" (Ukrainian) families (p. 128-131). During a certain period, students were even able to learn in their native language until grade two and then had the choice to pursue their education in French or English (p. 130).

These special classes did not come without problems; massive immigration, post-World War I made it difficult to sustain education in all these different languages, therefore these services were progressively eliminated (Gagnon, 1996). Weekend and night language classes replaced these programs to encourage communities to stay faithful to the French schools of the Catholic school board. According to Gagnon, despite these efforts made by the CÉCM, many immigrant families preferred to send their children to another school board, as the families were not Catholic.

After the CÉCM realized that the decline in enrolment caused by new immigrant families joining the Protestant school board was greatly affecting their funding, the commissioners formed a committee to better accommodate new immigrants' needs: the "Comité des néo-

canadiens" was formed in 1947 (Andreade, 2007). In 1948, the committee proposed the creation of trilingual schools. Three Italian schools were founded to test the program, but after only a few years the program was dismantled due to disagreements between school board administrations. According to Andrade (2007), the objectives promoted by the CÉCM (to encourage students to learn French through these programs) were also never reached due to both a lack of focus on French language acquisition and the use of underqualified teachers.

At the time, 66.5% of newly arrived immigrants still chose to have their education in English. Andrade believes that this increase could be attributed to the fact that it was easier to access higher education if you attended the Protestant school board, and students could find jobs more easily if they spoke English, in this period of industrialization. Other historical studies suggest that French school principals were not known to be particularly welcoming, and that there were shortcomings in the English classes at the French schools (Andrade, 2007; Gagnon, 1996; Laferrière, 1983). More than twenty years later, in 1959, three quarters of new immigrants still chose to attend English schools (Gagnon, 1996 p. 231). This rapid increase caused many Québec nationalist commissioners at the school board to be increasingly worried about Anglicization. Nonetheless, most of the other board commissioners were more focused on offering students a Catholic education, and agreed that families should have the choice between French and English educations (Gagnon, 1996).

It was only when an Italian became president of the Bureau des Néo-canadiens (the revamped "Comité des néo-canadiens") that the idea of a trilingual school resurfaced. With Ferdinand Biondi in charge, the commissioners voted to implement a school sector specifically designated to accommodate new immigrants (p. 233). Gagnon (1996) reveals that this proposition generated a conflict with the Anglophone representative of the CÉCM because it

would directly affect student enrolment in Anglophone schools. This debate ended with the abortion of the new trilingual school sector project. Andrade (2007) believes that the end of this argument and the rise of Québec nationalism led Francophone movements to adopt more coercive methods to ensure that French would become the language for the education of newly arrived immigrants. In 1968, the commissioners made the decision to close bilingual classes in the only school in St-Léonard and to replace them with exclusively French classes. This new policy forced immigrants living in the sector to register in French schools. Dissatisfied with this law, the ethnic population of the neighborhood (composed mostly of Italians) refused to send their children to school, causing what is known today as the "Crise de Saint-Léonard" (Noël, n.d.; Université de Sherbrooke, 2017a; Société Radio-Canada, 2004). After this highly publicized protest, the newly elected commissioners concluded that without help from the state, it would be impossible to ensure the re-orientation of immigrant students towards French Schools. It was the beginning of what is now historically called the linguistic crisis (Andrade, 2007). In the latter part of this chapter, I explain how the state intervened to resolve this conflict. First, I conclude this section by explaining how it took a century for the school boards to be deemed secular and divided on a linguistic basis.

Educational reform. Before the 1960s, any changes made to education in Québec were made piecemeal. Numerous critiques of the system, including the famous diatribe by Jean-Paul Desbiens (1960/1988) revealed its pitiful state. In reaction to these critiques, the government in place undertook measures aimed at modernizing the system. The goal was to use schools as a tool for the emancipation of French Canadians (Pigeon, n.d., para. 9) and to create a generation of qualified workers to counter the negative effects of industrialization (Gaffield, 2015. para. 18). Before the reform, a Royal Commission was mandated to investigate the current system and

details concerning the age of students attending, the cost of education, and the financing of the public system by the state (Leclerc, 1989). This commission was directed by a member of the clergy, Mgr. Alphonse-Marie Parent. During the first two years of the commission, 1961 and 1962 (Demers, 2014 p. 10), Parent collected more than three hundred deputations and attended numerous public consultations in order to generate five reports and more than five hundred and seventy-five recommendations to improve the current system (Corbo, 2014 p. 5-6). These recommendations gave the government the arsenal they required to reorganize the system at length. Better financing for education was promised, new educational programs were put in place and the structure of higher education was revised. After a few years, in 1964 the first ministry of education was put in place and the "Conseil supérieur de l'éducation" was created in order to assure the ministry's successful operation (Leclerc, 1989).

Although Parent was responsible for many changes, some of his suggestions have never seen the light of day. The one that is most relevant to this study consisted of unifying school boards and ensuring that there were no distinctions made between language and religion. Instead, the denominational system stayed in place and the reconfiguration of the school boards consisted of combining them to serve a bigger population. In Montréal, six Catholic school boards remained including the CÉCM as well as two Protestant school boards. According to Leclerc (1989), during the next ten years, the changes adopted concerned mostly new study programs, teacher training and higher education. It was only when the Parti Québecois was elected for the first time that the language of education became a significant political issue.

Agreeing on the importance of making French the lingua franca of Québec, the "Conseil supérieur de l'éducation" recommended in their 1976-1977 annual report that schools should be divided on a linguistic basis (Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1977). Between 1983 and 1987,

three educational laws were proposed by different governments for educational reforms in order to establish a balance between religion and language in schools. The first bill drafted, Bill 40[8], proposed an entire restructuring of the system; Bill 40 was so highly critiqued that it was never voted in (Leclerc, 1989 p. 112). The second, Bill 3[9], was less revolutionary and suggested having school boards divided on both a linguistic and denominational basis (Leclerc, 1989 p. 113). A few years after its implementation, the law was dismissed as it was deemed unconstitutional in court because of article 93 of the Constitutional Act: this granted Quebecers the right to have an education based on the two main Christian denominations in Canada. The third draft bill, Bill 107[10], is known today as the Québec Education Act and was enacted on December 15, 1988. According to Leclerc (1989), it is an enhanced version of Bill 03. What is important to this study is that Bill 107 allowed for school boards in Québec to be divided by languages rather than by denomination. That said, five dissident school boards and four confessional boards in Montréal and Québec (Lexum, 2017) including the CÉCM, kept their previous status, as according to the constitution, that they had the right to retain confessional status if desired.

William J. Smith (1994) explains that in 1993, the court ruled that Bill 107 did not affect the provision of language-based school boards in Québec, a victory for the Québec nationalist government in place. While the government was bringing laws forward to make schools secular, a great number of the commissioners elected at the CÉCM were still convinced that school boards needed to remain based on denominations. According to Gagnon (1996), many parents

[8] Loi sur l'enseignement primaire et secondaire public, Bill 40. First Reading, June 27, 1983 (Québec, 32nd leg. 4th sess.)

[9] Loi sur l'enseignement primaire et secondaire public, Bill 03. First Reading, Nov 1, 1984 (Québec, 32nd leg. 5th sess.)

[10] Loi sur l'instruction publique, Bill 107. Presented on, Dec. 15, 1988 (Québec, 33rd leg. 1st sess.)

and committees formulated requests to have the confessional status of their school revoked, but none were successful. He explains that with time, the school board was increasingly perceived as a "religious institution marked by conservatism" (p. 307). To fight this conservatism within the school board administration, a new school political party emerged, the Mouvement pour une École Moderne et Ouverte [MÉMO]. With the school elections of 1994, for the first time they won a majority of the seats, which allowed them to have more power concerning school regulations. Despite these administrative changes at the board in 1995, Québec's Premier demanded a report on the general state of education in the province after he noticed public dissatisfaction with the current education system. Amongst other recommendations, it was suggested that schools proceed with full secularization (Université de Sherbrooke, 2017a). However, it was not possible for full secularization to be implemented before the official amendment of article 93 of the Canadian Constitution was made in 1997 (Parliament of Canada, 2015). It was not until the year 2000 that Bill 118[11] was adopted to abrogate the confessional status of all schools in Québec, allowing school boards to be divided on a linguistic basic (Université de Sherbrooke, 2017b). This change came in parallel with a new education reform in Québec (Smith & Foster, 1999). Seven years later, a new program called "Ethics and Religious Culture" was put in place to replace the former catechism classes. With this program in place, schools were deemed fully secular. Through it, students now had the opportunity to learn important ideas about equity, to discover the belief systems and values of other cultures, and to explore religion as a part of cultural heritage (Québec. MELS., 2012). I will return to further discuss this program in the analysis section of this dissertation.

[11] An act to amed various legislative provisions respecting education as regards confessional matters, Bill 118, As Passed, June 14, 2000, (Québec, 36th leg. 1st sess.)

This section has highlighted that for a long time in Montréal, schools were divided on a denominational basis. During the time schools were divided on a religious basis, many reforms were undertaken. At the same time, both the state and Québec nationalists maintained a growing desire to have schools divided on a linguistic basis. Despite the many efforts made by the provincial governments in place, this division did not happen for one hundred and fifty-two years (i.e., from the creation of the school board in 1846 to the official division of school on a linguistic basis in 1998) (CSDM, 2017b para. 1). Also, during the evolution of the education system, many practices emerged to facilitate the integration of newly arrived immigrants. These approaches often focused on finding ways for students to have access to education in their native language. However, it seems that this initiative towards plurilingualism was lost when the linguistic crisis began in Québec and when new language laws emerged (Gagnon, 1996). I turn now from pinpointing this important historical marker (the lost opportunity for plurilingualism in Montreal) to reviewing how the provincial language policy came into place, and how different communities reacted to it.

The History of Language Legislation in Montréal

The Quiet Revolution. Before I describe why and how a language law emerged, it is important to acknowledge that laws are not created in a vacuum. In this case, the socio-political context of the fifties, and the "Quiet Revolution" – a period of rapid economical and political changes lived by Québec in the sixties ("La révolution tranquille," 2013, para. 1) greatly influenced Québec's language legislation. In keeping with the scope of this study, however, I will focus on historical facts that primarily concern the city of Montréal. Before the sixties, even if the majority of people in the city were from French-speaking families, the spoken language in the economic sphere was English (Levine, 1991). According to Marc Levine, this was mostly

unquestioned because it was immigrants of British descent that owned the most businesses. Also, British and French descendants occupied different sides of the island, constituting two distinct communities who held different political opinions (Levine, 1991). Eventually, Francophones began to contest the fact that there were limited opportunities for work in certain parts of the city, and that signage was in English. These realizations, along with the following social pillars (which I will touch on briefly) are said to have been the root cause of the Quiet Revolution: "the declining economic importance of Montréal in English Canada, the Francophone cultural awakening in the city, and the rise of the neo-nationalist Québécois Francophone new middle class" (Levine, 1991 p. 45).

During the revolution new slogans emerged, Jean Lesage's "Maîtres chez nous," being one of the most famous (Société Radio-Canada, 2009). During his time as premier, Lesage challenged the status quo, created multiple crown corporations and enacted several social reforms. At this time, the first minister of education was also elected. According to Levine (1991), these changes served as way to challenge the power held by big English corporations. Slowly, the appearance of Montréal started to change and it was possible to see more French faces in public, hear French media and read signs in French. Despite these rapid changes the governments did not view language legislation as a priority, considering the economy of the province a more pressing issue (Roy, 2012). The CÉCM first requested that the state take action with language legislation when the Francophone birth rate began to decline, which led to a drop in student numbers, followed by a decrease in funding for the French sector. Consequently, French teachers were dismissed, classes were reduced and schools were closed. According to Miguel Simao Andrade, (2007) the media publication of these statistics, and public intervention from the commissioners as well as Québec nationalist groups, deeply influenced

political discourse during school board elections. As a consequence, almost all of the elected commissioners were Québec nationalists. At the end of the sixties the newly elected provincial government, influenced by the Québec nationalist movement, decided to put language legislation on the agenda, and that is when language legislation started to take shape in Québec.

The evolution of language laws in Québec. In 1969, Bill 63[12], the first language law, was enacted by the province. Its objective was to promote the French language and ensure that the public could receive services in French in the public sphere. For the first time, the government of Québec determined that the position of French should be elevated to lingua franca - everyone should learn it. In linguistic research, this process can be referred to as status planning (Kloss, 1969). To oversee that the status of the language was raised and that French remained predominant in all forms of communication, the institution "Office de la langue française [OLF].," was created in 1961 (Office québécois de la langue française [OQLF], 2010). It's responsibility also included what Kloss (1969) refers to as "language corpus planning" which means that OLF had to revitalize the now less prestigious French, deliberately create a standard form of French Canadian dialect as well as developing French terminology to replace Canadianism and Anglicisms (d'Anglejan, 1984 p. 31).

However, this law did not last long in an environment where English still dominated the economic sphere. Indeed, Denise Daoust (1982) explained that most of Montréal's commerce was conducted with England, and the English language was perceived as prestigious and led to social promotion according to federal and provincial governmental commissions on languages. To legitimize the concerns raised by Québec nationalists, the government requested a commission to understand the state of language usage in Québec i.e. the Commission Gendron

[12] Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec, Bill 63, As Passed Nov. 28, 1969 (Québec, 28th leg. 4th sess.)

(Université Sherbrooke, 2017d). The results of this commission confirmed the predominance of English in the workplace and the author made significant recommendations to inspire a new law (Leclerc, 2016). Bill 22[13], enacted in 1974, replaced Bill 63[14] - the law set to promote French language in Québec. It proclaimed for the first time that French was the only official language in Québec. This new law was composed of one hundred and twenty-three articles, compared to five in the previous law, and widened its field of application to public administration, public and professional corporations, work, and education. It replaced *l'Office de la langue française* with the *Régie de la langue française*. This body was meant to: promote the enrichment and correction of written and spoken French; normalize the vocabulary used in Québec; ensure that new rules regarding the French language were observed; collaborate with organizations to put in place francization programs for corporations and businesses; listen to public suggestions regarding the status of the French language; and create reports every year describing requests made by people for French certificates.

Chapter V of Bill 22 had been specifically dedicated to the field of education and include five articles. One of them states that students would have to pass an aptitude test in order to have access to education in English and that those that didn't know enough English would be redirected towards French schools.

> The Minister of Education may … set tests to ascertain that the pupils have sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction to receive their instructions in that language. He may, if need he require a school board, regional school board or corporation of trustees to reassign the pupils on the basis of the results of those tests[15].

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[13] Official language Act, Bill 22, As passed July 31, 1974 (Québec, 30th leg. 2nd sess.)

[14] Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec, Bill 63, As Passed Nov. 28, 1969 (Québec, 28th leg. 4th sess.)

[15] Official language Act, Bill 22, As passed July 31, 1974 (Québec, 30th leg. 2nd sess.), c.5, s.43

This article limited students' freedom of choice for languages, but did not forbid English language education nor did it oblige immigrants to attend French schools. The law also stated that all programs, including English programs, had to ensure the proper knowledge of oral and written French for students. According to Jacques Leclerc (2016), these new laws only inflamed conflicts between the linguistic groups. Andrade (2007) argues that because the law did not mandate French education, it contributed to the electoral defeat of the liberal government and election of the Parti Québecois [PQ], a Québec nationalist Party. Three years later, in 1977, the newly elected government put in place a more coercive language law that became the *Charter of the French Language*[16].

The Charter of the French Language. The charter, commonly known as Bill 101, reiterated that French was the "langue officielle du Québec" (Daoust, 1982)—the official language of the government and courts of the province—and made French the habitual language of the workplace, of instruction, of communications, of commerce and of business. According to Leclerc (2016), the law was put in place to address four major problems of the previous decades by:

1. Stemming the assimilation and marginalization of Francophones in Québec
2. Ensuring the predominance of French in the socio-economic sphere
3. Reaffirming that French would be the lingua franca of Québec
4. Recognizing the linguistic rights of Anglophones (para. 78-81)

By acknowledging the fourth problem, Leclerc explains, the government recognized that French unilingualism would not be realistic in a North American context. Because of the history of English in Québec, English communities would have to retain some rights in legislation, the

[16] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.)

courts, education, and cultural and social services. Following Bill 101, English also became a mandatory second language in all of the French schools of Québec. Despite these concessions, Bill 101 was actually more coercive than Bill 22[17] because (with the declaration of Québec as a unilingual French province) all dispositions concerning the usage of French in corporations were now reinforced: business documents needed to be produced in French, and all businesses that employed more than fifty people required a certificate of francization attesting that the business had a plan to ensure that all employees would learn French (Daoust, 1982 p. 38). With this law, education in French also became mandatory for all school-aged students.

In the original version of Bill 101, officially referred to as the *Charter of the French Language*[18], Chapter VIII (dedicated to the language of instruction) stated that all students must attend school in French. Only students who had one parent that had attended school in English in Quebec, or students who were enrolled in an English school with their brothers and sisters prior to the enactment of the charter were legally permitted to attend school in English. The law thus ensured that all new immigrants would be educated in French. The new law was to be enforced by the improved "Office québécois de la langue française [OQLF]" which still today oversees the evolution of the linguistic situation in Québec. It main mission still consists of language planning as explained in p. 42. The OQLF other responsibilities include producing a report for the government on the usage of French, and the behaviour and attitude of other linguistic groups, at least every five years. The Office was also charged with the duty of promoting francization and research programs in this field, as well as conducting investigations to ensure the proper application of the law.

[17] Official language Act, Bill 22, As passed July 31, 1974 (Québec, 30th leg. 2nd sess.), s.43
[18] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.) c.8

Bill 101 also called for the creation of the "Conseil supérieur de la langue française," which was established to advise the Minister of Cultural Development on the application of the law, all linguistic questions in Québec, and the use of language by other people or groups in the province[19]. With this law, it was as if French had become a fundamental right (Daoust, 1982).

From the moment Bill 101 was enacted, everyone in Québec had the right to communication, information, and to perform their functions in French. Parallel to the implementation of the law, as mentioned above, efforts were now made to promote a standard of French language as well as to create new terms, to avoid using English terminology in the work environment. As we have seen, the *Charter of the French Language* was by far the most coercive law with respect to language put in place. Although it was welcomed by most Québec nationalists, it generated disagreements amongst the population. The following section will serve to describe how different groups reacted to the language law.

Reactions to the Charter of the French Language. Reactions to the language law were polarized. Many historical studies state that when Bill 101 was enacted, almost all French Québecers agreed with its principles because it afforded Francophones the status of a cultural majority in Québec (d'Anglejan, 1984; Bilodeau, 2016; Bourhis 1984; Levine, 1991). Monnier (cited in Bilodeau, 1986) affirms that in April 1977, 80.6 percent of French Quebecers were in favour of the *Charter of the French Language* (1977). However, the Anglophone population was outraged and disputed the need for a new law. Anglophone communities contested the legislation, arguing that it threatened their status and institutional rights and that it would change the current linguistic landscape (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). Pierre-Luc Bilodeau's study (2016) suggests that some Anglophones declared the law to be a form of genocide. The vote enacting

[19] c.4, s.184

Bill 101 did greatly affect the demographics of English communities in Québec, as more than 120,000 Anglophones left the province in the decade following the adoption of the law (Bilodeau, 2016; McAndrew, 2002).

