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"I Wouldn't Want to Impose!"

Intercultural Mediation in French Immersion

Kelle Keating Marshall & Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng

Introduction

At its sesquicentennial in 2017, Canada had distinguished itself as an officially bilingual country, with an internationally-lauded Multiculturalism policy (Author, 2007). With nearly 50 years of French-English bilingualism and 45 years of multiculturalism (Author, 2007; Haque, 2012), public education seems well-poised to foster intercultural competence (ICC)[1] among young Canadians—particularly as it plays a key role in socializing civically-engaged citizens (Branson, 1998). Canada's French Immersion (FI) programs are especially well-positioned to develop Anglophone students' intercultural consciousness regarding French-English bilingualism and Francophone cultures. However, questions remain, for example, concerning FI programs' aims for the development of students' ICC as well as teachers' perceptions of their role in implementing these objectives. This article addresses these topics in the context of FI in New Brunswick, Canada (NB).

Located within Canada's only officially bilingual province, NB's FI program allows unique insights into the cultural objectives of immersion education. First, FI education in NB, a distinct program from French language education for NB's Francophones, is intimately connected to broader historical minority/majority tensions between the province's Francophone and Anglophone communities (Edwards, 1986). Second, stipulated in the province's Official Languages Act (Government of NB, 2002) and Education Policy 309 (NB Department of Education, 1994), French Second Language (FSL) education is mandated for all Anglophones and FI must legally be provided where resources and conditions allow. In this context, and with a faculty predominantly composed of bilingual Francophone teachers, NB's FI program could create connections between the two linguistic communities through the purposeful development of Anglophone students' ICC. Yet, while Canadian FI has been the focus of much research, (e.g.,

Hayday, 2015; Lepage & Corbeil, 2013; Martel & Pâquet, 2012), none has looked specifically at teachers' perceptions of their role in cultural mediation.

This article presents data from semi-structured interviews that were conducted in 2015 and which focused on the perspectives of four Third Grade FI teachers in Southeastern NB on Francophone culture and cultural mediation in their classrooms. The article offers a demographic overview of NB, the history of its dual education system and FI policy, and the resulting incongruity between the cultural learning outcomes in the Francophone sector's French language and Anglophone sector's FI curricula, then introduces the theoretical constructs of *culture as discourse*, *language as a socio-semiotic system*, *language teachers as intercultural mediators*, and *ICC in language education*. The analysis focuses particularly on the perspectives of the four FI teachers who each represent different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Finally, implications that may inform teacher preparation and language curriculum development are offered.

French immersion in New Brunswick

Historical Background. Francophones (mostly Acadian)[2] form just under one-third of NB's population. The province was originally part of a French territory called *Acadie*, established in 1604 in today's Maritime Provinces. Because of its strategic military location, France and Britain frequently clashed over possession of *Acadie* before it was ceded to Britain in 1713 (Daigle, 1982). Afterward, the Acadians steadfastly refused to sign an oath of loyalty to the British Crown, leading to their deportation from 1755-1763, in events called the *Grand Dérangement*. These deportations involved approximately 11,000 of the 13,000 Acadians, including at least 2000 casualties (Daigle, 1982; Laxer, 2007).[3] In 1763, the British permitted small groups of

Acadians to return to remote regions in the Nova Scotia territory. However, in subsequent years, following the American Revolutionary War, thousands of British Loyalists also resettled in Nova Scotia and eventually, Anglophone settlers became the political and economic leaders of the Maritime region (Laxer, 2007; Thériault, 1982).

Acadians lived predominantly in rural areas, and schooling – sparse and underfunded – was provided by the Catholic Church. Even with the Common School Act in 1871, bringing all education under the provincial governments' purview and funded through local taxes, education for Acadians did not improve (Laxer, 2007). By 1920, there was a clear dichotomy between the two communities with distinctly higher illiteracy rates among Acadians vis-à-vis their Anglophone counterparts (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967). Louis J. Robichaud (1960-1970), the province's first Acadian Premier, attempted to address these inequalities through his platform of "equal opportunity for all," and thus paved the way for equal access to provincial services regardless of local tax revenue. In April 1969 (updated in 2002), he established NB's Official Languages Act (OLA) - five months before the institution of Canada's federal OLA (Stanley & Maude, 1984). This made NB Canada's only officially bilingual province, guaranteeing linguistic equality throughout the public sector. For education, this equality was met through duality, with independent French and English sectors and strict admission policies designed to protect each linguistic community.[4] Within the English sector, French as a Second Language (FSL) is a requirement in all schools (as is English Language a requirement in all Francophone schools). French immersion began in 1969, and in 1977 became policy (Policy 501) (Edwards, 1986).