In regards to education, many communities were unhappy with the articles restricting access to English school for children (OQLF, 2013). The largest group affected was, of course, the Anglophones, because a decline in student numbers led to less financing and resources from the government for English schools. However, some Francophone parents also felt the impact of the law because they no longer had the choice to send their children to English schools (Noël, n.d.). The Charter also generated an increase in administrators and educators' workload in French schools (McAndrew, 2002). Additionally, well-established immigrant communities in Montreal, including the Italians and Portuguese, who had fought to gain access to English schools (Andrade, 2007) were also sidelined by the Bill. All of these groups, in addition to other allophone communities, argued that the new linguistic laws were repressive and coercive (Helly, Van Schendel, & Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 2001). As a result, animosity developed between Protestant and Catholic school boards and even within the English and the French sectors of the CÉCM. For example, despite the provisions the law gave to administrators of the Anglophone sector, Gagnon (1996) suggests that some principals from English schools of the CÉCM encouraged students who knew enough English to enroll in their schools. This illegal practice led English schools to be filled with inadmissible students—students who were officially only permitted to attend school in French by the *Charter of the French Language* (Gagnon, 1996 p. 314).

Eventually, some in the Francophone community also realized that the law might have economic consequences at the provincial level. d'Anglejan (1984) reports that this was the case

brought forward by one of the most famous journalist and editor of "Le Devoir," Claude Ryan, who argued that a forceful implementation of the *Charter of the French Language* would make Québec a less desirable place to live for non-Francophone minorities. According to Bilodeau (2016), the economic crisis and rate of high unemployment evident at the beginning of the eighties also affected French Quebecers' desire to fight for Bill 101. Because of this, the French population became more open to adopting less coercive methods for implementing the language law.

In the English sector, "l'Alliance," a group whose objective was to save, sustain and promote the interests of the English minority, began to build judicial cases stating that the *Charter of the French Language* was incompatible with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Levine, 1991). Even though French Canadians had gained a victory in transforming the linguistic landscape of Québec (particularly Montréal), the reaction from Anglophones, Allophones, and some quarters of the Francophone community eventually led future governments to make adjustments to the infamous language law. In the following section, I draw attention to the ways the *Charter of the French Language* has evolved since its implementation.

Thirty-eight years of Bill 101. At the provincial level, many amendments to Bill 101 were implemented across time by different political parties because of diverging ideologies. According to Bilodeau (2016), these differences influenced the position political parties took towards the bill and affected the amendments that were made. Some examples of these changes follow: In 1993, Bill 86[20] replaced the coercive unilingual signage law to allow bilingual signage as long French was predominant. In 2002, the charter was again modified to introduce Bill 104[21],

[20] Loi modifiant la Charte de la langue française, Bill 86, As Passed June 17, 1993 (Québec, 34th leg. 2nd sess.)

[21] An act to amend the Charter of the French language. Bill 104, As Passed May 28, 2002, (Québec, 36th leg. 2nd sess.)

which further reduced access to English schools. However, following its enactment, this amendment was judged for not conforming to the Canadian Constitution[22]. In 2010, the Liberal government enacted the less coercive Bill 115[23], which "allow[s] instruction received in a private school or under a special authorization to be taken into consideration when determining eligibility for instruction in English"(Québec. MEES, 2017c para.7). This change left many Québec nationalists unhappy, as more fortunate families could pay their way into English public school by sending their children to a non-subsidized private school for at least three years (Flores, 2010; Fournier, 2010). The latest modifications to the bill were proposed in 2012, when the Parti Québécois suggested with Bill 14[24], more coercive measures to ensure a stronger valorization of French and expand French education to adult education. This proposal was rejected and later abandoned. The following table summarizes key changes in linguistic legislation that have taken place since the first language law was enacted.

Table 1
Time line of language legislation in Québec

1969	1974	1977	1988	1993	2002	2010	2012
Bill 63	Bill 22	Bill 101	Bill 178	Bill 86	Bill 104 (Assented)	Bill 115	Bill 14 (Abandoned)
Law to promote the French language	Official language Act	Charter of French language	Maintain French as the only language for outdoor public signs	Allow the use of English for outdoor public signs	Modify the criteria regarding English school accessibility (More coercive) Merging of the OLF and the CPLF to become the OQLF	Modify the criteria regarding English school accessibility (Less coercive)	Reinforce and modernize articles present in Charter of French Language

[22] Constitution Act, 1867 (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, reprinted in R.S.C. 1985, App. II, No. 5

[23] An Act following upon the court decisions on the language of instruction, Bill 115, As Passed Oct. 18, 2010 (Québec, 39th leg. 1st sess.)

[24] Loi modifiant la Charte de langue française, la Charte des droits et libertés de la personne et d'autres dispositions législatives, Draft Bill 14, Presented on Dec. 5, 2012 (40th leg. 1st sess.)

The persistent modifications made to the language legislation demonstrate that today the Québec nationalists, the Anglophone population, the Allophone communities and the government are still involved in a never-ending linguistic legislation battle. This section has demonstrated how, at different times in history, each cultural group in Québec has had to make concessions, leading to a general feeling of discontent. According to Rocher and White (2014), these linguistic policies have also played an important role in the way diversity is managed in the province. The complexity of the linguistic battle in the province, which has centred on opposition between the French and the English, has often alienated the perspectives of Allophone minority groups. Despite this dualism, newly arrived immigrants have managed to inspire the enactment of parallel legislations that have recognized the positive contribution other cultures make to Québec culture (Québec, Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1991). To have a better understanding of the role these kinds of communities have played in the province, we turn now to take a closer look at Québec's interculturalism model.

Québec and Interculturalism

Immigration is a necessity for Québec's workforce. Since the eighteenth century many waves of immigrants have colonized the Québec Indigenous land and contributed to develop the land as we know it today. According to Guy Berthiaume, Claude Corbeau and Sophie Montreuil (2014) six major immigration streams have joined Indigenous communities and contributed to form most of Québec's population: first the French, then the Anglophones—the English, Scottish and Irish—followed by a contingent of Dutch. In the twentieth century, with the end of the Second World War, Italians, Jewish and Polish arrived. The fourth wave consisted of people mainly from the Mediterranean Sea, including the Greeks and Portuguese. At the end of the fifties, Québec welcomed citizens from Haiti and Latin America, as well as Southeast Asia. The

last wave was comprised of immigrants from Lebanon, the Maghreb countries as well as some Sub-Saharan countries (p. 2-3). According to Berthiaume, Corbo, and Montreuil (2014), these migrations were fuelled by circumstances including political and administrative conflicts, famine and war (p. 2). Levine (1991) also suggests that one of the main reasons for 20th-century immigration to Québec was the high demand for an increased workforce after World War II (p. 60)

More recently, the necessity for immigration has been fuelled by a low birth rate in Québec (Levine,1991 p. 2). This reality is problematized by the fact that some Quebecers still believe immigration is a threat to French culture because it leads to the diversification of the population, and because the majority of newly arrived immigrants often prefer to orient themselves towards English Canadian culture (Levine, 1991). This leads French Quebecers back to historical concerns that prompted the implementation of the language laws in Québec in the first place: a desire above all to protect and promote French Canadian language and culture. As Labelle (2008) explains, this cultural stance has been structured by economical, political and cultural elements that date back to the Quiet Revolution. It is supported by the *Charter of the French Language*[25], which maintains French as the lingua franca for any restructuring in new approaches to immigration.

Successful immigration. As French Quebecers were working to define their national identity at the end of the 1960s, they realized that successful immigration depended on more than establishing a host culture that welcomed and respected newcomers (Rocher & al., 2007). They also had to encourage integration. In 1969, the provincial government created the Ministry of

[25] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.)

Immigration to ensure that policies for immigrants would satisfy the newly developed Québec objectives. Later that year, the Québec government signed new agreements with the federal government that allowed them to select immigrants and take charge of their linguistic and socio-economic integration (McAndrew, 2011 p. 5). Assimilation was not necessarily the goal, according to a government document that suggested: "a society that helps minority groups maintain their cultural heritage is richer and more balanced'' (Québec. Le ministre d'État au Développement culturel, 1978 p. 63). Despite this statement, the government acknowledged that French language learning needed to be part of the new immigration plan, as it would serve as an area of convergence for cultural communities (Rocher & White, 2014). While Québec was redefining its culture and position with respect to immigration, the government of Canada was defining itself as a multicultural society (Rocher & White, 2014)—a concept that emerged from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Haque, 2012). In the next section I explain why multiculturalism was not an ideology supported by the Québec government at the time, and how interculturalism instead became Québec's model for managing diversity.

Interculturalism vs multiculturalism. The Québec provincial government refused to adopt the multicultural official act enacted by the federal government in 1970 because at the time, the policy was critiqued by Québec nationalists. The Québec nationalists argued that the *Canadian Multicultural Act*[26] was enacted to neutralize Québec through a project of national unity that it did not recognize the particular realities of the Québec nation (Bock-Coté, 2014), and that it did not reflect the importance of having a defined common culture even as it encouraged the recognition of other cultures (Paillé, 2017). It is important to understand that the multicultural act has also been heavily critiqued by researchers who advocate for social justice.

[26] Canadian Multiculturalism Act, R.S.C., 1985, c. 24, 4th Supp.

For instance, Haque (2012) is critical about the historical erasures of Indigenous populations as they were absorbed under the multicultural umbrella; James (2011) critiques the policy for leading to colour blindness which is a failure to acknowledge true cultural diversity and Thobani's, (2007) critiques are oriented towards the policy's inability to address systemic institutional racism. Therefore, because this study focuses on Québec legislation, these considerations stand outside the scope of this discussion. As an alternative to Canadian multiculturalism, a model that claims to "affirm the value and dignity of Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation." (Canada. 2012 para. 1), the government of Québec adopted the interculturalism model. Unlike multiculturalism in Canada, interculturalism is not an official policy in Québec; the concept is only sporadically presented in a set of government documents (Rocher & White, 2014). The intercultural model is considered to be halfway between the multiculturalism model enacted in Canada criticized for essentializing culture and the French Republican assimilationist approach criticized for not recognizing pluralism (McAndrew, 2011 p. 7). The interculturalism model in place in Québec suggests that the French language is to be the explicit lingua franca of the province, but also focuses on creating consensus around common Québec values such as democracy and equality of opportunity (Dalley & Begley, 2008). According to Labelle (2008), the intercultural model affirms the primacy of the French language and culture but also recognizes the valuable contributions of other cultural communities to the development of Québec. As the reader will find later in this section, this model also has its critics, though to understand why we must first consider the historical context of the approach.

Historical context for interculturalism in Québec. In their genealogical review of interculturalism in Québec, Rocher, Labelle, Field & Icart (2007) explain that the message of

integrating minorities into a common public culture, while respecting their diversity was already present in the first cultural policy of Québec—the "politique Québécoise du développement de la culture" (Québec. Le ministre d'État au Développement culturel, 1978). At the time, the ideology was not yet called interculturalism, but it deeply influenced the development of this policy model. The next document that addressed diversity in Québec culture was an action plan entitled "Autant de façons d'être Québécois" (Québec. Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration [MCCI], 1981). The dispositions made in this action plan for diversity were directed towards fields controlled by the government (e.g., education, culture, social services, housing, etc). The document characterized Québec as a society that encouraged mutual respect, and that did not tolerate injustice and discrimination. The action plan claimed to be a unifying project, one that would promote social cohesion and the respect for a common culture—one that was Québecois and Francophone (Labelle, 2006). Despite efforts from the policy makers to ensure the document was clear and would be implemented, however, some definitions were critiqued by the action plan committee, and changes had to be made (Rocher, Labelle, Field & Icart, 2007).

In 1990, the Québec government adopted a new policy related to integration and immigration: *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble – Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration* (Québec. Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1991). In this document, pluralism—recognizing differences amongst cultural groups (Tardif & Farchy, 2013 para.8)—was presented as an important aspect of Québec culture. The document stated that each Québecer would benefit from pluralism as long as this kind of society respected common limits such as using French as the language of the public sphere and respecting principles of democracy (McAndrew, 2011). Pluralism in Québec was thought to reflect a

"contrat moral" (moral contract) comprised of three essential elements: a) French would be designated and used as the only language in all aspects of public life; b) a democratic society where participation and contribution were expected and encouraged; c) a plural society open to multiple contributions, within limits imposed by the respect of fundamental democratic values and the need for intercommunity sharing (Québec. Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1991 p. 12-15)

According to the Québec government, this policy, which was in place for almost twenty years, required a commitment from both the host culture and the immigrants: The government would protect the rights and freedom of immigrants, facilitate the learning of a "common culture," and promote the respect of other cultures (Québec. Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1991 p. 71); the immigrant's responsibility was to conform to a set of predetermined values that represented the new common dominant culture (p. 17).

In 2007, after a critical media crisis concerning "reasonable accommodation", i.e., "means used to put an end to any situation of discrimination based on disability, religion, age etc." (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse Québec, n.d para.1), in Québec, (Giasson, Brin, & Sauvageau, 2010) the Premier requested a "Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodements reliés aux différences culturelles" to investigate accommodation practices in Québec; hold public consultations on the topic; and make recommendations for new policies (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). After the report was presented by the government, a new policy document was put in place: "La diversité une valeur ajouté" (Québec. MICC, 2008). According to Rocher & White, (2014) not all recommendations made by the commissioners were taken into consideration, and the government decided to go

with a different approach to interculturalism. Rocher and White also criticized the document for presenting a limited understanding of interculturalism, and accused the policy makers of having a hidden agenda that would encourage the regionalization of immigration for economic reasons. Despite the critiques of the policy, it is interesting to note that the majority of its guiding principles refer to the importance of combating racism and discrimination in Québec. Labelle (2008) explains that these shifts must be attributed to the political ideals of the government in place at the time of the publication. Even if the concept of interculturalism seemed to be evolving, the core arguments holding the model together never really changed "immigrants must integrate into the Francophone society of Quebec, which must be open to the transformations induced by international immigration" (Rocher, Labelle, Field, & Icart, 2007, p. 27).

Critiques of interculturalism. For Salée (2010), the previous statement is problematic because statements that we can read in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Charter of French Language,* the *Civil code* and *Criminal Code*, and all documents were created and implemented by the majority group and based on the values of the majority group. According to Salée (2010), it is possible to argue that this policy is problematic because it excludes the possibility of a common constructed identity. The policy makers sporadically used the word diversity as if it was a principle that could simply be added to an ideological mix without changing its meaning from the original policy. However, simply professing that you are going to encourage diversity in a society does not encourage people to analyze the causes of social inequalities, especially when it is required that the ethnic population distance itself from its own culture (Dalley & Begley, 2009). Salée (2010) goes so far as to say that the Québec vision of interculturalism can be compared to assimilationist models, even if the government disputes this claim.

Another highly criticized aspect of the Québec model is linked to language limitations imposed by the *Charter of the French Language*[27]. French, in Québec, is the language of the public sphere. Therefore, to participate fully in public society, one must speak French. Dalley and Begley (2010) state that interculturalism encourages social cohesion – a cohesion promoted through dialogue. They then argue that equitable access to this dialogue is rarely mentioned in research, which leads to the reproduction of social inequalities and social fragmentation (p. 137). In these ways, the intercultural model may actually influence people's experiences of social marginalization in Québec. Many would claim that the intercultural model and language legislation were ways to protect an endangered culture, but the reality is that promoting the values and language of the French majority group perpetuates a Québec nationalist hegemonic discourse. These critiques of the early interculturalism model, and those that have resulted from the latest government document addressing this issue, "La diversité : une valeur ajoutée" (Québec. MICC, 2008), have encouraged the current government to work on a new immigration policy.

"Together we are Québec." The latest policy on immigration, participation and inclusion produced by the Québec government is entitled "Together we are Québec" (Québec. Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, 2015a). The policy seems to seek a reconciliation between the intercultural model present in the immigration policy of 1990 and the document: "La diversité une valeur ajoutée." In the document, the government reiterates the importance of ensuring that immigrants learn French as the language of the public sphere, even as they try to find an intercultural approach that recognizes diversity. According to the

[27] Charter of the French language, Bill C-11, As Passed August 26, 1977 (Québec, 31st leg., 2nd sess.)

government, the objective of ensuring that immigrants learn French and integrate into Québec's workforce must be accomplished while fighting prejudice, discrimination, xenophobia, and racism. Most of the document is focused on achieving the successful integration of immigrants for socio-economic purposes and includes details about the selection of immigrants (p. 7), how Québec recognizes internationally acquired skills to help immigrants integrate into the workforce (p. 21), and how it is possible to include economic partners for fair representation of diversity in the workplace (p. 37). Because of these orientations, I chose not to include this policy in my textual analysis as it relates to concepts not included in the scope of my research (e.g., immigration legislation and the economic aspects of immigration). However, it is worth mentioning that in the strategic action plan developed to work in concert with the policy (MIDI, 2015b) specifies that:

> L'usage du français par les personnes allophones dans le vie quotidienne est renforcé par la connaissance et la valorisation des compétences dans leur langue maternelle. Tout en mettant de l'avant le rôle du français comme langue commune en contexte plurilingue, le gouvernement du Québec compte donc valoriser les compétences plurilingues et la diversité linguistique en milieu scolaire. (p. 40)

This citation demonstrates that although French is the language to prioritize, the government is willing to make efforts to value language diversity within the school system, which clearly demonstrates an evolution in mindset.

In sum, there is still no consensus on the value of interculturalism as a social model (Rocher & Labelle, 2010). Across time and in various cultures interculturalism has been interpreted differently. In Québec, it was seen as a response to the *Canadian Multicultural Act* [28];

[28] Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1985, c. 24, 4th Supp.

a different social model that would ensure the recognition and viability of French language and culture. Under this model, immigrants and old stock Quebecers were required to make efforts to live together in a pluralistic society. With time, a set of values developed by the majority group (the French Québecois) was put in place to ensure the promotion of interculturalism. This model was highly critiqued by scholars and the general population, however, and forced the government to mandate a commission to create a new policy document. This document supported an anti-racist, anti-discrimination approach to interculturalism. The long history of the intercultural model in Québec, along with research and recent consultations with the public, have inspired the newly published immigration policy that highlights both the importance of ensuring that French remains the language of the public sphere, and reiterates the significance of diversity.

The following table illustrates the evolution of the intercultural policy in Québec by presenting the documents reviewed in this study.

Table 2

Time line of Québec's immigration policy and reviewed research documents

1978	1981	1991	2007	2008	2015
Politique québécoise de développement culturel	Autant de façons d'être Québécois	Au Québec, pour bâtir ensemble	Commission Bouchard-Taylor	La diversité : une valeur ajoutée	Together we are Québec
Policy statement defining the collective development of a common culture for Québecers	Policy presenting ideas of a cultural convergence : French, while encouraging diversity	Policy statement imposing moral contract for Québecers and immigrants	Consultations with regards to crises of reasonable accommodations and the concept of interculturalism	Policy statement presenting a narrowed version of interculturalism. Focus on anti-racism.	Newest policy statement for immigration: merging of intercultural models and concept of anti-racism.

Together, the language policy and the immigration policy lay the ground for policies in other fields of the public sphere, and in education in particular (McAndrew, 2011). Because my

research focuses on education in Montréal, I use the following section to explain how language policy and immigration policy intersected in the educational arena.

Intersection Between Language Education and Interculturalism in Montréal

In the first section of this chapter, I detailed how, even before the era of language policies in Québec, stakeholders in the field of education developed (for financial or political reasons) language practices to facilitate the integration of newly arrived immigrants. These initiatives included offering classes in the native language of students, and the development of cultural schools. When some of these initiatives were unsuccessful other approaches were developed, many of which are still in place today. In this section I chose to focus on two of these educational approaches because they are linked to language education. I will first identify the approach and then present scholarly critiques of the initiatives. Before I begin, I remind readers that an official intercultural policy to manage immigration was never put in place by the government in the province of Québec. Nevertheless, an intercultural policy was developed by the Ministry of education in 1998. Because this policy contains multiple statements related to intercultural education, it is important to consider it as part of this literature overview.

Helping cultural communities learn French: La classe d'accueil fermé. The oldest service to foster francization in school was implemented in 1969, and was referred to in French as the *classe d'accueil fermée* (often translated as the closed welcoming class). In this program, newly arrived immigrant students participated in a class covering a period of ten to twelve months at the primary level, and twenty months at the secondary level to learn French before they were put into a regular class (Québec. MELS, 2014a). Mastering French and succeeding in the Ministry of Education's prescribed French evaluations: *Intégration linguistique, scolaire et sociale – Paliers pour l'évaluation du français – Enseignement secondaire* (Québec. MELS,

2014b; Québec, 2014c) helped officials determine if the student had the competency to switch to a regular class. If this occurred, other services were offered to the student, including integration with linguistic support (e.g., tutoring, homework help, etc.) or without linguistic support (De Koninck & Armand, 2011).

According to a recent study investigating welcoming services for immigrant students, the closed welcoming class model is still the preferred approach despite its drawbacks such as alienation from students in regular class. In a set of recommendations made at the end of the study, researchers De Koninck and Armand, (2011) suggested that it would be important for educators to ensure that welcoming classes were less isolated from regular classes. They explained that better collaboration was needed between integration services and regular services that could facilitate contact and a sense of community between students. They also suggested that even if the system was well-developed, it was important to continue to invest in adapted linguistic support for immigrant students. Today, it is difficult to know if these recommendations have been put in place; however, it is clear some investments have been made. Since 2015 new programs and evaluations have been put in place to facilitate students' transition to regular classes (Québec. MELS, 2014a; Québec. MELS, 2014b; Québec. MELS, 2014c).

Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine. The closed welcoming classes were originally developed as a tool to ensure the francization of students. However, in the wake of linguistic policy debates, governmental school boards also became more aware of the academic social adaptation difficulties that Quebecers, who were from non-French linguistic and cultural backgrounds, were facing (Québec. MELS, 2009). That is what inspired the implementation of the PELO (Programme d'enseignement des langue d'origine) in 1978. Originally, the objective of the program was to help students maintain balanced bilingualism –

that is, being equally proficient in multiple languages, in a pluralistic society (Québec. MELS, 2009). Then, the PELO was offered solely to students who were native speakers of the language on offer (e.g., Italian students could only access Italian classes and no students from another ethnic background had access to Italian classes). The first linguistic programs that were developed by the ministry were for minorities with a long history in Québec, for example, the Italians, Portuguese and Greeks. In 1998, to prevent the ghettoization of linguistic groups, it was suggested by parents and educators that these language programs be offered to all students. The objectives of the program were reoriented and the PELO became a tool to support new immigrants having difficulties learning in the regular system. At the time of its evaluation in 2009, the program offered classes in seventeen languages (Québec. MELS, 2009). Today, the PELO is mentioned in a large number of studies in the field in Québec and in many government publications including the education intercultural policies of 1998, and the provincial budget for interculturalism education (Québec. MELS, 2016). In this research the PELO is presented as an occasion for students to interact in their mother tongue, to help them adapt to the school system and to increase academic results. Despite these acknowledgements, researchers McAndrew and Ciceri (2003) explain that the program is an under-exploited opportunity, since in fact it has been proven to be difficult to implement it in the current school setting.

Critical evaluations of the PELO have shed light on its shortcomings. According to an evaluation I reviewed (Québec. MELS, 2009), the budget that was distributed to school boards on an historical basis had not grown significantly since 1997, despite inflation (p. 7). Also, more than fifteen of the twenty-one language programs on offer had not been revised since their last publication in 1995 (p. 36). According to the authors, the demand for classes exceeded the supply, and few students from the secondary level were benefitting from the program (p. 41).

The study also indicated that PELO teachers believed that the time slots allotted to the program was inadequate and didn't leave enough time to provide students with a quality education (p. 37). The teachers also affirmed that they often didn't have a designated space to teach in, and that some regular teachers refused to lend their classrooms to the program (p. 39). The language teachers in the study also suggested that the problem which the PELO intended to resolve still persists: students didn't come away from the program with a proper knowledge of the language, and regional varieties of the same language could cause conflicts due to the different vocabulary usage in class (e.g., a student from Morocco will not speak the same Arabic dialect as a student from Kuwait). Misunderstandings and misconceptions that arose from language and cultural conflicts often led students who had recently immigrated to experience issues with identity. On the other hand, teachers firmly believed that the PELO could enhance students' knowledge of their native language, and help them bridge differences between their new society and their native culture (p. 51). Like other researchers (Armand, 2005, 2007; Armand, Sirois, & Ababou, 2008) teachers believed that the PELO also facilitated the learning of other languages, including French. Despite the programmatic limitations identified during the evaluation process, it is not apparent that the program has been revised nor that issues have been addressed.

Policy for intercultural education. The last educational initiative I wish to present in this section is the official provincial education policy for interculturalism: "Une école d'avenir – Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle*"* (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998). In 1998, an intercultural policy was developed for the field of education to "promote school integration and prepare students as a whole to participate to the construction of a Québec that is democratic, French and pluralist" (p. 1). Three pillars served as the foundation for this policy (a) that the school must fulfil its mission towards all assigned students; (b) that French

must be mastered as the common public language; (c) that democratic citizenship in education be promoted in a pluralistic context.

In 2013, fifteen years after its enactment, the policy was evaluated by a group of consultants mandated by the government to review the application process and the efficiency of the policy, as well as to verify if the orientations were still pertinent today (Québec. MELS, 2013). Their assessment revealed that in the year 2008-2009 more than seventy-eight percent of the finances devoted to intercultural education supported activities linked to the acquisition of the French language (p. 135-136). The other twenty-two percent of the intercultural activities were distributed according to the following categories (a) to help students who were extremely behind in subject-based curricular instruction upon their arrival to Québec; (b) to foster a partnership between schools and families; and (c) to create initiatives to bring together different cultures in school settings. These statistics demonstrated that close to 80% of the activities planned with respect to intercultural education were not to facilitate democratic citizenship in a pluralistic context, but to promote the French language alone. It is also impossible to know, based on these statistics, the number of initiatives that were financed to promote plurilingual practices.

Based on the known academic and socio-linguistic advantages of plurilingual education (Armand, Sirois, et al., 2008; Cummins, 2000; Moore & Gajo, 2009), the lack of funding for plurilingual educational practices is inexcusable. Yet in the evaluation of the policy, the experts concluded that the orientation of the policy was still pertinent. According to the authors of the evaluation (who, far from being independent were working directly for the government), the professionals consulted agreed that francization should be a priority and at the forefront of all initiatives (Québec. MELS, 2013, p. 140) On the other hand, other experts suggested that certain

procedures should be revised, including better communications between welcoming and regular classes, as DeKoninck and Armand (2012) suggested previously. The evaluation consultants also suggested that more intercultural professional development should be offered to teachers and efforts should be made to recognize the individuality of each student considering how important respect is from a social justice standpoint and to respect true diversity.

With the enactment of the provincial language policy, most of the programs linking language education and interculturalism in Québec were put in place to promote the French language and to ensure that students would acquire it quickly and increase its utilization in schools. Even the plurilingual approach, which was initially created to give students the opportunity to connect with their cultural roots, evolved into a program that mainly facilitated the integration of students who had difficulties within the current context of education in Québec. These observations, made through an evaluation of the intercultural policy, confirm concerns raised by earlier critiques of the interculturalism model that identified its perpetuation of a hegemonic national discourse (Dalley and Begley, 2010).

In this chapter, I have discussed the historical evolution of language education practices, language policy and the intercultural model in Québec, along with a description of the cultural, economic and political contexts in which they emerged. This historical review seeks to demonstrate the complex discourse surrounding language education in Montréal. Throughout the chapter, I have detailed how Québec language policies are entrenched to prioritize the learning of French and leave little room for other cultures and languages to flourish. This policy move is at odds with research that demonstrates that languages are an integral part of culture creation (Armand, Dagenais, & Nicollin, 2008; Beauchemin, 2008; Coste, Cavalli, Crisan, & Ven, 2009).

In this second chapter, I have also discussed how plurilingualism education can foster greater social justice. However, the review of policy documents undertaken here has demonstrated how plurilingual education has been put aside in Montréal in order to privilege French language learning and cultural acquisition. By this promotion and desire to protect the French language I believe the government has weakened intercultural education, as it leaves little room to (a) discuss social inequalities and relations of power between majority and minority groups and; (b) promote and recognize other languages besides French, even though they have been demonstrated to be resources to improve learning (Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera & Cummins, 2014) and foster inclusive democracy (Moore & Gajo, 2009 p. 149).

The preceding pages have outlined some of the discourse surrounding the provision of language education in Montréal. I will now explore Montréal's educational system in depth, in order to identify the barriers to and facilitators of plurilingual education. To move the discussion forward, I intend to map and analyze the discursive relations linking school boards, provincial education and other provincial linguistic and intercultural legislation and policies. The next chapter will describe the methodology I used to conduct an analysis of policies.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss the methodological approaches that I used to conduct my study. First I will describe the choice of case study methodology for this research. In the second section, I will describe Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and justify why it is an optimal approach for this research. From here, I explore different conceptualizations of discourse utilized within the field of CDA research, specifying my own use of the term in this study. I then explain why conducting archival research was an essential method for collecting the data. The third section will explain how I collected and selected the data which was later analyzed. I will then explain how I used Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse (Fairclough, 1995, 2001) to interpret the data. This model will help me superimpose a textual, processing and social analysis. To facilitate the analysis of the textual dimension of the model, I chose a Leximancer analysis, a process that will be described in the following section as well. I will then explain how I chose to use elements of the policy cycle to conduct a processing analysis – analysis of the process of production and interpretation, and I will explore the intersection between the first and second dimensions of Fairclough's model. I wind up this chapter by explaining how I used a discussion and a visual representation to clarify the third dimension of Fairclough's model (i.e., the social analysis).

Case Study as a Research Model

It is not rare that case studies are used for qualitative research in the field of education (Merriam, 1998). According to Merriam, the single most defining characteristic of this research design is that it is delimiting the object of the study. She explains that case studies cannot take form properly if the researcher did not establish a set of boundaries for a social unit to be

explored. As stated in the introduction, the CDSM will be the principal subject of this study. Therefore, I will not focus on data relating to any other school board in Montréal. However, I extend the boundaries of the school board to include a variety of policies, curricula, resources and documents developed by the provincial government, which shape how the school board functions. I consider this extension essential to my study to provide a better understanding of the discursive context of language education in Montréal, one of the main goals of this case study. The reasoning for using a case study as a principal design element of the research process is also logical for this study, considering some of the key characteristics of case study design (a) it seeks to examine a specific unit, but illuminates a general problem and the complexity of a situation along with the many factors that contributed to it; (b) the selected data have been influenced by time, by people and must come from a variety of sources; (c) it explains the origins of a problem, the background of a situation, what happened and why. According to Merriam (1998), there is no set of methods for collecting and analyzing data attached to case studies. (Stake, 1995) takes this argument further by demonstrating that it is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is being studied. It was thus important for me to find a methodology that would match the intended outcomes of a case study: "to achieve as full an understanding of the phenomenon as possible'' (Merriam, 1998 p. 28). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) appeared to be compatible with this research design as it offers ways to explore how complex social issues are discursively mediated.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis can be defined as "a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas" (Fairclough, Mulderring, & Wodak, 2011 p. 357). It is a combination of social theory and discourse analysis used to better understand how particular

policies and other discourses emerged, how they changed over time, and what effects they are having on the way a problem is conceptualized and managed. According to Van Dijk, (2015) the goal of CDA is to understand, expose and challenge social inequalities as well as to identify discursive structures that enact, confirm and reproduce them (p. 466); furthermore, CDA analysts need to be motivated by pressing social issues, demonstrate that power relations are discursive and need to take into consideration the social and political context around political issues. These guiding principles are at the heart of this research. I am seeking to understand pragmatic, contextual and historical barriers to plurilingualism in order to prevent the risk of further marginalizing students on a linguistic basis. Established researchers in the field agree that CDA must be multidisciplinary (Fairclough, Mulderring & Wodak., 2011; Rogers & Schaenen, 2014; Van Dijk, 1993, 2015). That is why I made sure that in this thesis, I was focusing not only on research linked to education, but I also implemented elements of policy studies as well as historical research (e.g., conducting systematic collection and evaluation of data and synthesizing it). CDA is used in different ways within the field of education (Rogers & Schaenen, 2014). One of the elements that is used differently across CDA research is the set of concepts used to define discourse (Bacchi, 2000). According to Bacchi, this is normal, as there is no single or correct definition of discourse. She claims that the founder of the definition, Foucault, himself realized the ever-changing nature of the concept. She encourages theorists that work with policies to develop an understanding of discourse that suits their political purpose. While looking at different definitions of discourse that would best be applicable to this research, I realize that a list of elements was common to most (a) discourse is a form of social practice; (b) discourse is both shaping and shaped by society; (c) discourse is historical and evolutive (Ball, 2015; Fairclough, Mulderring & Wodak, 2011; Jäger, 2001; Jones, 2013). According to Fairclough (2001),

language is a social practice. However, language is not seen by Fairclough simply as a system of communication; rather it is, furthermore, a socially conditioned process, dispersed in texts. These texts include spoken and written documents, artifacts as well as visual representations. Policies are also often subject to discourse analysis. A recent literature review of critical discourse analysis in the field of education explains that a significant amount of research on literacy in English considered policy as an integral part of analysis (Rogers & Schaenen, 2014). Shahjahan (2011) explains that critical analysis of education policies is necessary as policy often continues to impose the standards and products of white supremacy on racial minorities. This statement is consistent with what I am aspiring to establish with this study. I want to ensure that students are not marginalized based on their linguistic background while seeking facilitators of plurilingualism and lifting educational barriers that would discredit it.

Policy as discourse. There are different conceptualizations of policy. Jones (2013) identified four variations that are often used in educational policy research: policy as text, policy as value-laden action, policy as a process and policy as discursive. Researchers that study policy as text traditionally seeks to better understand the construction of written policy to document and uncover its intention and understand the efficiency of its implementation. This view can be limited since it does not allow the researcher to explore the process of production and the context in which policy is produced. Because policies are often the result of contestations, it is also possible that the policy may not reflect the policy maker's first intentions (Jones, 2013). Studying policy as value-laden would be a better approach, according to Jones (2013), since this approach recognizes that policies are created within a specific context, following a set of political values. Policy as a process, on the other hand, is used by researchers to demonstrate that policy is process-based, so can't be decontextualized from its creation, revision, implementation

and interaction with users (Jones, 2013 p. 8). One of the most common methods used to analyze policy as process is viewing policy as a continuous cycle (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992).

I chose for this research to view policy as discursive because it allows the exploration of the intersections of text, values and processes, and it acknowledges other contextual influences including implementations. This view is also compatible with CDA because it acknowledges that policies are caught up in and contribute to political, racial, economic, religious and cultural formations.

According to Ball (2005), policy as discourse recognizes the complexity of policy enactments and allows the researcher to not only draw from one policy, but from combined sets of texts, events, artefacts and practices. This allows one to better understand what discourses prevail and how they are reproduced. This view of policy invites the researcher to work in a non-linear process and uncover converging and diverging opinions and ideologies that might be veiled in written policy. To have access to multiple perspectives, I decided to enrich my CDA by performing some basic archival research.

Archival Research

Archival research is research involving primary sources held in an archive (Pearce-Moses, 2005 p. 25). Although archival research methods are often used to conduct historical research, that is not all that I wanted to accomplish through my research activities. Instead, I sought to emulate the work of an ethnographer to better understand the culture at the school board and the traditions of individuals in place. Like Lerner (2010), I believed that archival research would provide me not only with access to old policy documents and minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees, but also to the people who have played a role in creating and using those artifacts to shape education at the school board as we know it today. According to

Lerner (2010), this research process involves risk and discomfort, as researchers are bound to find unexpected documents. Gold (2010), a famous archival scholar, also states the importance of being open to accidental discoveries that are different from the expected results. Hence, the importance of remaining open-minded and attentive to all the artifacts that one happens upon. Archivists also agree that archival research is never simple nor complete and that it is sometimes difficult to access all existing information on a topic (Ramsey, Sharer, L'Eplattenier, & Mastrangelo, 2010). For these reasons, I established a plan for my visit to the archives of the CSDM. I describe this plan in the data collection section of this chapter. The goal was to gather as many artifacts I could in the time frames that I had, considering that I wanted to use all this data as a source to do well-rounded critical discourse analysis of policy.

Data Collection

To better understand the case under study, I started by navigating the website of the CSDM to find information about the history, the student population and the vision and mission of the school board. I then focused my attention on two main sections of the website. First was the section on policy to retrieve the school board's language and intercultural policies. Second, I directed my attention to the commissioners' section since it gave me access to their constitution, recent annual reports including budgets of the school board and the meeting minutes from the past three years. The school board website was also a way to access the majority of high school web pages. On these pages, I was able to access most of the schools' codes of conduct. In these documents, I gathered information about the different language policies that are in place at the board. Then, it was important to gather information predating the information available on this website. My starting point was the yearly commissioner's reports since they are mandated by

law[29]. These reports made it possible to gather information about institutional priorities and main realizations, as well as actions taken to reach fixed objectives. A portrait of students attending the school board is also present in each report. For this study, I chose to look at the reports from the following four years for specific reasons:

1998- 1999: Year the CÉCM was renamed CSDM (CSDM, 1999).

2006- 2007: Enactment of the intercultural policy (CSDM, 2007).

2009-2010: Enactment of the linguistic policy (CSDM, 2010).

2015- 2016: Most recent commissioners' report (CSDM, 2016).