Today there are three FSL program options: English Prime, where students participate in Pre-Intensive, Intensive and Post-Intensive French instruction from Fourth -Tenth Grade; Early

French Immersion (EFI), the first entry point into FI at Third Grade; and Late French Immersion, the second entry point into FI at Sixth Grade. For those in EFI in Third - Fifth Grades, 80% of the school day is conducted in French; in Sixth - Eighth Grades, 70% of the school day is conducted in French. Most subjects are taught in French, although programming varies by school. To remain in EFI in high school, students must take 50% of their courses in French in Ninth and Tenth grades, and 25% in Eleventh and Twelfth grades (Government of NB, n.d.).

Contemporary Context. NB's population is 747,101 including 31.6% Francophones (72.5% bilingual) and 67.1% Anglophones (16.2% bilingual), with an overall provincial bilingualism rate of 34% (Statistics Canada, 2016a). The linguistic communities are unevenly spread, with some being predominantly Francophone (e.g. Northeastern NB); some predominantly Anglophone (e.g. Fredericton, the capital); and with one bilingual metropolitan region in the Southeast, where this study took place. Boudreau (2016), Boudreau and Dubois (1991), and Author (2011) have noted varied linguistic ideologies (Kroskrity, 2000) represented within these regions: among Francophones from Northeastern NB, linguistic standardization of French, ideologies of Francophone monolingualism; and among those from Southeastern NB, linguistic insecurity toward a local variety of French, and emerging ideologies favorable to Francophone bilingualism.

Bilingualism has, in fact, characterized Southeastern NB for over 150 years (Boudreau, 2014), and thus has shaped the linguistic landscape of the region where this study took place (Boudreau & Dubois, 2005). The region comprises three cities: one is officially French, one predominantly Anglophone, and the third is one of Canada's only officially bilingual cities. Francophones form the region's linguistic minority, representing 35.1% of the population of 144,810. Bilingualism rates are higher than the provincial average: 46.9% are bilingual

(Francophones, 91.2% bilingual; Anglophones, 24.0% bilingual) (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

However, in spite of these bilingualism rates, the province's official bilingualism policy has at

times created tension between NB's two official language groups (Boudreau, 2016), as even with

NB's OLA, English remained the dominant language in public spaces until recently (Author,

2014b) and pulses of assimilation continually challenge the status of French (LeBlanc, 2010;

Thériault, 2007). At the same time, some unilingual Anglophones express discontent over what

they perceive as unfair disadvantages due to bilingual employment requirements (Canadian

Press, 2015).

Curricular Incongruities

Given this context, it is not surprising that there are some significant differences in the

two school sectors' curriculum documents regarding French language education and

Francophone history, culture, and heritage. The Francophone sector emphasizes the role of

French language education in Acadian cultural preservation and identity formation within the

broader context of *la Francophonie*. In 2014, more than 200 Acadian and Francophone leaders

and five Acadian organizations jointly developed a document published by New Brunswick's

Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (DEECD), *The Linguistic and*

Cultural Development Policy: A Societal Project for the French Education System. Their

collaboration evidences local Acadian and Francophone leaders' commitment to support schools

in countering Francophone youths' assimilation into Anglophone culture (Thériault, 2007). The

document describes the Francophone curriculum's cultural outcomes for the promotion of the

French language and Acadian culture:

This policy, a genuine societal project, presents a vision based on mobilization,

cooperation, and empowerment of all education stakeholders, strategies and initiatives to

be put in place in order to contribute not only to the educational success and the identity

building of each learner, but also to the vitality of the French language and culture, as

well as the development of the Acadian and Francophone community and New

Brunswick society as a whole. (DEECD, 2014, p. 19)

In contrast, while the Anglophone sector's French Language Arts curriculum (NB, 2001)

mentions that students will learn about local culture and history (including Acadian), it

prioritizes the use of French for (multicultural) citizenship, and for its utility:

The French immersion program offers learners the opportunity to gain a better

understanding of their own culture and to discover the culture of francophone

communities, *without diminishing the importance of Canada's multiculturalism.*

This experience also enables them to look at francophone cultures with more

awareness and understanding. *Such understanding encourages acceptance of all*

cultures and broadens their view of the world. It is hoped that this broadened

view will lead to a better appreciation of human diversity and value. (p.1,

emphasis added)

Furthermore,

By the end of Twelfth Grade, students will be expected to:

- Demonstrate a positive attitude towards the French language and towards

  francophone communities *in Canada and around the world*;

- Recognize and respect cultural diversity. The relationship between culture and

  language is so close that, in many circumstances, it is impossible to communicate

  effectively with someone without having some knowledge of that person's culture. *A*

  cultural component is integrated into the French immersion program to highlight this

relationship, not to have immersion students adopt francophone culture. The

integration of this component makes it easier for students to understand their second

language and makes communication with francophones in Canada and elsewhere

more effective. (p.12; emphasis added)

Following the premise of NB's FI program, language acquisition is described as additive – the

learning of French will not jeopardize English language competency. However, there appears to

be a wariness concerning cultural acquisition, that is, that acquiring Francophone culture may

jeopardize the integrity of a child's own cultural identity.

The incongruities in these two documents center on a slippery notion of the relationship

between language and culture: for Francophones, culture and language are inherently linked; for

Anglophones, Francophone culture becomes objectified, observable from the outside, and while

somewhat accessible through language, still distinct. Of interest, then, is how these incongruities

impact FI teachers' perceptions of their role as intercultural mediators, and how they address the

FI program's cultural objectives.

Theoretical Framing

Culture, language and ideology

Three primary considerations figure in the theoretical framing of this analysis of language

education and ICC: *Culture as discourse; language as social practice;* and *the role of ideology.*

In the first place, the analysis is premised on the notion of "culture as discourse" (Kramsch,

2013; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). As discourse, culture is a frame of reference through which

individuals understand their worlds and make sense of meaning within and through their

interactions with others and with their environments. Culture is formed through shared social

practice; it is, in the words of Kramsch (2013), "the meaning that members of a social group give

to the discursive practices they share in a given space and time and over the historical life of the

group" (p. 69). As implicated in processes of meaning making, 'culture as discourse' is

inherently linked to individual and group identity, and therefore linked to negotiations of power.

Such a view challenges the more common notion of culture as "facts and information"

which characterizes many language curricula and practice. In this view, culture is presented as

comprising products, behaviors and beliefs examined from the outsider's perspective, as static

and commodified, and perhaps most importantly, as something learned apart from the target

language (Kohler, 2015; Kramsch, 2013). The language learner is thus seen as separate from

his/her own cultural identity, which Kohler (2015) argued, is essential for the development of

intercultural identity and practice. In contrast, "culture as discourse" *requires* the participation of

language and identity, and makes possible the development of intercultural identity.

Secondly, the analysis is framed by the concept of language as "social practice."

Traditionally, language education programs tended to be dominated by a Chomskian (1965) view

of language, one that considers language as primarily a structural system of grammatical rules

and vocabulary. This view presents a static and autonomous, decontextualized view of language,

which results in notions of a prescribed linguistic standard independent of social variation.

However, language education within ICC regards language as "social practice" (Heller, 2007) or

semiotic (Kohler, 2015), and, because language is positioned within its social contexts of use, it

is dynamic and constantly evolving (Heller, 2007).

Taken together, because language and culture, and their dialectic relationship, are

embedded in socio-political and material circumstances, they are also deeply ideological,

dynamic, and interpretive of local conditions. Language teachers are thus mediators of culture

and of the complex discursive relationship between language and culture, and identity (Kohler,

2015). As Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) advocated, "Adding a language and culture to an

individual's repertoire expands the complexity, generates new possibilities, and *creates a need*

for mediation between languages and cultures and the identities that they frame" (p. 23;

emphasis added).

Language Teachers as Intercultural Mediators

Kohler (2015) argued that language teachers should be regarded as intercultural

mediators. While her research centered on Bahasa Indonesian language teachers in Australian

high schools, her findings and recommendations may extend to immersion programs. She

summarized two perspectives of mediation: mediation from a language teaching and learning

perspective, and mediation in Sociocultural Learning Theory (pp. 129-135). In the first

perspective, mediation involves the "ability needed to solve problems encountered during

interaction between speakers of different language" (Kohler, 2015, p. 129) and a "process of

'managing' misunderstandings caused by difference" (p. 129). This perspective is limited in that

it assumes two distinct cultural and linguistic worlds, when many language learners are actually

multilingual speakers with potentially multiple identities. Kohler turned to Vygotsky (1978) and

Sociocultural Learning Theory to further develop the possibilities of mediation. Sociocultural

Learning Theory suggests that mediation involves teachers' guiding their students into the "zone

of proximal development" through language. For Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development is

that space between what a student knows and what they need to know and can attain through

scaffolding or cooperative learning. This process, Kohler argued, is dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981) and

always involves language.