While information gathered in the reports generated interesting data for this study, it was not sufficient to really understand the pragmatic barriers and facilitators of plurilingualism. To continue this data collection, I visited the archives of the school board on two occasions. There I worked with the archive specialist to identify relevant documents to explore in depth. We used the school board's private database system using the key terms: Multilingualism, Plurilingualism, Interculturalism, and intercultural + Policy and Language + Policy. This search generated 597 results, 541 of which were documents and 56 of which were index cards. I then printed the list of results and analyzed the titles and description of each document. First, I eliminated all the duplicated documents, the documents predating 1977 (the year of the enactment of the *Charter of the French Language*), the ones related to learning English as a second language, and the ones not linked to the objectives of this research. I then selected 96 documents and index cards based on their title and descriptions. To facilitate the physical research during my second visit to the archives, I categorized my selected documents into six topics that I wanted to investigate: 1. Language policy, 2. Intercultural policy, 3. Plurilingual activities, 4. Intercultural relations

[29] Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'instruction publique, la Loi sur les élections scolaires et d'autres dispositions législatives, Bill 109, As passed June 19, 1977 (35th leg. 2nd sess.)

committees, 5. Intercultural week and initiatives and 6. Budget allocation for intercultural education and plurilingual initiatives. The organization of the system and the location of the boxes made it difficult to access all the documents that I intended to analyze. Figure 1 illustrates the organizational system of the CSDM.

Figure 1: The archives of the CSDM (organizational system). February 7, 2017.

The volume of the chosen documents and time restrictions were also factors that affected the number of files that I was able to retrieve. Despite these obstacles, I was able to retrieve 26 meaningful documents, each containing some of the data required to understand the six topics I set out to investigate. To fill in the gaps left by the more difficult to access documents, I sent multiple emails to historians, commissioners, and pedagogical consultants representing the government. I also arranged a meeting with an insightful advisor – an expert on CSDM policy with significant experience in the field of intercultural education in Montréal. During our correspondence, I asked him questions about the information not covered in the documents. This expert helped me understand why it was difficult to access information about intercultural education in the school board archives after 2010 and directed my research towards a

governmental website: école plurielle.ca. With this website, I was able to access current budget allocation for intercultural education, newly developed curriculum to facilitate French language acquisition, and educational resources as well as initiatives put in places by different school boards and specific schools.

To complement the collection of recent documents, I visited two ministry websites. On the Education and Higher Education website, I gathered information about current educational policy, regular school curricula, and current initiatives related to intercultural education. On the website of the Ministry of immigration, diversity and inclusion, I collected recent administrative publications linked to the interculturalism model and publications made by the Intercultural Relations Council. To better understand the context of practice and how the policy is affecting teachers' practices, I spoke informally with some of my graduate student colleagues who are currently teaching at different school boards in Montréal. These conversations helped me gather information that was not present in written documents and web pages. In total, I gathered approximately 50 written documents based on the information found on five websites, in two archival locations, including the school board archives and the archives of the national library, as well as conversations with graduate student colleagues in the field of education.

Fairclough's Three- Dimensional Model of Discourse

I was interested in analyzing multiple policy texts, artifacts and documents related to the provision and management of language usage at the CSDM. What I wanted to do with these documents was to achieve a better understanding of their interconnections, the relationship between them, and especially how certain discourses, contexts, and social conditions shape and are informed by these texts in order to identify potential barriers and/or facilitators of plurilingualism. While reviewing the literature on CDA I realized that Fairclough's (1995; 2001)

model (see figure 2) would allow me to integrate different dimensions of discourse in my analysis. As Janks (2006) explains: " it consists of three interrelated processes of analysis tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse" (p. 329). As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the three dimensions of the model represent, 1. the product, which can be a spoken or a written text; 2. the process, how the text is produced, diffused and perceived by the population; 3. the social practice, which is more political and aims at uncovering power relations (Fairclough, 1995). For each of the dimensions Fairclough proposes a different type of analysis. The corresponding form of analysis for the first dimension covers the description of the text. This textual analysis is done differently across the field, but often includes a focus on selected textual forms (Fairclough, 1995). The second dimension of analysis is a process analysis, which consists of the examination of the relationship between the text and its outside factors, such as its context of influence, production and practice. The third dimension of analysis is about investigating what is happening globally in a particular socio-cultural framework. It includes explaining how social practice is determined by social structures (Fairclough 2001). Yelle Hoepfner (2006) draws a good example of the model, with her analysis of Dove's campaign for true beauty. In her article, she demonstrates that when you pay close attention to the: sentences, chosen, images, colours, sounds (step 1, multi-model textual analysis) the history of the brand, the context of production, the timing of the advertisement (step 2, process analysis) it is possible to realize that the advertisement was a marketing ploy by a powerful European company rather than a social campaign (step 3, social analysis). Although I value the use of Fairclough's three-dimensional model for my analysis, I did not use it in traditional ways. Usually researchers will focus on one piece of text and conduct thorough linguistic analysis using Fairclough's key questions for analysis (Fairclough, 2001). While influenced generally by Fairclough's approach,

I chose not to follow these specific questions as I intended to look at multiple policy documents. I also believed that including the Policy Cycle by Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992 was a suitable way for me to explore and describe cleary all the documents surrounding the chosen policies. In the next section, I will describe how I specifically used each type of analysis to generate findings.

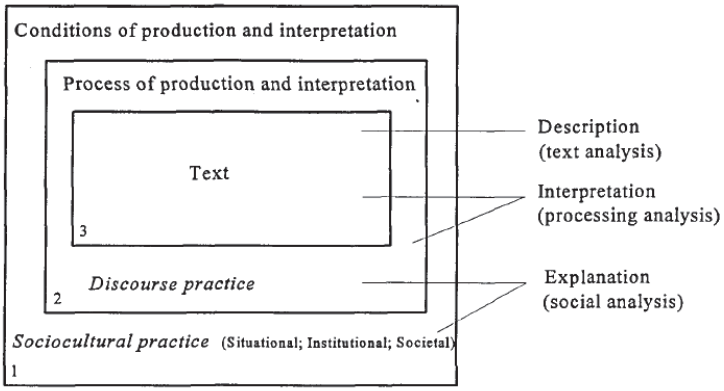

Figure 2. Visual representation of Fairclough's model for CDA analysis (Fairclough in Janks, 2006 p. 330)

Textual Analysis. I decided to start with an analysis of policy documents using the tool Leximancer. Leximancer is a text mining software that allows researchers to analyze the content of collections of textual documents and to visually display the extracted information in a browser. It has the ability to identify the high level concepts in text documents and how they are related (Leximancer, 2010). Concepts in Leximancer are collections of words that generally travel together throughout the text. According to Leximancer: "these terms are weighted according to how frequently they occur in sentences containing the concept, compared to how frequently they occur elsewhere. Sentences are tagged as containing a concept if accumulated enough evidence of the concept is found" (Leximancer, 2017, p. 9). I chose Leximancer because it supports all forms of texts and is widely used in policy fields, including educational policy (Jones, 2014). Also, the software was able to process texts in French, which was a necessity for this research. This analysis was essential for two reasons: first, to provide quantitative indicators

of the prevalence of particular words and phrases in policy documents, and second, to identify where the discourse is converging when superimposing policies. Before starting the Leximancer analysis, I read through all policies to identify statements that fostered a plurilingual approach. This way, without knowing the core discourse of the policy, I knew if there was mention of plurilingual activities. This strategy proved to be useful as Leximancer did not allow me to see contradicting elements between policies. Before I proceeded with the analysis, I had to learn how to use Leximancer efficiently. I therefore read the Leximancer User Guide (Leximancer, 2017), viewed tutorials on YouTube (Angus, 2014; Angus, 2016; York, 2016) and followed a guide developed by Liverpool John Moores University for my analysis (n.d.). To conduct the Leximancer analysis I mostly followed Jone's (2014) methodology, a process that is fully described in Appendix A. As in Jones' research, this analysis generated multiple two-dimensional concept maps that were produced via a novel emergent clustering algorithms (p. 66). Like Jones, I repeated the Leximancer analysis process several times and cross-examined the results for consistency.

The last step consisted of opening a project where I superimposed all of the policies. This way it was possible to identify where the texts converged. I then looked for absences of previously encountered terms and absences in the visual representation the software as generated. This textual analysis allowed me to visually map out concepts that are the most present in each of the policies and compare them to each other. It also allowed the generation of a combined concept map, which I will present in chapter four.

Despite the strength of Leximancer to analyze frequency of concepts, interrelationships amongst words, and an idea of what was absent from the text, as stated previously I was not able to see if policies contradicted themselves. I then decided to look back at my highlighted section

promoting for plurilingualism and compared them to the majority discourse found with the Leximancer analysis. This comparison allowed me to see the divergence between statements vouching for plurilingualim and the main discourse present in policy.

Processing analysis. To analyze policy as a process, I used Bowe, Ball & Gold's (2012) policy cycle framework because I find it complimentary to Fairclough's approach. They are complementary for two reasons. First they both take a postmodern orientation, seeking to unveil power structures embedded in policy. Second, they both suggest a using similar approach to analyze discourse surrounding the object studied (i.e., the policies). To analyze the process, Fairclough believes it is important to take into consideration how people interpret, reproduce and transform text (Rogers et al. 2005). To analyze similar components of policy, Bowe, Ball and Gold (2012) developed the policy cycle. The original policy cycle consists of analyzing context of influence, context of practice and context of text production. The context of influence is where the policies take shape. It is where key policy concepts are established and where political speeches are built. According to Lall, 2012, it is where interest groups struggle to construct discourse around educational issues. With the context of influence, the researcher seeks to gain information on why certain policies emerged, previous versions of the policy, the political interest of the people in position of power, and the other influences that played a role in the construction of a policy discourse. According to Lall (2012) the context of text production is where texts represent policies. It is about considering facts such as that the language of texts has to be accessible to the public and realizing that they cannot be too radical (Lall, 2012). Therefore, the researcher has to read the text in relation to the time and site of production. The context of practice is how the policy is in use in the current context. Mainardes (2006) states that because professionals working in the context of education have their own story (experience, value,

purpose) before getting in contact with the policy, it affects their way of interpreting policy. Because policies are subject to the interpretation of professionals, they can be recreated. Part of policies can be rejected, selected, ignored or misunderstood (Mainardes, 2006). In addition, different interpretations can be disputed, since professionals may relate to various interests. The process analysis, superimposed with the textual and process analysis, helped me understand the discourses shaping the contexts of practice in schools and within the school board more broadly.

Social analysis. According to Fairclough (2001), the third level of analysis serves to put all the information gathered in the analysis together to better understand the relationship between text, processes and practice to find a wider societal ideological discourse in place. Adding the information acquired during the textual and processing analysis to the observations made during the writing of my historical chapter helped me gather evidence of an ideological discourse that is generally hegemonic. I will present these evidences in an observation section. As I explained in the introduction to this chapter, I was also eager to demonstrate visually the barriers and facilitators of education for plurilingualism. I wanted to use a visual representation because they are often used as a tool to organize and represent knowledge and enhance meaningful learning (Baugh, McNallen, Frazelle, 2014). They also serve to conceptualize the interpreted data. (Trochim, 1989).

In sum, I have chosen to view policy as discursive to conduct a critical discourse analysis of multiple provincial and local school board policies and documents belonging mostly to the CSDM the object of my study. The artifacts gathered were generated by mix methods of data collection including archival research. Faircloughs' three-dimensional model served as a tool for me to analyze the data critically. In the next chapter I will reveal the findings from this analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Findings From the Policy Analysis

As stated in the methodology chapter, I divided this analysis into three parts, inspired by the Fairclough model for CDA – the textual, processing and social analysis (Fairclough, 1991, 2001). Each analysis will represent a section in this chapter. The first section will be dedicated to the textual Leximancer analysis. In it, I will present the Leximancer concepts - collections of words generated by the algorithm presented on p. 77 that are the most relevant in the policies I superimposed, the textual fragments associated with these concepts, and an analysis of these textual fragments. This analysis led me to realize that at the heart of the policy I reviewed was the Québec nationalist discourse. In the second section, the processing analysis, I set out to demonstrate that in fact two discourses were significant at the school board; the Québec nationalist discourse and the discourse representing the cultural communities. I will then explain how these discourses and other external factors influenced the production of policy at the school board. During the first part of the processing analysis noteworthy concerns about the policies arose. That is why I added a discussion section before moving on to the analysis of educational practice surrounding the selected policies. The significance of developing, timing and diffusing policy will be covered in the discussion. The educational practices in place, such as school codes of conduct, curricula and budgets, will be analyzed next, as they represent what is currently done in schools to allow or disallow education for plurinlingualim. Together the results from the textual analysis and the processing analysis will help me demonstrate in the social analysis that despite the Québec nationalist hegemonic discourse, education for plurilingualism is partly supported by the reviewed policies.

Textual Analysis

The textual analysis is an important pillar of the Fairclough policy model (Fairclough, 2001) as described in chapter three. To better understand the discourses surrounding language education in Montréal I superimposed four policies, namely: 1. Title 1, chapter VIII of the *Charter of French Language* (it is the chapter linked to education); 2. The provincial education intercultural policy: Une école d'avenir - Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998); 3. The cultural and language policy of the CSDM (CSDM, 2006) and, 4. The intercultural policy of the CSDM (CSDM, 2009a). The Leximancer analysis revealed that "Élèves", "Langue", and "Français" were the most predominant concepts in all policies. For this reason it was important that I investigated to understand why and what this meant.

Students. The highest ranked (most predominant) first level concept was "élève(s)". To better understand why "élève(s)" ranked number one, I decided to explore the second level concepts related to it. "Immigrant(s)", "Allophones" and "maternelle" all had the most numbers of ties. When I looked at the textual segments linked to these related concepts I realized they served to make a statistical portrait of the student population only. For example, the two following statements give statistical information about students only. "Environ 38,3 p. 100 des élèves jeunes de ce territoire (Montréal) ont déclaré en 1996-1997, parler une langue maternelle autre que le français, l'anglais ou une langue amérindienne" (Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, 1998 p. 3). "Cette population provient de plus de 180 pays et parle plus de 150 langues maternelles" (CSDM, 2006 p. 1). While statistical information is important, none of these second level concepts referred to the difficulties associated with immigration, the risk of student marginalization for being Allophone, or the importance of respecting students' identity, including

their mother tongue. We can then argue that statistical information is as important as valuing diversity in the policies targeted.

To continue this analysis and seek if valuing student diversity was truly part of the concept "élèves", I explored another highly ranked second level concept: "intégration". Within the concept of integration, it was possible to read that integration was one of the largest educational challenges with immigrant children. One policy in particular (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998) mentioned the importance of using immediate interventions to help students adapt and overcome linguistics, social and academic barriers (p. 1). Considering this statement, we can observe that learning French and the Québécois culture rapidly is deemed necessary to guarantee students' success. Therefore, the quicker students assimilate the faster they will perform academically.

The following second level concepts with the most ties to "élèves" was "valeurs," which can further confirm this argument. In the policies, the concept "valeurs" is used to describe the importance of teaching immigrant students the common democratic values of Québec and the language of the public sphere. For example, this citation demonstrates that promoting the culture of the majority group, in this case the Québec Francophone culture, is part of the institution's priority.

> La mission de l'établissement d'enseignement est de favoriser l'intégration des élèves aux origines diverses par la culture des valeurs démocratiques, l'apprentissage et la maîtrise de la langue d'enseignement, publique et commune, et la valorisation d'un patrimoine historique. (Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, 1998 p. 14)

These values are described as tools to assure a good functioning of the society, to manage diversity and to protect Québec patrimony and history, values and customs. However, promoting

such values is against principles of social justice, as they represent the ideals of the majority group alone (Flores, 2013). The more I analyzed the second level concepts linked to students the more I realized that the students themselves and their culture of origin were not going to be part of the main discourses in policies.

To gather more evidence, I continued exploring other second level concepts associated to "élèves". "français" and "langue" were the next ranked concepts with respectively 68 percent and 67 percent of ties. Again, the predominant textual segments linking students and language did not refer to the students' culture of origin but to the importance of learning French. In the following citation, it is possible to read that learning French is essential to the students' success. "La connaissance et la maîtrise de la langue française sont une des conditions essentielles à l'intégration sociale et à la réussite scolaire des élèves de la CSDM et de leurs familles" (CSDM, 2009 p. 10). This statement clearly demonstrates that students who do not have French as a first language risk being penalized if they are not able to learn French quickly enough. In other textual segments linked to "langue" and "Français" it is mentioned that the government would not hesitate to put additional resources in place to help students learn French. (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998 p. 22). The aforementioned statements reveal that learning French is a set priority for the government and the school board. Considering these observations, I argue that the concept that is truly at the heart of all the policies reviewed is the French language.

French language. The Leximancer algorithm revealed that the second-highest first-level concept was "français". It was repeated 124 times in the four documents while the third highest first level concept "langue" was repeated 126 times. While looking at the second level concepts related to these high-level concepts, I realized that 60 percent of the time, both concepts ("français" and "langue") were interconnected. Together, they serve to describe (a) the situation

of the French language in Québec; (b) the importance of having French as a common language of the public sphere; (c) how to ensure that students learn, value, promote and use French in all spheres of the school's life and; (d) recognize challenges linked to French language learning.

The historical literature review I conducted in chapter two (p. 30-59), demonstrated that before the mid-twentieth century the number of people speaking French was rapidly decreasing in North America. This reason and many others mentioned in chapter two led Francophones to fight to have French recognized as the official language in Québec. I would argue that since the implementation of the *Charter of the French Language,* the French language became indissociable from governmental policies, including all the ones reviewed in this research. The following citations taken from the reviewed policies can attest to this argument:

- Au Québec, la langue française est dans une situation précaire en raison de facteurs historiques et géographiques bien connus. L'école doit donc être vigilante dans ses efforts pour que la langue parlée et écrite des élèves soit un français soutenu …(CSDM, 2009 p. 8)
- La CSDM reconnaît son rôle dans la formation de l'identité montréalaise, qui concilie pluralisme et spécificité de la culture Québécoise et dans la préservation de la langue française et de la culture Québécoise. (CSDM, 2006 p. 1)

Reading these textual segments without being conscious of the struggle lived by the Indigenous and immigrant population can be troublesome as it can make the reader believe that such policies are the only way to preserve the French culture. These statements can as well serve to justify the coercive behaviour of uninformed educators who would want to protect the French language at all costs. This analysis is even more worrisome as you realize that in these policies the French language is presented as the ultimate uniting factor. French is considered to be the key ingredient

to make the "vivre-ensemble" possible since it provides a link between members of Québec society. The French language is also considered to be important in policy because it serves as a communication tool to establish common projects between groups. It is said in the provincial intercultural policy that valuing French allows immigrants to participate in the cultural and economic development of the region (Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation p. 7). The French language is thought to promote interaction between citizens and support social solidarity as well as intercultural understanding (p. 25). According to the governmental intercultural policy for education, the French language is the pillar that will help Québec society develop competencies to actively participate in the development of a democratic pluralist society and to adhere to common values (p. 25).

Admittedly, most of the text segments to promote the usage of French are non-coercive. For example, all the policies analyzed insist on the importance of collaboration between school establishments, families and communities. While this collaboration is deemed necessary, it is stated in "Une école d'avenir-Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle" that it is mainly the school's responsibility to ensure that students master French (p. 7) i.e., the school system must take appropriate measure such as ensuring that school educators have a high level of French (p. 7). According to that same policy, practices must be put in place in schools to establish solid training in French. This training can be achieved through welcoming classes, partial integration, French immersion, classes in orientation centres and training for immigrants (p. 24). In all the policies, the most coercive statements used to ensure maximum usage of the French language refers to unilingualism. "La CSDM favorise l'unilinguisme français dans ses activités afin de refléter le fait que le français est à la fois la langue officielle et la langue normale et habituelle de la vie publique." (CSDM, 2009, p. 10). Policies justify such drastic

measures by explaining in policy preamble that a lack of French knowledge is often an obstacle to the professional and social integration of immigrants. However, I do not believe that obliging students to speak solely in a language that is different from their mother tongue is the key to a respectful social integration. As Haque and Patrick (2015), argued, such statements project erasure and force assimilation and exclusion through the technology of language.

Despite this desire from the government of Québec to make immigrant students learn French at all costs, it is recognized in the reviewed policies that learning a language is an ongoing process that takes time and that it can be non-motivating for students. That is why it is mentioned that intervening rapidly and giving extra support is essential when identifying students having problems adapting to and learning French. Policy makers also recognize the need for educators to develop competencies to work in a multi-ethnic environment, and the pedagogical abilities to resolve conflicts and pass on the knowledge of French. This next statement demonstrates that the government values teachers' knowledge of a second language to be able to adapt to the students' educational growth.

> Il faut donc développer chez tout le personnel des attitudes d'ouverture à la diversité; des habiletés pédagogiques pour travailler en milieu pluriethnique; des compétences pour résoudre efficacement les conflits de normes et de pratiques; des connaissances dans l'enseignement d'une langue seconde et d'une langue d'enseignement, pour adapter cet enseignement au cheminement de l'élève; des habiletés à transmettre des valeurs et des connaissances. (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998 p. 32)

However, it is also stated that the teachers should have competencies to pass on values and knowledge's, which, as stated multiple times in this research are values constructed to protect Québec patrimony and history only.

As stated earlier, most methods used to promote the use of French in school focus on the valorization of French instead of methods of coercion. This said, the socio-historical foundation behind language policy enactment seems to represent the Québec nationalist fear that immigrants may decide not to learn French. For this reason, more coercive statements vouching for French unilingualism appear in policy. Because of this systemic approach by organizations such as the school board and the government, it is possible to see that learning the French language becomes an integral part of the policies. The arguments made in this section can be justified with the Leximancer algorithm, considering that French is linked to 100% of the concepts gathered by the software (See figure 3).

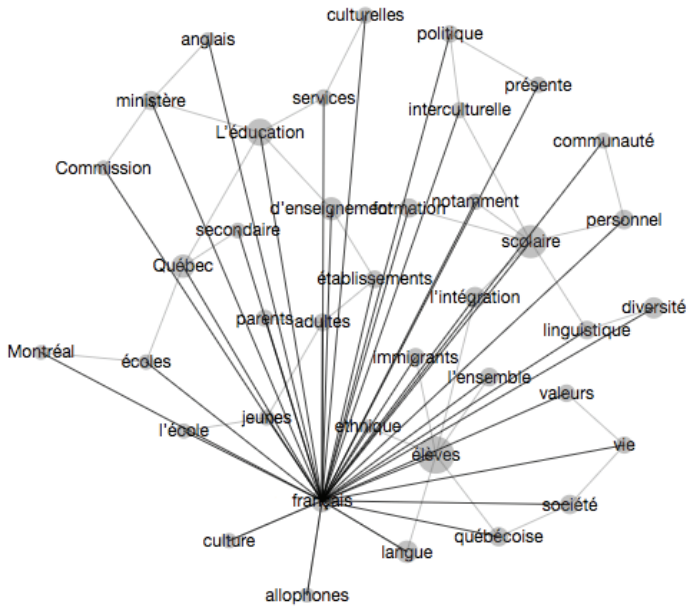

Figure 3. The concept of “French”. This figure illustrates the link between the concept “Français” and other concepts generated by the Leximancer analysis.

Plurilingualism in policies. While analyzing the statements linked to the first level concept “Français” and “langue,” I gathered all the information that took into consideration another language than French and English, including statements about the students’ mother tongues and about plurilingualism. This technique helped me identify the room policy makers

left for education for plurilingualism. By using this method, in all four policies I identified five statements mentioning the importance of considering the native language of students, three linked to the possibility of learning a third language and two mentioning specifically Indigenous languages. The few other statements mentioning students' mother tongues served to give a portrait of the students (CSDM, 2006 p. 1; CSDM, 2009a p. 2; Québec. Ministre de l'Éducation, 1998, p. 3-4). I chose not to present the statistical statements in this section as I already present a portrait of the student population in the first chapter of this thesis.

Most of the paragraphs mentioning the importance of considering other languages were gathered from the provincial education intercultural policy. The first consisted of critiquing the PELO, for being a service to revive lost languages instead of a program to help students maintain their native language. To remediate this issue, it was suggested in this policy to reorient the PELO towards maintenance of the native language only. This way the program could serve as a tool to support students who have difficulty integrating (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation 1998, p. 22).

> Le Ministère mettra à contribution le PELO dans les milieux où il existe déjà, afin que ce programme, axé à l'origine sur la connaissance et le maintien de la langue en usage dans la famille, devienne un outil de plus pour soutenir les élèves en difficulté d'intégration scolaire. (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation 1998, p. 22).

This statement justifies why in the PELO objectives were reoriented in 1998 as stated in chapter two of this thesis. Later, in the same document, it is stated that the Ministry of Education would examine the possibility of recognizing the linguistic achievements of students in regards to mother tongue for students from Indigenous communities and immigrant students from the first or second generation that are in the second cycle of secondary school (last three years of

high school). Nonetheless, no measures were described explaining how this part of the policy would be implemented, hence the importance of verifying this information in the next section – the processing analysis. The next statement in regards to plurilingualism promotes linguistic diversity and explains that it is possible for schools with religious educational or cultural projects to provide supplementary services in a third language. "… s'ajoute la possibilité qu'ont les écoles à projet éducatif religieux ou culturel de donner des services éducatifs supplémentaires dans une troisième langue" (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation 1998 p. 5). Yet again it is not described how to proceed to get one of these classes approved, where to find the programs to teach other languages nor where to find budgetary or human resources to materialize the class. In regards to learning a third language, the document states that: "Le Ministère de l'Éducation favorisera l'apprentissage d'une troisième langue, ce qui enrichira la formation de l'élève dans le contexte actuel de mondialisation des échanges et des communications" (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998 p. 24). What is troublesome is that the third languages referred to are often international languages (Das, Laugrand, Duchêne, & Daveluy, 2015). In fact, examining the entire Québec education program made me realize that the only curriculum available to teach a third language in public schools is a Spanish program, which is only available for students in cycle two of secondary school (Québec. MELS, 2007). This means that students from an ethnic background different than Spanish will never have the opportunity to take an optional class in their native language. I acknowledge that it would be difficult to implement optional classes in all languages within the current curriculum, but I argue that cherry-picking languages based on their international popularity is against principles of social justice and could only contribute to further marginalizing populations already at risk. Despite the aforementioned observation, it is often stated in the cultural section of the policy that respecting

the native culture of the student is important for the student's own development (CSDM, 2009a p. 1-7) yet again in this particular policy only one statement is made mentioning the use of a language other than French.

> Les services centraux et les écoles de la CSDM peuvent diffuser, sur demande et lorsque cela est nécessaire, un résumé de ses communications dans d'autres langues ou utiliser une langue autre que le français. Toute communication traduite doit être accompagnée du texte d'origine en français ainsi que d'une offre de service de francisation. (CSDM, 2009a, p. 11)

In this case it is clear that considerable efforts could be made to reach out to different communities. Even if the translated communications have to come with information about where to learn French, they can serve to make ethnic families more aware of what is happening at the school board.

The statement that is the most explicit in regards to plurilingualism is found in the CSDM intercultural policy (CSDM, 2006). It states:

> La commission encourage l'apprentissage des langues maternelles des élèves de toutes origines de même que l'ouverture interculturelle ainsi que le plurilinguisme chez l'ensemble des élèves par l'apprentissage d'une troisième langue internationale autre que le français et l'anglais. (CSDM, 2006, p. 4)

This statement is significant as it demonstrates that the CSDM policymakers believed in the benefits of valuing students' mother tongue. Stating explicitly that plurilingualism is encouraged is also meaningful as it gives teachers the arsenal required to justify the use of plurlingual methods in class.

In the analysis of two provincial policies and two school board policies on interculturalism, culture and language, I have observed that there is little room dedicated to the recognition of the student's native language. Certainly, in a few statements it is possible to read that some efforts are made to recognize the importance of mother tongue learning, but generally the statements are directed towards the importance of learning a third language which is uniquely Spanish and an international language. These observations in the policies reviewed justify statements made in my chapter one in regards to a critique of plurilingualism. As Flores (2013) argued, currently languages are taught in schools to fit the needs of global capitalism and not to combat marginalization.

Processing analysis

For the processing analysis of the policies, I chose to focus on the context of influence and the context of text production of two specific policies, the CSDM policy on culture and language and the CSDM policy on intercultural education. I decided consciously to proceed this way because, because chapter two explores the socio-historical, socio-economic and socio-political influence surrounding the provision of the *Charter of the French Language*, provincial documents on interculturalism and the educational policy on interculturalism. The influential discourses present at the CSDM will be presented first. I will then present how both policies were produced.

Context of Influence. In the chapter presenting the historical review it is possible to see that it took close to a century to have schools in Québec divided by languages instead of by denomination. As demonstrated in the first chapter, the rise of Québec nationalism, the Quiet Revolution, the decline of religious practice and the exponential increase in the arrival of new immigrants to Québec caused the defenders of the Catholic Church to have less power over

policies emerging at the school board after the seventies. New discourses started to emerge, and, as we have seen in the textual analysis, eventually the dominant discourse, created by those in power, changed to be oriented towards a Québec nationalist approach. First, I will demonstrate how the Québec nationalist discourse appeared at the school board, how it was supported, by whom and to what extent. Second, because my goal was to understand the discursive nexus around language education in Montréal and not only the discourse of the majority, it was essential that I insist upon including the perspectives of groups participating in discursive practices other than the ones presented by the Church and by the Québec nationalists.

The Québec nationalist discourse. To understand the context of influence surrounding the discourse around policy at the CSDM I pinpointed some elements already mentioned in the historical review chapter:

1. Before the Eighties, the majority of the commissioners elected at the CÉCM board belonged to a school political party called the Mouvement Scolaire Confessional [MSC]. These members advocated to keep school boards divided on a religious basis and found it necessary to offer courses teaching the values of Catholicism (Gagnon, 1996; Milner, 1986).
2. In 1977, the *Charter of the French language* was voted in by the provincial government. This charter reiterated that French was the official language of Québec and made French schools mandatory for Allophone students.
3. Between 1980 and 1994 a few commissioners arguing for a school system divided by language were elected. These commissioners, often supported by the Québec nationalist party, insisted on having a secular school system and the abolition of religious classes.

4. Close to 10 years after the adoption of the *Charter of the French language* almost all students of immigrant origin were enrolled in French schools.

The migration of Allophone students to the French schools and the decrease in the number of French-L1 students because of the low birth rate of Francophones changed the dynamics of CÉCM schools. Because of the aforementioned reasons, the president of the council of commissioners informed its members in April 1990 that he intended to put a language policy in place (CÉCM, 1990a). According to the president, the goal of the policy would be to affirm the primacy of French in the school board and to put in place measures to promote the French language. It was also mentioned on that date that a public consultation would be held to hear people's opinion on such a policy and to ensure that there was no discriminatory practice (p. 2). To this statement made by the president, the Federation of English-speaking Catholic teachers replied with a letter saying they were disturbed by such a proposal. They argued that repression, intolerance and coercive methods to insist on students speaking French would "foster disharmony, distrust and would create serious tension amongst students and others" (Federation of English-Speaking Catholic Teachers Inc. 1990, p. 1). The Federation also stated in this document that it was unacceptable to violate the right to speak another language and urged the council to rescind its decision about the proposal. Despite this letter, in March 1990 a draft policy developed internally was presented to the board (CÉCM, 1990b). The new policy stated that French was the language of the public sphere that serves to link up members of the community. This policy proposed close to twenty measures essentially of an incentive nature to promote the use of French in schools (p. 7-9).

A month later the policy was sent out for public consultation. The consultation report revealed that the policy was judged necessary by most and even expected by some (CSDM,

Coulombe, 1990). The project was welcomed with satisfaction in general. The people consulted stated that they were in agreement with using measures of an incentive nature and pressed to eliminate all reference to coercive, punitive or sanctioning methods (p. 2). The cultural communities consulted praised that the policy was in agreement with intercultural pedagogy, a pedagogy that promoted Québec culture but that valued relationships with others. Members present also stated that the policy could help establish links between cultural communities and old stock Québecers as long as they would make ethic minorities visible in new programs and represented as employees at the school board (CÉCM. Coulombe, 2003 p. 4).

On June 27th 1990, the policy (CSDM, 1990c) was adopted with few minor changes. The three objectives of the policy were the following (a) improve people's (students and teachers) ability in French; (b) value the French culture; (c) ensure an environment where exchanges were made in French. Thirty-six methods were developed to reach these objectives. Eleven were actions taken to make French more visible in all spheres of students' lives, seven were methods promoting language (e.g., organizing activities in libraries, offering enhancement classes, fostering cultural activities, etc.), and eighteen other methods were mentioned guaranteeing a French milieu. I feel it is important to present the nineteenth method since it is one of the most coercive and, as will be seen in the "Context of practice" section, this statement still has repercussions today.

> Moyen pour assurer un milieu éducatif français… 19. Inscrire dans les codes de vie ou code de conduite l'obligation pour les élèves de communiquer en français en tout temps et en toute occasion avec le personnel de l'école: l'obligation pour les élèves de communiquer en français entre eux durant les cours, durant les activités culturelles

> sportives et sociales organisées par l'école et dans la prestation des services de consultations personnelle. (CÉCM, 1990b p. 5)

The passage above points to a shift requiring all schools to add to the school code of conduct a statement saying that French is compulsory in all formal school activities as well as in all communications involving school personnel. Although no statement in the policy explains the consequences linked to non-compliance, it is stated that school board employees have a responsibility to adhere to its principles which would give them the right to punish students who would not speak in French.

In June 1998, eight years after the policy was created, the document was slightly amended (CÉCM, 1998). The last five methods to guarantee a French milieu were erased because they were outdated. They consisted of completing the development of material necessary to a program destined for allophone students, asking the provincial government for funding in regards to the francization for allophone students, demanding to upgrade all electronic systems to be able to communicate in French only, producing all administrative documents destined for French schools in French and promising the predominance of French in all events uniting French and English sections of the Catholic school board. In 2000, the CSDM hired Carole Morin to write a report to the *Comission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec* in the name of the CSDM. In the report, *Mémoire de la CSDM à la Comission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec (*CSDM. Morin, 2000), she explained that even if the CSDM faced many challenges in terms of ensuring that Allophone students learned French, progress had been made in this regard. Statistics generated for the report demonstrated that immigrant students were successful in French courses and spoke primarily French in the schools. Despite these acknowledgements,

Morin insisted on the importance of not weakening statements in the *Charter of the French Language*. In fact, the report issued thirteen recommendations to keep improving French at the CSDM. The more coercive consisted of (a) asking the ministry to review the Charter to prevent possible circumvention for parents and students who desired to go to school in English; (b) mandating adult Allophone students to receive a French education; (c) obliging community organizations to speak in French with students and parents (p. 25-26). The less coercive ones requested the inclusion of reading periods in the school curriculum and ensured that teachers would be competent in French by administering a French language test (p. 26).

I believe that this report demonstrates clearly the shift of discourse on the provision of language at the school board. First, before 1990 the CÉCM did not deem it necessary to have a specific language policy because of its religious orientation. In 1990 the commissioners voted in a first language policy and in 1998 this same policy was revised. In 2000, the report made to the Estates-General on education revealed that a more coercive discourse on language legislation was encouraged by the CSDM (CSDM, Morin, 2000) which demonstrates the Québec nationalist orientation of the school board.

The discourse of cultural communities. When I investigated the archives and history of the school board, I realized that the conversation on intercultural education started long before the Québec nationalist discourse became dominant at the CÉCM. Gagnon (1996), for example, demonstrated in his book that across time, in various degrees, commissioners have been interested in engaging in practices that encouraged the learning of the mother tongue. Other researchers argued that prior to the *Charter of the French Language*, intercultural measures were developed to satisfy the political interests of the school board, to encourage immigrant students to join the ranks of the CÉCM and to incite them to learn French (Andrade, 2007; Milner, 1986).

Despite this argument, I realized that there was a certain will from the CSDM to develop committees and practices to deal with an increasing diversity at the school board.

In 1984, the first policy for "cultural communities" was created. *La politique des services aux élèves des communautés culturelles fréquentant les écoles françaises de la CÉCM* (CÉCM, 1984) encouraged schools to take into consideration the diversity and specificity of students from all cultural backgrounds. The policy was oriented towards respect for differences and equal opportunities for all. The policy mandated the Services of General Education to create documents adapted to students' needs as well as offering services for students with learning difficulties (p. 3). The policy also secured a budget for professional development in this regard and to improve welcoming services (p. 4).

In 1988, the "Comité consultatif des groupes ethniques de la CÉCM" was put in place to assure the interest of the cultural communities. The committee grew from seven to thirteen representatives in two years and organized a seminar on intercultural relations. The seminar "Trait-d'Union" was destined for two hundred representatives from cultural communities and one hundred stakeholders in the field of education (CÉCM, 1990a). After the seminar, an affirmative action policy, "Politique d'accès à l'égalité" (CÉCM, 1989) was put in place to oversee the elimination of discriminatory practice during hiring and ensure fair representation of minority groups among school board employees (p. 1). The "Comité consultatif des groupes ethnique" was then eventually dissolved on the 30th of June 1992 (CÉCM, 1993) and replaced by the "Office des relations interculturelles [ORI]" which had been created in 1989 to also help promote intercultural education and improve ethnic relations (CSDM, 1990a). The members of the office were also tasked with conducting research in regards to intercultural education for the

commission, producing a yearly report on their activities and forming subcommittees to study specific questions.