Kohler then combined these two perspectives to propose a dialogic model of *intercultural*

mediation, based on the discursive practices of teachers (cultural and linguistic experts), and

students (cultural and linguistic novices) (Kohler, 2015) and on classrooms as communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Language teachers thus serve as mediators between the target language and culture, their students' various languages and cultures, as well as their own native languages and cultures. In Kohler's (2015) model, mediation is "…a macro-transformational process in which not only is an individual's knowledge changed through learning a new linguistic and cultural frame of reference, but his/her sense of self and identity in the world is also changed, as he/she learns new ways of being themselves within an expanded linguistic and cultural universe" (p. 144). That is, language teachers help develop their students' intercultural competence.

Intercultural Competence in Language Education

In the early 1990s, language education theorists, for example Kramsch (1993) and Byram (1991), began to advocate for a shift from traditional communicative teaching models (e.g. Krashen, 1982) to models including the development of students' ICC. While many theorists (e.g. Byram, 1997, Deardorff, 2006, Liddicoat, Scarino, Papadametre, & Kohler, 2003; Risager, 2007) have created models of ICC, we find Kramsch's (1993) description, first of "the third place," and later as "symbolic competence" (Kramsch, 2013) to effectively model intercultural competence in language students. If culture is a dynamic discursive process (as discussed above), then Kramsch's (1993) third place could be described as a dialogic space (Bahktin, 1981) between the learners' native culture(s) and the target culture(s), a Venn diagram, where language learners reflexively engage with each culture, creating their own discursive meaning and identity related to the target language and culture, which may be wholly distinct from both the students' native culture(s) and the target culture(s). Kramsch (2009) drew on Bourdieu (1991) to refine this concept, calling it *symbolic competence*, defined as the ability to:

- understand the symbolic value of symbolic forms and the different cultural
  memories evoked by different symbolic systems.

- draw on the semiotic diversity afforded by multiple languages to reframe ways of
  seeing familiar events, create alternative realities, and find an appropriate subject
  position 'between languages'.

- look both *at* and *through* language and understand the challenges to the autonomy
  and integrity of the subject that come from unitary ideologies and a totalizing
  networked culture. (p.201)

Byram (1997, 2008), Byram and Zarate (1994), Kramsch (2009), and Liddicoat et al.
(2003) have identified ways of fostering ICC in language classrooms. Particularly well-known
are Byram's (1997) *savoirs*: *Savoir être*: a "readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures
and belief about one's own;" (general) *savoirs*: the basic knowledge of "social groups and their
product sand practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country;" *Savoir comprendre*:
"the ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to
documents or events from one's own;" *Savoir apprendre / faire*: the "ability to acquire new
knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and
skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction;" and *Savoir s'engager*:
"an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and
products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (p. 94-101) While Byram's *savoirs* offer
a framework of intercultural learning objectives, it has been critiqued for failing to delineate how
these elements form a coherent teaching approach (Liddicoat et al, 2003; Risager, 2007).

Kramsch (2009), Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), and Kearney (2016) addressed this gap
by developing pedagogical methods that aimed to help students develop ICC in the modern

language classroom, typically at the level of secondary or higher education. Similarly Kohler's (2015) conceptualization of language teachers as intercultural mediators brings practical implications to teacher practice. Of note, however, aside from Byram (2008), is the dearth of research on the development of ICC through *elementary* education, although in her concluding remarks, Kearney (2016), drawing on Magnin (1997), proposed that a global village simulation in an elementary French language classroom might be an effective way to engage children in intercultural topics. Also noteworthy is the absence of research in the development of ICC in the context of immersion and dual-language education (apart from Moloney, 2007).