The first mission of the ORI was the creation of an action plan in regard to intercultural relations (CÉCM. Godbout & Attar, 1990). The fifty-five-page document included fourteen recommendations for minority groups and more than thirty-five definitions to clarify terms like "cultural communities". The main focus of the action plan was on ensuring that students would learn and promote French, on developing harmonious intercultural relations, and on adapting pedagogical practices appropriate for multi-ethnic minorities. The next project of the ORI was putting in place a policy to counter racial harassment (CÉCM, 1992b). With it, the CÉCM was determined to combat discrimination and offer an environment free of disparaging remarks. A subcommittee was also formed to oversee the application of the policy. In 1993, the budget for intercultural education peaked to reach $200,000 according to commissioners meeting minutes (CÉCM, 1993). This amount served to hire liaison representatives, arrange for professional development for trained ethnic relation educators, and revise welcoming services offered to students (p. 4-7). In 1995, the office formed a distinct committee, "Comité consultatif des relations internationales" to conduct a study to investigate the participation of parents from minority groups (CÉCM, 1996). Eleven recommendations were made and diffused to schools (e.g., offering translation services, working in partnership with cultural groups and explaining to parents in appropriate ways the importance of their contribution to the parent committees in schools (p. 11).

While efforts were made at the school board to promote intercultural education and some policies were in place, no intercultural comprehensive plan oriented the actions of the ministry of education in this regard. In chapter two, I explained that in 1998, the provincial government

remediated this lack of policy and put in place the first education policy on interculturalism, “ Une école d’avenir – Politique d’intégration scolaire et d’éducation interculturelle” (Québec. Ministère de l’Éducation, 1998). For reasons that are difficult to pinpoint with the documentation retrieved for this research, no other policies in regard to interculturalism emerged at the school board until a commissioner proposed in 2003 to create an intercultural policy specifically for the CSDM (CSDM, 2003b). I will posit in my discussion section the reasons I believe to be responsible for this gap. For now, I will focus on the context of the policy production, as it will help clarify my arguments.

Before moving to the next section, it is necessary to reiterate that despite the fact that the predominant discourse at the school board opposed the Church to the Québec nationalists, a parallel discourse was held to promote the benefits of intercultural education. This discourse was led primarily by the “Office des relations interculturelles”. Before 2006, this discourse was represented in three set policies: 1. La politique des services aux élèves des communautés culturelles fréquentant les écoles françaises de la CÉCM 2. Politique d’accès à l’égalité 3. Politique contre le harcèlement raciale. This discourse to improve the offer of services to minority groups was also influenced by initiatives developed to foster intercultural education and by annual reports presented to the commissioners.

Context of Policy Text Production. Continuing my analysis of the CSDM policy on culture and language and the CSDM policy on intercultural education, I aim with this section to identify the interest groups represented in the production process, voices present and absent during the revision of the policies and some consensus made between the public, the organizations and the school board before the final production of the policies.

The CSDM intercultural policy. The first significant document I have encountered about the emergence of an official intercultural policy dates from meeting minutes from April 2003 (CSDM, 2003b). As documented in the minutes, Diane de Courcy, president of the MÉMO alongside two other commissioners, suggested major modifications to the first proposed intercultural policy. According to de Courcy, changes needed to be made because the proposed project did not question outdated practice at the school board. With a three-page document presented to the board of commissioners, she suggested that multiple changes be made to the original documents (p. 2-7). These changes included revising the PELO program, developing measurable objectives in regards to accessible employment, promoting exchanges between diverse schools and school with less diversity, and diffusing data publicly on the school results of immigrant children. Another of the team's recommendations consisted of postponing the enactment of the policy to allow for an external consultation. This way members of the communities would be allowed to review the policy produced internally by the school board. After a vote by the commissioners, all the MEMO recommendations were rejected, on the grounds that:1. the recommendations looked like they were issuing from an electoral platform, 2. they would have cost millions of dollars and 3. a committee was already in place at the school board to represent the input of cultural communities.

Three months later, de Courcy and the same commissioners returned to the table with a new proposition (CSDM, 2003c). This time they only recommended that the policy be put in place temporarily between 2003 and 2004 and they proposed to hold a public consultation in ways that would optimize the participation of cultural groups. This time the proposition was adopted. It was decided that a public consultation would be held to comment on the policy developed by the CSDM. Therefore, after the adoption of the final internal document in March

2005 the policy was sent out for consultation and Helène Hayot was put in charge of reporting on the matter. During four days of public consultations, multiple organizations including various institutional committees, syndicates, cultural groups, parents, adults studying themselves at the board and representatives from cultural associations were able to express their thoughts on the policy (CSDM. Hayot, 2006). To encourage the participation of minority groups sessions were held in ten languages including Arabic, Creole, English, French, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Tamil and Urdu. The report summarizing these interventions presented to Hayot by Lorraine Mahews revealed that most people were enthusiastic about the idea of an intercultural policy (CSDM. Mathews, 2006). In the front page of this summary Mathews used the phrase: "enfin il était plus que temps" (p. 1), to give a general portrait of the comments heard during the sessions.

Because of these results a few minor changes only were made to the original document. Objectives in chapter I of the policy were reorganized, the *Charter of the French Language* was added to the seven other chapters, laws and policies were mentioned in the scope of the application, a sentence to clarify the secular nature of the school was added in chapter III of the policy and the definition offered to describe cultural communities was removed. These changes are justified by Mathews' report as she stated that multiple organizations had requested that the *Charter of the French Language* be added to the scope of the application. Mathews also explains in her document that many parents questioned the definition of cultural communities, arguing that it was ambiguous and narrow, considering that it did not take into consideration what is known today as intersectionalities – that is, the intersecting class-based, racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and other identities people experience and produce. According to the letters sent to the school board by different organizations, it was clear that the policy was well received. All seven

letters attached to Hayot's final report in the archives (CSDM. Hayot, 2006) praised the fact that the school board put emphasis on the primacy of French. Most questions raised by the organizations lay in the application of the policy. In fact, Hayot herself mentioned in the report that the "how" of the policy was the biggest concern amongst participants.

For this reason, an action plan, inspired by the comments collected by Hayot, was developed to implement the policy. On June 20th 2006, the final version of the policy was accepted as well as an implementation plan (CSDM, 2006). The Director-General of the school board was mandated with its implementation, and a sum of one million dollars was allocated to the "comité de quartier" committees established in boroughs to assure the application of the policy. Additionally, it was mentioned that during the revision of the 2006 budget, additional money would be allocated to allow the development of institutional projects linked to the policy (CSDM, 2006). Although this final meeting presenting the actions from the commissioners seems to have ended like a fairy tale, I consider that there were some issues with the context of production of the school board policy. I will present these arguments in the discussion section following the context of production of the cultural and language policy.

The language policy. The project of a new language policy was not inspired by changes made to the Charter of the French language. In this section I will demonstrate that it is in fact the creation of the cultural policy that acted as a trigger to revamp the language legislation at the school board. With the idea of writing a cultural policy, the commissioners hired Coulombe in 2003 to report on the cultural activities at the CSDM (CSDM. Coulombe, 2003). A year later, the CSDM did an overhaul of its practices and decided as a result that they needed to develop more cultural activities. In 2005, two years after the Coulombe report (2003), the director general of the school board announced the drafting of a cultural policy (CSDM, 2005 p.10). That same year,

the CSDM collaborated on multiple cultural projects (e.g., the evaluation of provincial initiatives to promote culture and the development of Montréal's cultural policy). In the report, summited to the "Office de consultation publique de Montréal" the CSDM reminded the Office de consultation about the role of schools in the development of culture, and insisted on the importance of collaborating. In the recommendations section of the document, the commissioners mentioned the importance of considering culture as a factor for personal development, identity affirmation, intercultural dialogue and social emancipation, as well as a tool for integration and social cohesion (CSDM, 2005 p. 12). This last statement defines clearly what became the position of the CSDM in regards to culture at the CSDM. Later in 2005, the provincial government redirected funds previously attributed to sustain the development of culture at school to encourage the elaboration of school board cultural policy. A few months afterward, the CSDM decided to put an institutional cultural committee in place. The mandates of the committee were: to create a cultural policy that would be voted in by commissioners, to further collaborate with the ministry of education on programs to promote culture, to create an awareness within the school board on the importance of creating cultural activities for students, and to support the staff in the elaboration of cultural initiatives. The committee also needed to oversee the implementation of an action plan and an evaluation procedure for the policy. This institutional committee, composed of members from existing cultural committees, representatives from each school sector (primary, secondary, adult education and professional education) and its population (students, staff members, commissioners), was given until December 2006 to finalize their mandate. Despite this wish from the commissioners, the public consultation to review the cultural policy did not happen until November 2008. Meanwhile, between 2006 and 2008 five major public consultations linked to different educational

preoccupations of the school board happened. The first was about school-perseverance, the second on day-care services, the third on services offered to students with learning difficulties and/or with a handicap, the fourth to explain the "renouveau pédagogique" (the newest educational reform of the government) and the last to define how French teachers could intervene to assure students' success in French class (CSDM, 2009b). These projects can partly explain the reason for the delay on the consultation about the cultural policy. So far there was still no indication in the documents I have retrieved that the CSDM intended to modify its language policy. It is only when I looked for specific information on the creation of the new CSDM policy on culture that I realized that the commissioners intended to consult the public on a new language policy at the same time as the public consultation on the cultural policy (MÉMO, 2008). In this newsletter, it is possible to read that the language policy would be integrated with the cultural policy and that this procedure was significant for the school board as it would serve to "reinforce the usage of French in its establishments, to improve the French speaking and writing skills of students and personnel and to encourage the progressive adoption of French towards new immigrant families" (p. 1). The new policy would also serve to value Francophone cultural heritage amongst students and staff. The URLs of both policy documents were also written on the newsletter for the public to verify the policy. Because of the time factor, these links are no longer available online. What was available for me to review was a draft of the cultural policy, since this document is still available online. Despite not having access to the report of the public consultation, when both documents are compared, i.e. the draft policy sent for public consultation and the policy in place now, it is clear that only minor changes have been made and that what was said in the public consultation did not serve to change the internal documents.

In sum, after seven years of consultation at the CSDM a cultural policy was voted in. To this cultural policy document was attached a new revamped language policy. Together these policies formed what is called today the "Politique culturelle et linguistique" (CSDM, 2009a). The reasons for this merge are not well described in the documents I have retrieved. However, according to a statement in the policy itself, the enactment of an intercultural policy and the development of a cultural policy could not proceed without the actualization of the language policy. This was the case because language is one of the three pillars (interculturalism, culture and language) that characterize the mission of the CSDM in regards to the success of its school population (CSDM, 2009a p. 1). In the next section I will discuss problematic elements with the context of influence and the context of policy production for the two policies revised. This discussion will help me make recommendations for school stakeholders and policymakers in my concluding section.

Discussion of the processing analysis

Developing policy. During my analysis of the context of influence and context of policy text production I realized that both of the policies I reviewed, i.e., the intercultural policy and the culture and language policy, were developed internally before any public consultation on the matter. Proceeding this way implies that it is the people in positions of power that produced the original orientation of the policy.

When defining policy, the CSDM states that policies are a frame of reference that specify the philosophy and the orientation of the organization in a specific field. According to the CSDM, policy reflects the objectives and the future plans of the institution as well as guiding the individuals in the decisions they need to make (CSDM, 2017d). Considering that this definition is close to the definition often given to "vision" (Robbins & Alvy, 2004), it would be interesting

to utilize the approach of a shared vision of the community to create policy. According to Robbins & Alvy (2004), this approach consists of "embracing the notion that schools cannot operate effectively without an important partnership with the community" (p. 5). Its positive advantages are that it is a way to create strong partnership (Robbins & Alvy, 2004) and create alignment and commitment amongst people (Criswell, Cartwright & CCL, 2010). This type of vision is the key for the success of a school system, as it is demonstrated to have positive effects on student outcomes and help build a competitive workforce to face today's challenges (Hogue, 2012).

Timing policy. Even though the policies were developed internally, I recognize that efforts were made to include individuals with different knowledge on the topic. However, this approach did little to solve two recurrent problems. First, the public consultations were always close to the deadline chosen by the CDSM to enact the policy, which leads to the second problem: there was little time and little room to modify the policies to add statements that would truly reflect the opinion of the groups consulted. The timing of the policies enacted at the school board suggests why the public often seems to agree with the CSDM during consultation. Following are some specific examples of how timing could have affected people's reaction to the policy produced.

Intercultural policy. I have demonstrated that despite the request of multiple experts in the field of interculturalism (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008; Labelle, 2008; Mc Andrew, 2002; Rocher et al., 2007) no official provincial intercultural policy had been put in place. Instead the government choose to use the term sporadically in a set of immigration policies. The ministry of education was in fact the first organization to tie the concept to an official policy: Une école d'avenir – Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle in 1998. After the

enactment of this policy, it took nine years for the CSDM to follow in the footsteps of the MELS and put in place a policy to define interculturalism at the school board. As a result, as I have demonstrated in the context of policy production, the people consulted seemed satisfied to have an official document they could point out to in terms of interculturalism. Consequently, instead of criticizing the proposed policy, the people consulted replied with comments concerning its application and not its content.

Cultural policy. As for the cultural policy, I mentioned in the context of policy production that the idea of creating a cultural policy surfaced at the school board in 2003. Despite this statement, the internal policy was not shared with the public before 2009, seven years later. That was after the enactment of a Montréal city policy on culture and after the enactment of a provincial policy on culture as well. Thus, when it came time to review the policy I would argue that the people present at the consultation were already familiar with the cultural policy and with documents which made their acceptance of the policy easier. The time factor is probably one of the other reasons why so few changes were made to the draft document after the public consultation.

Language policy. As explained in my historical review of language policy, the Charter of the French Language was put in place in 1977 after three previous less coercive policies. Despite this policy being in place at the provincial level, no educational language policy was ever created by the MELS. Instead, the CSDM, to help school stakeholders manage the language used in school, had to create its own language policy. For reasons that I have mentioned in the context of influence, this policy was not created until 1990, that is, more than ten years after the original provincial policy mandated most Québec school-age students to attend French schools. I would argue that for this reason, most people involved in the public consultation were not surprised and

actually expected a policy when then idea arose. As seen in the context of policy influence, the policy enacted in 1990 was revised in 1998, but then only minor changes were brought to the policy i.e., five statements were removed because the projects in question had been realized. This means that for nineteen years the CSDM had the same language policy, despite the evolution of its student population and changes of orientation in the organization. The fact that the language policy was in place for an extensive period of time and the fact that two brand new policies (intercultural and cultural) were acknowledging the importance of considering student background and ethnicity, encouraged the board to proceed with a revision of its language policy. Since the promotion of the French language has been in the discourse of the CSDM since the early nineties it is not surprising that this policy was revised and integrated into the cultural policy.

As I have demonstrated in this section, it took close to ten more years for a socio-historical movement and the emergence of a provincial policy to be put in place at the School Board, a policy that reflects the orientation of the government and the organization. Although I am not suggesting that the school board created unpolished policies, I consider it important that school boards review their policy creation process to limit the numerous revisions at the internal process, which would leave more room for public consultation and dialogue and ultimately a more democratic policy production process.

Diffusing and Implementing Policy. It is difficult to ensure that a policy will live up to the expectations of the policy makers. Unfortunately, at the CSDM it seems that the diffusion and implementation of policy remain as challenges to overcome. A concrete example of this challenge can be observed in the context of policy diffusion of the intercultural policy. During the public consultation it is said in the final report (Mathews, 2006) that the biggest concern

amongst participants was to know how the policy would be implemented. To comply with these demands, the commissioners created a policy implementation plan. Unfortunately, this implementation plan was annexed to the policy and could only be found in the archives of the school board, inaccessible to most. Also, although one million dollars was allocated by the school board to the implementation of the intercultural policy, it is very difficult to track how the money was spent and what initiatives were supported. Another element of concern in policy diffusion and implementation lay in the annual reports of the commissioners. None of the commissioners' reports surrounding the dates of the enactment of the intercultural policy mentioned its creation. In fact, none of the reports between 2000 and 2014 mentioned the term "interculturalism", the enactment of a policy, reported intercultural activities or initiatives to foster interculturalism. The same pitfall is also noticeable about the cultural and language policy as it also is not mentioned in the commissioner's reports. The only place in official documents of the CSDM where it was possible to see that policy was put in place was in the "Plan Réussir," the strategic plan of the school board created in 2009 (CSDM, 2009b). Even if there is probably an internal process at the school board to diffuse policy, and even if all policies are available online, it is difficult as an outsider to the school board to have access to information about how policies were diffused and implemented. I will review this argument in the social analysis.

Context of Practice.

Considering what I have explained in the previous section, to have a better idea of how the intercultural policy and language policy have been implemented at the school board I decided to look at multiple factors that could be part of the discursive context shaping the provision of language education to identify barriers to and facilitators of plurilingualism. First, I investigated school language policies to see if they reflected the school board language policy analyzed in the

previous section and ultimately the *Charter of the French Language.* I looked at the current structure present at the CSDM to encourage intercultural practice or plurilingualism. Then I investigated programs destined for minority groups. I also looked at the curriculum offered to all students. I also investigated teacher knowledge about policies, intercultural education and practice through informal conversations with teacher colleagues. In this section I chose to look for initiatives linked to plurilingualism or education for plurilingualism since they are the focus of this research. As stated in the methodology section, I will also limit my research to information about secondary schools only, due to the volume of documents to review, my interest in secondary education, and time constraints imposed by my graduate program.

From school board service to provincial service. In 2006, the MELS put in place the "Direction des services d'accueil et d'éducation interculturelle [DSAEI]". It is this organization that oversees intercultural education within the province of Québec. The responsibility of the board is to support people that work with students of all ages that are newly immigrated, as well as putting in place intercultural interventions based on the notions of inclusion and equity. According to the terms of reference published on the website "école plurielle," the goal is to contribute to the development of a Québec that is democratic, French and pluralist (Québec. DSAEI, 2017). Since the restructuring that put the DSAEI in place, the CSDM no longer has an "Office des relations interculturelles". Instead intercultural education at the school board is managed by a "conseiller pédagogique" a pedagogical consultant. Therefore, the provision of intercultural education is no longer discussed during commissioners' ordinary meetings. Because of this change, I focused my attention on documentation available on the website of the DSAEI.

The budget. The most recent budget associated with welcoming and integration services, as well as with intercultural education, revealed that close to 55 million dollars were allocated for

the school year of 2016-2017 (MELS, 2016). Unsurprisingly, 98 percent of this budget is intended to support the organization of welcoming services, i.e., to support the learning of French as well as other services to support recently immigrated students. The other 2 percent, 1 109 950 dollars, serves to help student integration and assure student success as well as developing intercultural expertise in diverse school environments. Even if this number seems to be highly disproportionate, what is interesting for my research is that it is stated in the budget that is it possible to use part of the bigger allowance to offer the following services, since they are linked to welcoming services for students (a) "un service en langue maternelle ou en langue d'usage pour les élèves allophones" (Québec. MELS, 2016, p. 4); (b) "un service d'enseignement des langues d'origine" (p. 5). It is also specifically mentioned that part of the smaller budget can also be used to educate educators about the following topics (a) "l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de la langue seconde; (b) la prise en compte de la diversité linguistique; (c) l'enseignement en milieu pluriethnique et plurilingue" (MELS, 2016 p. 15). According to this document, each school board having more than twenty-five students from cultural minorities is entitled to a sum issued from the government's budget on interculturalism (p. 12). The request has to be made by a representative of the school board who fills out an application form. The amount of money allocated to the school board is based on multiple factors, including the number of students from ethnic minorities. At the CSDM, the money allocated for integration measures is then distributed to schools based on historical distribution and special projects requested via an administrative document presented to the pedagogical consultants in the field of interculturalism. No statements taken from the provincial budget for interculturalism demonstrate that there could be a significant financial barrier to the provision of professional development on the topic of plurilingualism or plurilingual initiatives.