Thus, within the unique context of New Brunswick's FI program, inscribed within the province's official linguistic duality, as well as the history of linguistic and cultural tensions between NB's two official language groups, and given the paucity of research related to the development of intercultural competence in the language immersion context, this present study considered what FI teachers had to say about the role of cultural instruction in their classrooms. Framed by the socio-political and cultural positioning of language and ideology and the discursive nature of culture, the study focused on two critical areas of inquiry: 1) French immersion teachers' perceptions of language and culture and their relationship; and 2) the extent to which French immersion teachers considered intercultural mediation as part of their role, and if so, how. Essential to the analysis as well was consideration of the demographic characteristics represented (Francophone, Acadian, Anglophones) of the FI teachers.

Methodology

Participants and Procedures

At the time of the study, Third Grade was the entry point for FI[6]. After receiving human subjects approval from our universities and the superintendent of one school district in Southeast NB, the principals from each of the schools in which Third Grade FI was offered were contacted. Twelve of the 17 principals agreed to allow us to contact their Third Grade teachers, who were invited to participate via email. Seventeen of the 30 teachers agreed to be interviewed.

All of the teachers uniquely identified with Francophone culture(s) depending on their family upbringing and community of origin, studies, and travel to various French regions across Canada and internationally. Seven participants grew up in predominantly French communities, two of which were in other provinces, and the rest from communities in the Northeastern and Eastern parts of the province; seven grew up in bilingual communities in Eastern NB, and three grew up in predominantly Anglophone communities in Eastern NB. Regarding their own language identity, ten identified French as their mother tongue, three, English who then learned French as L2, and four identified both French and English as their mother tongue languages. Four participants had taught in French communities elsewhere in Canada or in Louisiana. Twelve of the 17 participants had specifically trained to teach in NB's Francophone sector, and none had substantive training in SLA pedagogy.

Given the constraints of space, the discussion here presents an in-depth examination of the cultural and linguistic backgrounds and perspectives of four of these 17 teachers. These four were purposefully selected as cases because of their composite demographic, linguistic and experience contrasts, and thus speak powerfully to the range of cultural and linguistic identities, and perspectives regarding the role of French and Francophone culture in their own and their students' lives, held by teachers in NB FI classrooms. The questions of intercultural mediation,

in the broader context of curricular incongruities and ambiguity, thus become especially

poignant. The teachers are, with the rationale for their selection in this discussion:

• **Jacqueline**, who came from a monolingual Francophone region in Northeastern NB. French

was her mother tongue, and she was proudly Acadian. She learned English at school and earned

her B.Ed. at a Francophone university to teach in the Francophone sector. Unable to find a

permanent position, she applied to the Anglophone sector's FI program and was in her 3rd year

of teaching. She uniquely reported engaging in extended discourse with her students on her

cultural identity.

• **Élise**, who grew up in a Francophone family in a small Francophone village in Southeastern

NB set in a predominantly Anglophone county. She attended French schools and, like

Jacqueline, conducted her post-secondary studies at a Francophone university. Élise was

similarly trained to teach in the Francophone sector, with no training in SLA prior to teaching in

FI. She first worked in the French sector, preparing 4-year-old children of parents *ayant droit*

(see note 4) for kindergarten; after two years, she joined the Anglophone sector's FI program,

where she had been teaching for 4 years. Élise was the most vested in encouraging the use of

French outside of the classroom, so she might have an awareness for cultural mediation.

• **Élisabeth**, who grew up in a small Francophone enclave in a region in Western NB that is

under 10 percent Francophone. She learned English from friends and through extra-curricular

activities prior to attending school. Although her father's family is Acadian, her parents did not

participate in Acadian cultural events or inculcate in her a sense of Acadian identity. Her

husband is Anglophone; yet she raised her children as Francophone. Her perspective is of

interest because she reported extended discussions with Anglophone in-laws on culture (=

mediated) even though she herself held no specific Francophone identity. While she earned her

B.Ed. at an Anglophone University, she has only taught in FI during her 10-year teaching career.

• **Jessica**, who was an Anglophone from Southern NB who completely adopted Francophone

culture, and thus represented a unique and separate perspective – especially because she did not

mediate Francophone culture at all in her classrooms. She was educated in Anglophone schools,

taking 'Core French' courses through high school, although without acquiring French. However,

she majored in French in university and spent much of her early career actively furthering her

French language studies and increasingly adopting Francophone culture and identity. She also

completed her M.Ed. at a French Language university. Twenty-one of her thirty-three-year

teaching career has been in FI.

Following the principles of constructed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014), data were

collected by conducting in-depth, semi-structured, conversational interviews during May and

June 2015. Interviews were held in English, the official language of Anglophone schools, in the

teachers' classrooms after school, and were attended by both researchers. These interviews lasted

around 60 minutes. The interview guide used to conduct the interviews was developed by the

researchers, aimed to ultimately elicit extended conversation about teachers' emic understanding

of their own cultural and linguistic identities and ideologies, and about their understanding of

their role as cultural mediators in the language classroom. In order to minimally influence

teachers' discourses, the interview guide's questions loosely involved four domains: (a)

Background Information, involving questions about participants' cultural and linguistic

backgrounds, education, training and careers in FI, and their engagement in the local

Francophone community; (b) *Beliefs about Language*, involving questions about their

understandings of bilingualism in their own and their students' lives; (c) *Teaching* (for example,

"How do your beliefs about language and bilingualism play out in the classroom and in your

teaching?" "How do you understand the Department of Education's goals for FI?" "How does

culture feature in your teaching, and if there is discussion about Francophone culture, which

one?" (d) *Curriculum Documents*, asking participants to respond to the incongruities in the

curriculum documents. The interviews were unstructured in that, while informed by the

interview guide, there was fluidity and a focus on conversation and extended discourse, allowing

for the discovery of new ideas and themes. The guide was modified as data collection proceeded,

allowing for more refinement of some questions, and to reflect the emerging themes that required

further development (Charmaz, 2014). Interviews were audio recorded, then transcribed

verbatim following Higgins' (2003) transcription conventions[7].

Analyses

Transcripts were coded using MAXQDA data analysis software. Following the guidelines

delineated by Cresswell and Poth (2018) to ensure inter-coder agreement, each researcher read

two transcripts independently and developed a list of preliminary codes through inductive

analysis. They then examined the codes, their names, and the coded text segments, and together

determined the main codes and subcodes. These codes were then applied to all of the transcripts.

Additional codes were added as the analyses proceeded, confirmed through ongoing discussion

between the researchers, and applied to previously coded transcripts. Because the data set was

small enough and there were only two researchers involved in the process, it was possible to

achieve 100% agreement through discussion. This analysis draws on the 11 codes (out of the

total 58) that specifically spoke to the research questions posed in this discussion.

Results

In this section, the data for each of the participants is presented individually, followed by a

discussion that identifies some of the common themes and fundamental differences that emerged.

The use of italics within quotes indicates emphasis in the participants' speech; underlining

indicates emphasis added by the authors.

Jacqueline.

As noted earlier, Jacqueline came from a monolingual Francophone region in

Northeastern NB. French was her mother tongue, and she was proudly Acadian. Her perspectives

on language and identity echo Francophone nationalist discourses, which are characterized by an

essentialist ideology of monolingualism—speaking uniquely French in bilingual contexts

indexes cultural fidelity (Heller & Labrie, 2004). She was proud that "Nobody speaks English *at*

all in my daily life," outside of school hours and described how she "bitches for service"

(demands being served) in French in the city's bilingual retail and government establishments.

She regularly attended Acadian cultural events and engaged in global Francophone culture and

media.

After reading the Francophone sector's curriculum document, Jacqueline responded:

(1) **J:** Yeah, because that's the *thing* (…) If you fill out a survey at the end, that they're

comfortable saying "I'm *French*" instead of clicking the English. (…) <u>You *know* the</u>

<u>identity's the *whole thing*. When they're recognizing themselves as a French person</u>

<u>instead of an English person or something, which we don't do in immersion. At *all*.</u>

In (1), Jaqueline asserted that the connection between Language$_1$ and Culture$_1$ is self-evident.

She insisted: "identity's the *whole thing*," using the example of choosing 'French' as one's

linguistic background on a survey as one goal of the Francophone curriculum. Couched in

Jacqueline's comments is a discourse associated with Canadian Francophone minority

revitalization movements, an effort to *faire société* ['make society'[8]] through the reinforcement

of linguistic rights in public forums (Heller & Labrie, 2004; Thériault, 2007).