Curriculum. To continue my exploration of recent documents I looked at the newest program for welcoming classes developed by the DSAEI. Although it is not possible to see in the program that plurilingual practices are used within the context of the classroom, they are not discredited. The approach privileged is to encourage students to create links between knowledge acquired in the mother tongue and in the new language, French. It is also stated that students are invited to transfer strategies learned in other languages when reading and writing in the new target language. Because these programs targeted Allophone students, I was curious whether there was a mention of such practices in other courses of the regular curriculum. To find out, I pinpointed the curriculum from the new course established in 2008, "Ethics and Religious Culture" since it is designed to help students reflect rigorously on the notions of justice, equity and democratic participation in society (Québec, MELS, 2012). It is mentioned that this course offers students the tools to have a better comprehension of Québec society and its cultural and religious heritages, and to develop skills to work with each other to contribute to the promotion of a better "vivre-ensemble" (living together) (p. 2). To achieve these goals the program presents three competencies for students to achieve: 1. Reflect on ethical questions, 2. Develop an understanding of the religious phenomenon and 3. Practice dialoguing. Because it was directly linked with communication, I focused on looking at how students achieved the third competency. I noticed that while the program promoted "Un dialogue empreint d'écoute et de réflexion, de discernement et de participation active de la part de ses membres…" (a dialogue marked by listening, reflection, indiscrimination and by active participation of its members) (Quebec. MELS, 2012 p. 24), consideration for students' native languages are not mentioned. Within this same competency, students are expected to practise organizing their thoughts, interacting with others and using supported arguments to elaborate on their views. As Corbeil (2007) noted in his

book, discussed in chapter one of this thesis, it is difficult for students who do not share the mother tongue of the majority group to achieve all the nuances of language, and often they have difficulties expressing themselves during conflict resolution. Because research consistently advocates students' use of the mother tongue when creating dialoguing spaces (Armand, 2005; Armand & Abadou, 2008; Bourhis & Landry, 2002; Brock-Utne, 2001; Corbeil, 2007; European Council, 2011; European Center for Modern languages, n.d.; Kim & Elder, 2005; Moore, 2013), I believe it would be important to consider adding plurilingual educational practice to the list of resources teachers should use. While it is not considered unlawful to use plurilingual methods in the framework of the course "Ethique et culture religieuse", plurilingual methods are not explicitly addressed. The absence of explicit attention to the benefits of plurilingual teaching methods can serve to dissuade teachers from using plurilingual methods to help students achieve mastery of this competency. Such practices risk further marginalizing the part of the student population that still has not acquired full competencies in the target language.

School code of conduct. The next documents I looked at to better understand the context of practice were not linked to intercultural education but to language policies in specific high schools. As stated in the methodology section, I chose to look at high school codes of conduct, since I believed that looking at school language policy would give me an idea of how the *Charter of the French Language* and school board language policy were diffused and implemented at the school level. I found that 79 percent of the high schools of the CSDM that had a code of conduct available online made a statement about the use of French in the school. Each school has its own unique code of conduct. Some schools clearly state that at all times the language of communication is French (École Internationale de Montréal. 2016; École Louis-Joseph Papineau, 2016; École Margerite Lajemmarais, 2016; École Marie-Anne, 2016). Two

schools justify this practice by referring explicitly to the school board policy (École Louis-Joseph François Perrault,2016), or Bill 107 [30] (École Lavoie, 2016). The less coercive statements simply state that French is the language used in pedagogical, cultural and sports activities and a tool to facilitate the students' integration. These statements appear to be vestiges of the 1990 school board policy stating that all codes of conduct should specifically mention that French is the language to be used at all times at the CSDM. What was interesting and unexpected is that during this analysis I found three other statements about language use in the section of the code of conduct related to respect. For example, in the text box: respect of the individual, "L'école Jeanne-Mance" (2016) states:

> Je communique en français dans l'école. J'utilise en tout temps un langage respectueux et non violent quand je m'adresse aux élèves et aux adultes, quelles que soient leurs fonctions à l'école. Je ne pratique aucune forme d'intimidation ou de discrimination liée au sexe, à la religion, à l'origine ethnique ou à l'orientation sexuelle, comme le stipule la Charte des droits et libertés de la personne. Toutes les formes de violence verbale et physique sont réprimées. La sanction est décidée selon la gravité de l'écart de conduite: réflexion, retrait du groupe, retenue, suspension, changement d'école, etc." (p.2)

This citation is particularly problematic because three distinct elements constitute this paragraph. First it states that French is the language of communication in the school. Second, it is mandating students to use a respectful language that is not violent. Third, it is explaining that harassment and discrimination linked to sex, religion, sexual orientation or ethnic background, is illegal as stipulated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for individuals. It is incoherent to link the obligation of speaking French to the obligation of not using violent language and not

[30] Loi sur l'instruction publique, Bill 107. Presented on, Dec. 15, 1988 (Québec, 33rd leg. 1st sess.)

conducting harassment. A statement like this can give the impression that not speaking in French is an act that is considered violent and discriminatory. On the other hand, as I have passionately argued in this thesis, not allowing the student to speak their native language can also be seen as discriminatory. This statement is further problematic in so far as it states that sanctions are decided based on the severity of the act, but it is unclear how severely a student will be sanctioned for speaking their native language. In fact, as it's constructed, the code of conduct could indeed facilitate exclusionary disciplinary practices (e.g., suspension) for the use of other languages in the hallway. The codes of conduct are key to the activation of disciplinary procedures in schools. Thus, I believe it is important that we pay attention to what is diffused within the school board and codes of conduct, to avoid creating confusion and opening up the possibility of punishing students for speaking a language other than French amongst themselves.

Interestingly, on the other hand, 20 percent of the codes of conduct I reviewed did not mention French language policy. Some of these schools are alternative schools and most promote mutual respect instead (Academie de Roberval, 2016; Academie Dunton, 2016; école Face, 2016; école Le vitrail, 2016) . For example, one of the high schools of the CSDM proposed the idea of having a "Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Responsibilities and Duties" to replace the school code of conduct. Instead of having a strict language policy it is stipulated in the section "freedom of expression", "Chaque membre de la communauté de l'école … a la liberté d'exprimer ses idées et ses besoins au reste de la communauté, dans le respect du droit à la dignité de l'autre" (école Le vitrail, 2016, p.2). I strongly believe a statement like this is an interesting alternative for students as it does not forbid teachers from using plurilingual practices when required to help students succeed.

Teachers' knowledge about policy. After having looked at multiple documents presenting the current context of practice surrounding language policy and intercultural education, I believed I was missing a piece in my analysis; the experiential knowledge of the teachers. Because it was not a set piece of my analysis, but was, rather, just a way to better understand the context of practice, as explained in my methodology, I spoke informally with my classmates in the educational leadership graduate program, asking how languages other than French were managed in their schools, if they knew about any plurilingual initiatives at their school, and if they knew where to start if they wanted to organize a plurilingual initiative themselves. All three teachers explained that the school's priority was to ensure that French would be spoken at all times in the classroom. Some said that educators tend to be more lenient when students were in their free time. One teacher had heard about education for plurilingualism but never about the concept of language awareness, while the other two had heard of neither. All the teachers questioned explained that no professional development in this matter was offered in staff training. One of the teachers explained that there was strong resistance on the part of the school administration to the idea of engaging in practices to promote plurilingual practices in class. This teacher was also unaware of any funding available for the development of these initiatives. All also mentioned having no idea of the policies in place at the school board, which confirms my observation about the limited diffusion of policies in schools.

Overall it seems that the DSAEI has a positive outlook on and is welcoming of plurilingual activities. The budget allocated for interculturalism also leaves room to bring the concept of plurilingualism and plurilingual methods into schools. Despite these observations, recent programs in the field of intercultural education do not mention opportunities to use plurilingual methods, despite overt links to the concept integrated in the program e.g., discourse.

Although some codes of conduct are innovative, most still require that students should speak in French at all times and do not refer to any of the statements made in the intercultural policy or the cultural policy about respect for social characteristics of the student, including native languages. It also seems that young teachers themselves are not familiar with school board policies in place and that it is difficult for them to engage in education for plurilingualism in their schools.

Social Analysis

When putting together all of the information revealed in the textual and process analysis, it is clear that the politicians, commissioners and policy makers in positions of power at the school board and at the government have put in place policies that are fuelled partly by the Québec nationalist approach. This approach consists of making the French language the factor that unites the population in Québec and the sole language for public communication. By putting the French language at the centre of all policies in regards to immigration, intercultural education and cultural policy it is even more apparent that a hegemonic discourse, i.e., a process by which dominant culture maintains its dominant position, is in place in Québec. This argument can be supported by multiple observations I have made during this research process, including the fact that plurilingual programs such as PELO are underfunded, initiatives in the field are not well distributed to pre-service and in-service teachers and little professional development is offered to create an awareness for the advantages of plurilingual methods. These observations, accompanied by language policies that push for monolingualism, school codes of conduct that demand that students speak in French 100 percent of the time, and ethics curricula that make no mention of native language, also demonstrate that homogenization is preferred to diversity,

which according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) is an obstacle to social harmonization and can lead to social discrimination in the classroom.

Observations made during the research process. In this thesis, it is clear that most of the policy documents I have used for my research are written in French. This may not seem surprising, given that I was seeking to understand educational language practice in a unilingual Francophone province. Despite this acknowledgement, I would like to point out the difficulty I had in accessing these documents. By describing the barriers I encountered in seeking access to plurilingual educational policies, I bring into view the power structures in place at the provincial level as well as the school board level. A lot of the information and documents I found to conduct the current research were available online on governmental (ministerial) websites, school board websites, and organizational websites, including the CSDM's. Notwithstanding the "availability" of the policy texts, it was extremely difficult to locate them. On the MELS website, you have to go to the section dedicated to cultural communities under the tab "aide et soutien" under the tab "teachers", written in small letters under the section "réseau scolaire" located on the first page of the ministry website. The CSDM website as well is difficult to navigate and does not present any commissioners' meeting minutes prior to 2016. Some pages open before in regards to public consultations are still open but do not contain information. Also, the educational political party with the majority of seats at the school board has a website that describes its new political platform only. It is then impossible to retrieve newsletters published by the commissioners and any of their reports through this website. To understand the functioning of the organization I had to send emails to multiple commissioners who provided me with non-official information, at their discretion. It is understandable that information prior to 2000 is not available online since technology has evolved greatly since then. But what is interesting is that the online database of

the school board archives is not available to the general public. It is available only through the one archivist hired by the CSDM to manage, store, and computerize the data and who is also in charge of "dépot legal" at the Québec national archives library.

Now, imagine if I, as a privileged, white Francophone woman with a bachelor's degree in education who is currently completing graduate studies in educational leadership had difficulty accessing information to understand the discursive nexus surrounding policy, how any other person would find information about what has been done to promote intercultural education and implement the policy. Unless you look specifically for information in regards to education for plurilingualism, it is difficult to find any of the policies or resources pertaining to this topic, especially for someone whose mother tongue is not French. These technical difficulties shaping a person's ability to access plurilingual educational policy or identify information about policy are barriers to, rather than facilitators of, plurilingualism. In turn, the barriers serve to perpetuate the hegemonic Québec nationalist discourses, which underpin policy-making in Quebec. In the next section I will demonstrate visually how it is possible to summarize my social analysis.

Swiss cheese model. In the methodology section of this document I explained that I intended to use a visual map to explain social power structures, which serve as barriers to or facilitators of education for plurilingualism. While analyzing the data, I realized it was a difficult task to achieve, as I had information coming from three different levels of management, (i.e., provincial or governmental documents, school board policies and documentation, and school codes of conduct). Since I superimposed the documents during my analysis to find the converging and diverging elements, I believed it was interesting to do this exercise visually as well. During this process, I realized that the visual representation was unexpectedly similar to a model I used to study in my flight training as a pilot. The Swiss Cheese Model developed by

Reason (1990) serves mainly in the world of aviation to demonstrate visually that accidents in complex structures occur if multiple factors align or are jointly sufficient to produce the accident. In this metaphor, the holes in the Swiss Cheese represent possible safety breaches creating a trajectory for an accident and the slices themselves present the barriers in the system intended to prevent errors. (Reason, Hollnagel, & Paries, 2006) explains that the vulnerabilities leading to *unsafe acts* are often the product of an organizational structure (training, power structures, policy, etc.). For the context of this research, the cheese slices will represent structural barriers to plurilingualism and the holes will represent facilitators of education for plurilingualism collected through this research. With this visual exercise I do not intend to say that it is an accident if there is room for plurilingualism and that we must close all the "safety breaches" by creating more coercive policies. Instead, it is important that I demonstrate that when the "holes" (segments of text pushing for plurilingualism) line up, it is possible to justify plurilingual practices for educators. When applying what I have observed in this research, it is possible to see that within the current system, there is room for education for plurilingualism despite the dominant ideological discourse from the government, school board and certain schools. The next figure demonstrates visually what happens when we superimpose policies and documents from the province, the CSDM and a school of the CSDM.

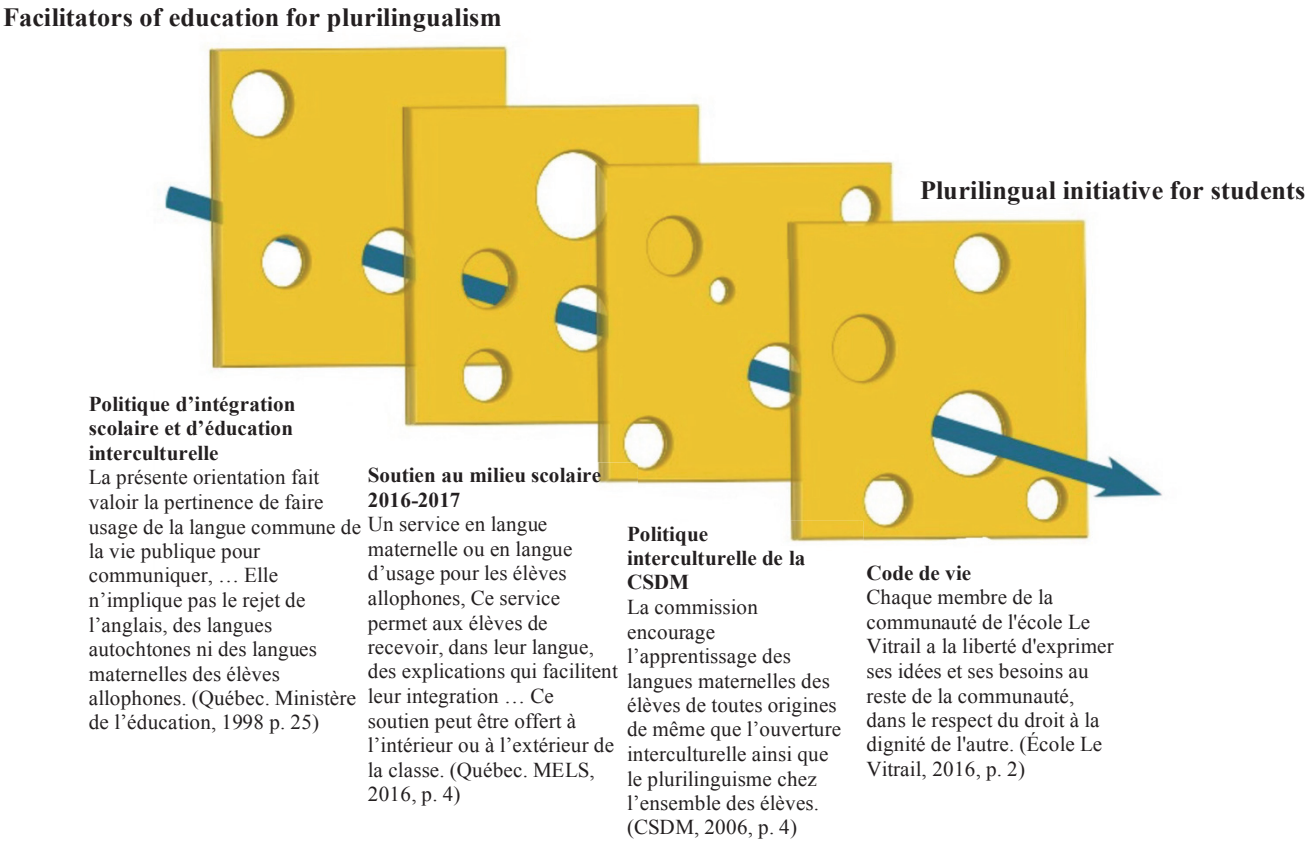

Figure 4. Swiss cheese model. This figures explain how policy text segments can act as facilitators for plurilingulism when lined up together.

In the social analysis, we have seen that the dominant discourse in the policy reviewed here, which is reflected in the policy process and the practice, is the promotion of the French language. Despite this observation, I have demonstrated, using the Swiss cheese model, that when we superimpose policies and governmental documents, it is possible to find room for plurilingualism. When I discovered these facilitators of plurilingualism I went back to all the data I collected in the school board and on the website and gathered all the significant intercultural initiatives linked to plurilingualism in place at the provincial and school board level. I will present these initiatives as hopes for the future in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Initiatives from the Past to Inspire The Future

During the research process, I was primarily looking for documents that would explain the evolution of the policies in place regarding language education and interculturalism and the commissioners' discourse on language education at the CSDM. However, I also wanted to follow the advice of David Gold (2010) by staying open to reviewing all types of archival documents. Surprisingly, this openness led me to find some interesting initiatives produced by the school board across time that promoted intercultural education and even plurilingual education. In sharing these initiatives, I first want to inspire stakeholders in the field of education to revive some of these projects, but also to use them to demonstrate that the concept of education for plurilingualism and intercultural education is not new, and has actually been a part of the ongoing discourse at the CSDM. Furthermore, the archival documents that I found inspired me to keep looking for current practices that would promote education for plurilingualism. Aside from the plurilingualism initiatives produced by the Éveil au Langage et Overture à la Diversité Linguistique (Armand et al., 2017) I found other significant projects that had been created by all of the structures studied: the government, the school board and the schools. I hope that the range of resources presented in this next section will inspire educators to engage in professional development that supports the integration of plurilingualism practices.

Before Schools Were Language-Based

One of the first official attempts to promote the learning of a student's mother tongue lies in an initiative I presented in chapter two: the PELO program. Launched in 1978, it is one of the pillars of plurilingual education in Montréal. Despite recent critiques of the program and

problems of underfunding (MELS, 2009) the PELO program is still an institution in the field and worth mentioning in this section.