Even before being prompted by the FI curriculum documents, Jacqueline affirmed that

identity formation is something "we don't *do* in immersion. At *all*." After reading the FI

program's cultural objectives, she responded:

(2) **J:** *Highlight*, but not to *adopt*. Because, yeah. They want them to be English still, I don't

know. But, usually the kids love it when you talk about Acadia, though. They're *really*

interested into it. I had some kids, like, "So *we're mean* because we're *English*?" (…) I'm

like, "It's *one* English person who decided to do it, and the others had to follow the order,

really. But it was *years* ago." I mean, there's *mean* French people, *too*. You know,

because I didn't want them to feel mean. But<u>, *yeah*, it's *weird* that they say it though,</u>

<u>right? They don't want them to *adopt* it? Why not?</u> [Jacqueline reads] And we *try* to

highlight it, and they're *supposed* to do it in Grade 3, too, but usually what happens is it's

what gets kicked out if there's something else going on. (If) there's something more

important, the French gonna get the kick.

In (2), Jacqueline first concluded that the document was worded as such because "they" (the

Department of Education) "want them [the students] to be English still." She then described a

conversation she had with her students on the Acadian deportation, which approaches

intercultural mediation. The students asked Jacqueline if they were "mean" because they were

English.[9] She tried to help them reconcile the past and present, explaining to them that there are

nice and mean people in each culture, attempting to minimize the historical rift between the two

language groups. Returning to her comments on the FI cultural document, Jacqueline wondered

why the Anglophone sector did not want students to adopt Francophone culture. She said that she

has tried to highlight the students' C_2, but that when pressed for time, "the French gonna get the

kick." Regarding her school's cultural programming, Jacqueline indicated that Francophone

authors and singers do visit, but limited funding renders field trips to Francophone events or

cultural sites impossible.

Jacqueline reported several conversations with her students about Francophone culture,

including topics like life in her hometown and Francophone reality television, through which she

could have developed her students' ICC. In one Social Studies unit (taught in English), for

instance, her lesson focused on the iconic children's book and short film *Le chandail*, (*The

Hockey Sweater*), by Roch Carrier (1985). In this story, a Québécois boy, obsessed with the

Montréal Canadiens, needs a new hockey jersey. He is mistakenly sent a Toronto Maple Leafs

jersey, which his mother makes him keep. The boy is humiliated to wear the jersey, and prays for

moths to consume it. Jacqueline describes her conversation with one student about the film:

(3) **J:** And the kid [J's student] was *so upset* that Roch Carrier was upset getting a Toronto

Maple Leafs sweater, he couldn't get over that part of the book! And I was like, "That

was *so* interesting." It was just funny, seeing the point of view of an English person. As a

French [person], you *get* the point of the book.

Jacqueline touched on many possible avenues of intercultural investigation: the film was in her

English-language curriculum, but her students asked to see the French version of the film.

However, she did not report explaining any of the story's culturally-laden references, especially

Francophones' view of the rivalry between the *Canadiens* and the Maple Leafs. When her

student became deeply disturbed at the child's distraught reaction to wearing the rivals' jersey in

the story, Jacqueline observed that his upset was not related to the underlying cultural nuances.

"As a French [person], you *get* the point of the book," she noted. But she failed to use this moment to guide her student in considering the Other's perspective. The presentation of the film remained within the realm of "culture as facts and information". Yet, language and culture play an integral role in Jacqueline's own identity - for her, Francophone C_1 and L_1 is "the whole thing." There is an incongruity, therefore, when it comes to fostering her students' connections between C_2 and L_2.

Élise.

Unlike Jacqueline, Élise – who also grew up in a predominantly Francophone community – demonstrated a conflicted sense of identity. When asked if she saw herself more as Canadian or Acadian, she responded: "Can I say 'equal'?" Despite her Francophone upbringing, she experienced an expanded role of French in her everyday life only when she married her Québécois husband, and, like other speakers from Southeastern NB, she exhibited a marked sense of ambiguity vis-à-vis her linguistic identity (Boudreau, 2016).

In reaction to the curriculum documents, Élise seemed conflicted. In (4), she considered the cultural outcomes as inconsequential to the curriculum. Especially in relation to Acadian culture, teachers choose content, as no official programming exists:

(4) "I think they only know what we teach them. It is not necessarily in our program and there's not an Acadian day here or something like that… And it's maybe a component that has been not forgotten but, I think/"

Élise's final sentence above, while cut off, is telling when taken with her remarks below: she gently implies that Acadian culture may intentionally be avoided in FI programming.

In (5), Élise admitted that she was unsure how much she *could* say about her culture to her Anglophone students:

(5) "But I do find, like, it's *hard* to talk about it. Because they are not the same culture as

you. (speaks hesitantly). I don't know if I can say that? <u>And I don't know how far I</u>

<u>should go with my beliefs, and, I wouldn't want to impose anything on someone. It's not</u>

<u>a *religion* or anything,</u> but it is easier to do it when (…) they have the same background."