While the largest initiatives to promote native languages was the PELO, I have found others demonstrating goodwill on the part of the CÉCM to include languages other than French in the school curriculum. Figure 5 represents one of sixteen folk tales for cultural communities written both in French, and in the tale's language of origin. Even if it is impossible to date this initiative, it is important to include it, as the production of the folk tales is very much in line with an initiative currently in place in Montréal that promotes language awareness (Vatz-Laaroussi et al., 2013).

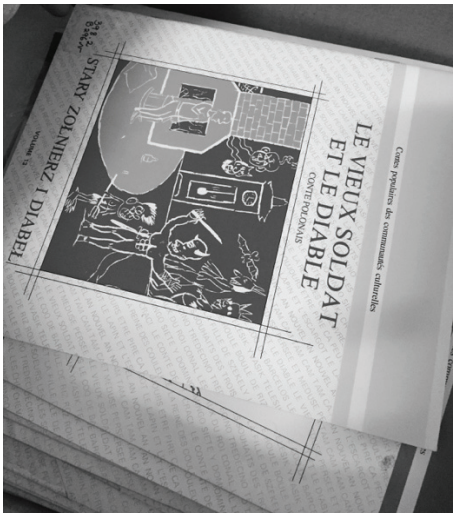

Figure 4. Plurilingual stories. This photo demonstrates a bilingual Polish folk-tale book.

In 1988, realizing that many newly immigrated parents did not participate in parents' associations (despite a growing number of immigrant students), the Office des Relations Interculturelles decided to produce a "brochure et vidéos multilingues" (CÉCM, 1988). By creating a pamphlet and a video for parents in multiple languages, the office was hoping to: inform immigrant parents about the schooling system in Québec; promote activities and school rulings as well as services offered; create an awareness of the importance of learning French;

inform parents of curriculum content; and invite parents to participate in the parents' committee (p. 1-2). This initiative, developed in collaboration with the teachers from the PELO program, also offered professional development sessions to educators from cultural minorities to help them disseminate the information to students' homes.

A few years later, in the nineties, many other intercultural activities were put in place. For example, between December 1990 and June 1996 six newsletters entitled "L'Osmose" were created by l'Office des relations interculturelles. The newsletter was printed and distributed in all of the CÉCM schools. The intention was to promote an anti-racist education policy and education for equity while leaving room for artistic texts, images and short stories produced by different members of cultural minorities (CÉCM, 1995). In 1992, to celebrate intercultural week in many schools of the CÉCM, the ORI created a directory of all the activities related to interculturalism that were taking place (CÉCM. Office des relations interculturelles, 1992). That year, the office also organized an awareness campaign for teachers as well as professional development opportunities. This initiative led to the creation of an activity guide for primary teachers and students to utilize during the intercultural week of 1993 (CÉCM. ORI, 1993). The guide, named "Québec c'est nous tous," was designed to combat ethnocentrism.

A year later, in 1994, $9,000 was allocated to the CÉCM by the Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal to finance 13 intercultural projects brought forward by schools to promote better interactions between majority and minority groups (CÉCM, 1994). Even if many of these initiatives seemed positive, I identified only five that were oriented towards social justice education, or that included plurilingual methods. The first activity was created to help students reflect on prejudice and cultural stereotypes to promote social cohesion and democratic participation; the second consisted of creating a document centre to catalogue all school

intercultural initiatives and resources; the third consisted of creating a yearly calendar with intercultural activities for students (e.g. plurilingual theatre activities, the creation of a collective mural, pairing with a culturally different family than your own for a week, etc.); the fourth consisted of offering a training camp to students who would lead the intercultural committee in place in many schools of the CÉCM; and the fifth activity sought to create opportunities for parents from different backgrounds to meet and participate in interpersonal exchanges led by school facilitators.

After 1996, it was more difficult to find initiatives linked to intercultural education. I have noticed that many schools of the CÉCM hosted an intercultural week, but fewer guides were developed and it is harder to find concrete initiatives produced by the schools. As seen in the preceding chapter, intercultural education was still a preoccupation of the school board, considering the many political documents on the topic of intercultural education that emerged in 1998.

After Schools Were Language-Based

During my research I encountered very few documents like the ones presented in the previous section covering the years 2000 to 2006. This shift of focus can be attributed to the observations I brought forward in the third section of chapter four, including the creation of the Direction des Services Acceuil et d'Education Interculturelle, the dissolution of the "Office des relations interculturelle" at the school board, the over-financing of activities to promote French and the shortcomings of the PELO program. Nonetheless, one of the most relevant documents that I found discussing plurilingual initiatives resurfaced from this period. In 2003, to celebrate 25 years of the PELO program, the teachers and students created a collaborative project: a book composed of folk tales and stories written in more then twelve languages, all languages taught

through the PELO program (CSDM, 2003a). The book served to promote PELO, and was diffused to the school community to demonstrate the advantages of learning one's mother tongue.

In 2006, the Ministry of Education put in place the "Direction des services d'acceuil et d'éducation interculturelle," served by the organization's website, "L'école plurielle." On the website it is possible to find multiple resources for intercultural education, including the newest programs developed for students in welcoming classes, resources for teachers, an intercultural calendar, guides to support newly arrived students, and information to prevent the radicalization of students, as well as intercultural initiatives put in place by different school boards, schools and even specific classes. On the website, I found three initiatives linked to linguistic diversity and plurilingual education. First, a factsheet outlining the reasons to promote plurilingual methods, and then two initiatives from a school board and a school. In 2014, the school board "Commission scolaire de la Capitale" developed a welcome guide in seven languages for immigrating families. Much like the guide created in 1988, it introduced new parents of students in primary schools and secondary schools to the Québec school system. And, at the CSDM school Camille-Laurin, students recently developed bilingual reading workshops in collaboration with parents, educators and members from cultural organizations.

The last initiative I will present in this section is the web documentary called: "Des racines et des ailes" produced by the CSDM in collaboration with L'Université du Québec à Montréal (Moffatt, 2016). It is important to present this initiative, as it was developed by professionals as a development tool meant to demystify common assumptions regarding newly immigrated students and plurilingual practices. The goal of the web documentary was to demonstrate the best approach to take when dealing with students that had just immigrated and

had to attend welcoming classes. It is composed of testimony from students, families and members of the community, pedagogical resources, and references for educators working within diverse populations.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that since the eighties many initiatives have been put in place to promote intercultural education. Often these initiatives include plurilingual practices and acknowledge the importance of recognizing the mother tongue of students. Whether it is by developing tool kits, books, videos or websites, the supporters of intercultural education have always been working to promote best practices and to inspire educators. The promotion of these initiatives and the constant enhancement of the documentation created to help newly arrived immigrants demonstrates that the institutions in place do mean to help students achieve success within the current framework. The fact that governmental institutions and school boards showcase these initiatives on their websites also proves that there is room for new intercultural or plurilingual projects created by teachers in the field.

Conclusion

Summary of the research

I began this thesis by stating that I was a fervent defender of the French language, acknowledging that it is a minority language in a North American context. Despite this affirmation, I explained my disagreement with unilingual education practices, believing them to be discriminatory. Before I initiated this research project, I began an investigation of the provincial, school board and school policies on language to see if there was room in them for plurilingual educational practices. During this preliminary investigation, I realized that in one Montréal school board alone a large number of students risked being marginalized because their native languages were being ignored. I also understood that it was my role as a new leader in the field of education to dig deeper to understand the discourse surrounding educational policies I would encounter during my career. Both of these realizations inspired me to further investigate and conduct a thesis mapping out the discursive relationships between the province, school boards and school legislation.

Ultimately, I wanted to identify the programmatic barriers to, or facilitators of, plurilingual education. Before I attempted to do an analysis of the policies it was important that I understood the socio-historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts in which they were created. I first conducted a literature review of texts presenting the history of education in Québec, which revealed that before the 1900s the schooling system lacked funding, programs were constantly being changed and many educators were ill-equipped and underpaid (Gagnon, 1996). Multiple commissions in the field of education eventually led to changes in the system (e.g., the Royal Commission on Education in 1924, the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Québec in 1961 and the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of

the French Language and on Language Rights in Québec in 1972) but despite these shifts schools were still confessional. In the sixties, the Quiet Revolution brought other socio-economic and cultural changes to the province of Québec. The rise of Québec nationalism, changes made to public corporations, and the emergence of a French middle class led the Francophone population to seek more power over English culture, which was dominant. At the same time, French school boards including the CÉCM realized that in order to have access to more opportunities, almost all new immigrants to Québec were choosing to have their children educated in English. The CÉCM then employed coercive methods to oblige immigrant students to go to school in French. These methods were not well received by either the English sector or immigrant parents.

Political conflicts between Canada and Québec concerning language legislation, confrontations between Québec nationalists and the other political parties, and discontentment with the immigration policy were all factors that led to a linguistic crisis in the province. The seventies were then marked by contradictory language laws. However, these competing policies were halted with the enactment of the Charter of the French Language (Bill C-11: Charter of the French Language, 2017). At the same time, legislators needed to develop a new concept to manage diversity in Québec as immigration was exponentially increasing. Because this model needed to be compatible with the new language policy and ideologies concerning the new discourse of French nationalism, and because of recent conflicts between Canada and Québec, the political party in place decided to reject the Canadian concept of multiculturalism and embrace a model of interculturalism.

Although there is no set definition of interculturalism or provincial official policy on interculturalism in Québec, it is included in immigration policy and suggests that the Québec intercultural model promotes mutual respect between cultures, for the promotion of social

cohesion and for the respect for a common culture, which is understood to be French Québécois culture. Together these policies put mechanisms in place to ensure that immigrants would learn French when they arrived to Québec. Despite these changes concerning language education, and an educational reform in the eighties, school systems in Montréal remained denomination-based until the Canadian constitution was amended in 1997. On the cusp of major systemic changes in the educational system in Montréal (e.g. changing schools from a denomination-based model to a linguistic model), a new educational policy emerged promoting intercultural education. This policy served to define all succeeding education models regarding ethnic minorities in Québec, and promoted intercultural relationships in schools. However, as chapter two reveals, a recent evaluation of this particular policy document confirmed that almost all intercultural initiatives served to teach students French.

Although I believe it is essential to allocate funding for immigrant students to learn French, in this study I also wanted to demonstrate the benefits of using plurilingual initiatives in class. Chapter one focused on the sociolinguistic advantages of plurilingualism, and sought to present the concept of language awareness as widely practised in the French-speaking countries of Europe, as well as here in Montréal. Research on the topic and critiques of certain plurilingual practices also led me to discover the concept of plurilingualism for social justice. This review gave more purpose to my research, and justified the importance of identifying programmatic barriers to, and facilitators of, plurilingualism in Québec, and Montréal in particular. By drawing on Fairclough's model for Critical Discourse Analysis and Bowe and Ball's policy cycle framework I was able to demonstrate that the French language is at the heart of all of Québec's education policies and dominates the discourse of the majority group (the Québec nationalists). My process analysis revealed how individuals in positions of power were able to develop

policies internally, and that the school board commissioner took more than ten years after critical social movements towards language usage and intercultural practice were launched to develop new policies in this regard.

Through this research, I was also able to demonstrate that there is a gap between policy production and policy diffusion and implementation in Montréal. This gap strongly affects school practices, because school codes of conduct still have statements that reference abrogated school board language policies, e.g. asking students to speak in French 100% of the time in the school, thus enabling school administrators to discipline students for speaking languages other than French in school. The gap between policies and their implementation also affects the content of school curricula, and inhibits teachers' knowledge about ways to facilitate plurilingualism. Together the policy texts, processes and practices perpetuate a French "hegemonic" discourse. In chapter four, I presented the Swiss cheese model as a way to align statements in policy and provincial documents. This model enabled me to me to demonstrate how text segments can be aligned to act as facilitators of plurilingualism. This exercise demonstrates that there is room in official documents for plurilingual initiatives in school. I conclude my thesis by presenting ways that teachers can engender education for plurinlingualism, and urge them to engage with this approach in order to better serve students who don't yet know the language of the majority and who risk being marginalized based on their language competencies.

Limitations of the Research

Upon reflection, I acknowledge that my position as a Francophone, French, white woman may have affected the way I engaged with this discourse: for example, the fact that I believe in the promotion of the French language in Québec could have limited my ability to fully

demonstrate the dangers in imposing French as the unilingual language of the public sphere. However, I have tried to counter this position by highlighting the opinions of different cultural groups and including points of view from authors of different ethnicities. Additionally, I recognize that there may be some gaps among the documents I have retrieved in the archives. Issues of accessibility certainly affected the amount of data I was able to acquire. Nevertheless, both this research and additional knowledge I gained via email and informal discussions I had with professionals in the field helped me to construct a clearer portrait of the possibilities for education for plurilinualism in Québec.

Recommendations for Stakeholders

The implications of this study are most critical for administrators, in-service teachers and policy makers, because they all have the power to make changes in the current system. Pre-service teachers can also benefit from this research, as they will be aware that plurilingual activities are beneficial for students. As stated in the introduction, I believed it was important to generate recommendations based on this research to inspire changes. The following recommendations summarize what I have identified as problematic areas in policy, process and practice.

Considering that:

a) The CSDM usually takes close to ten years to develop a policy after a social movement; these policies are developed internally before being sent out for public consultation; little time is left to review policies before their enactment; and policies are not always revised.
b) The CSDM policies often do not include plans for policy diffusion and implementation

c) The CSDM still uses the terminology “unilinguisme français” in a policy.

> (e.g., La CSDM favorise l'unilinguisme français dans ses activités afin de refléter le fait que le français est à la fois la langue officielle et la langue normale et habituelle de la vie publique. (CSDM, 2009a p.10)

d) The CSDM no longer has a committee for cultural communities or a representative of intercultural education as a board of trustees member

e) The CSDM commissioners’ reports rarely include information about policy enactments and measures for policy implementation, or information about intercultural activities at the school board.

I recommend that the CSDM:

1. Commit to a limit of five years’ maximum for the enactment of any policy, from the moment a new policy is proposed to the moment it is enacted.
2. Establish mechanisms to ensure that public consultation is held prior to the internal development of the policy so that the public consultation process can inform the policy development process.
3. Conduct a review of the relevance and efficacy of policies, statements within policies, and review its implementation at least every five to seven years.
4. Conduct a review of the terminology used to eliminate the textual segment including “unilingualisme français,” and replace it with less coercive terminology for encouraging students to learn and use the French language.
5. Put a commissioner in charge of intercultural education, and/or programs for ethnic minorities at the school board.

6. Add a statement in the commissioners' code of ethics requiring they report on policies enacted during the school year and their implementation plan.
7. Recognize that new teachers often do not know about the advantages of plurilingual initiatives, techniques and methods. Collaborate with the DSAEI to develop a budget and ensure that at least one pedagogical day per year is dedicated to interculturalism/plurilingualism in a school context.
8. Recognize that established educators do not know about intercultural initiatives in place at other schools, school boards or at the provincial level. Invite all teachers to read and contribute to the project proposed in recommendation 2 made to the DSAEI.
9. Recognize that educators often do not know that there is funding available to create intercultural and plurilingual activities. Share the budget available for interculturalism in the commissioner's annual report. Offer professional development on how to have access to this funding. Support teachers in filling out administrative documentation required to bring intercultural projects to live.
10. Consider that the PELO program is often put aside that its budget has not been revised, that teachers often have difficulties accessing teaching spaces, and that hours dedicated to the program are often limited.

I recommend that school administrators and the members of the DSAEI:

1. Develop methods, resources and documents for teachers to have tools to engage in professional self and collective development about plurilingualism.
2. Communicate regularly with schools via electronic newsletters about recent initiatives presented on the website, "l'école plurielle"

3. Reserve time in professional development hours at the school to present education for plurilingualism and its advantages in a multi-ethnic context.
4. Establish mechanisms alerting teachers to funding that exists to support plurilingual activities, and facilitate the paperwork process to make it appealing to educators.
5. Conduct a revision of the program "Ethique et culture religieuse" to include plurilingual education methods within the third competency: "pratique du dialogue."
6. Conduct a systematic program review of the PELO program to achieve all the benefits of mother tongue learning for students.

Avenues for Future Research

Now that I have demonstrated the programmatic and systemic barriers and facilitators of education for plurilingualism, I intend to share this information with a wide range of scholars, educators, and policy makers via the publication of academic journal articles in the field of education, such as *Historical studies in education* and *Alterstices – International Journal of Intercultural Research*. I believe that producing articles that share the textual segments that support plurilingualism in the province with school boards, teachers, researchers and policy makers will help demonstrate that there is room in Québec for education for plurilingualism, despite the powerful Québec nationalist discourse. I am also committed to sharing with the general public the initiatives I have discovered in the context of this research and to demonstrating how policies and practices can be improved via the publication of newspaper articles that could be presented in *La Presse* which is highly read by the French population in Montréal — one point four million weekday readers — and in *The Gazette* which is the most

popular English newspaper in Montréal with three hundred twenty-nine thousand readers (Powel, 2016 para. 18). Producing an infographic with the findings of this research and sharing it on social media would also be a significant way to reach out to students and teachers in my circle.

I do realize that a more in-depth analysis of teachers, parents and students' opinions about plurilingualism would address aspects of this research that are not yet fully developed. Thus, it would be important to evaluate how plurilingual practices could be included efficiently in the current school system and to find out whether there is resistance from for teachers to engage in plurilingual practice. Therefore, I encourage other researchers to engage in school board policy analysis and to investigate how education for plurilingualism may be perceived in schools. Documenting how teachers currently deal with limitations imposed by the system could also serve to motivate teachers to engage in the plurilingual movement. Finally, I believe that the positive outcomes presented by this study, the set of resources I have presented, and the recommendations I have made will inspire school communities to engage in practices that can improve the discourse surrounding language education in Montréal.

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Appendix A

Description of the Leximancer Analysis

As mentioned in chapter 3, I was inspired mostly by Jones' (2014) methodology to conduct my Leximancer analysis. Like her, I looked at each of the chosen policies separately to identify: repetitions in general; word interrelationships (internal to a text); ranking of discursive markers/concepts (what is 'more' strongly promoted); and the main vocabulary sets of the documents. Following Jones, I acquired access to an online version of Leximancer, uploaded each key policy into a separate project file on the Leximancer portal and set the language of analysis to French. Still following Jones' methodology I "pre-processed the policy using the steps advised in training. Automatic (normal/default) settings were used to generate a ranked list of concept seeds on the basis of word frequency and co-occurrence within the document." (p. 66) I deleted some French transitions irrelevant to the study such as (aussi,) and merged feminine and masculine versions of the same word such as (immigrant/immigrante) as well as merging the singular and plural of selected words including (élève/élèves et interculturelle/interculturelles and culturelle/culturelles). Still following Jones (2014), "the resulting concepts were then identified by Leximancer on automatic settings. The policy text was classified using these concepts at a high resolution (every three sentences). From here, all stages were run on automatic settings." (p. 67) This process generated multiple two-dimensional concept maps that were later analyzed.