Élise indirectly acknowledged the perceived tensions between NB's two official linguistic

groups when she ventures that she would not want to impose her beliefs—'culture as

discourse'—on her Anglophone students. Her comments further demonstrate the curriculum's

lack of guidance on what aspects of Francophone culture—if any—are appropriate in the FI

classroom.

When asked about cultural discussions with her students, Élise could not recall any. She

could remember, however, having had conversations on the advantages of bilingualism. Élise's

main focus seemed to be language acquisition and expanding the FI students' "community of

practice" outside of the classroom. For example, she shared at length the various out-of-class

activities she and her peers and school organize to encourage students' engagement with French

outside of the classroom, including monthly celebrations, invited authors and field trips to

Francophone events and sites. Throughout, she focused on developing her students' linguistic

competence, without engaging ICC in language acquisition.

Overall, although the French language figured largely into Élise's Acadian identity, she

was hesitant to speak to her students freely about her culture and likened this sharing of her

cultural background to the proselytization of religious beliefs. Like Jacqueline, Élise considered

language and culture to go hand in hand when it came to being Francophone; but for her

Anglophone students, language competency and expanded communities of practice were

presented as distinct from culture. Language was thus taught as a code for instrumental purposes

and not a semiotic system with "cultural and linguistic baggage." Nonetheless, Elise could serve as an intercultural mediator; having grown up in the region, she was aware of the Anglophone perspective. Because she was one of the only teachers we interviewed who focused on encouraging her students to use French outside of the classroom in order to further develop their linguistic competence, we wondered if she might engage language and culture at a deeper level if it were clear to her that she *should* do so. It could be, however, that even if intercultural development were a goal of this immersion curriculum, the local linguistic ideologies evidenced in her remarks, would continue to limit her deep engagement in intercultural topics.

Élisabeth.

While Élisabeth also grew up in a predominantly Francophone community, hers was just a small Francophone enclave in an Anglophone region. The ambivalence that her parents showed with respect of Acadian identity is somewhat evident in her discourse as well. For, while she defines herself as "Francophone," she has a loose affiliation with her French name. Some of her Francophone friends were offended when, at her wedding, her name was Anglicized. This did not trouble Élisabeth, however, because she was bilingual: "I'm okay with speaking English. It doesn't bother me, it's only respectful and fair." In fact, Élisabeth's husband is Anglophone, with family in an Anglo-dominant region. She often talks to them about the importance of bilingualism for NB's provincial identity. Élisabeth seemed to be cognizant of occupying the third space between her culture and that of her Anglophone husband's family. As a mother, though, she has made a greater effort to be involved with NB's Francophone community, aiming to form her children's identity as Francophones before they attend Francophone schools. Élisabeth's remarks might seem contradictory: she feels no affiliation with any specific Franco-Canadian group and is unapologetic for her bilingualism or her bilingual identity; yet regarding

her children, her account is permeated with an ideology on the integral connection between C_1 and L_1.

Élisabeth said very little about the Francophone curriculum document other than "Culture is a *big* aspect of it." She hesitantly expressed her understanding that culture and intercultural topics were important—even affirming that learning a language is "to communicate" and "to understand others better":

> (6) **I *feel* like we don't touch a lot on it in the sense that I try to expose them a *little bit*.**
> (…) Like I guess I don't do as much as I *probably should*, with the c/ *But* like, I *realize*, like they're saying, it's to be able to communicate, and, to, you know, *understand* the *others better*.

She seemed almost apologetic, admitting she could do more. With respect to the FI curriculum documents, she said:

> **(8) E:** Right! I think they're just trying to say that we're not going to *push* that on *them*, maybe? Right? I think *maybe* some parents are *fearful*, and I *know*/ Because it's the *reality*, and I *know* a *lot* of the *families here* they just/ The way they see it, they *pick* French immersion not liking the idea that their kids *have* to learn immersion but *they say* that they have to put them in the French immersion classes [for academic reasons]. <u>And, a *lot* of them are kind of *fearful*, they're like, "We don't want our kid to be, like, a Francophone, and we don't want them to/" So they're kind of *worried* about that, too (rising intonation). Like, I mean, we're *certainly* not going to *force* them into things, but it's our job to *expose* them.</u>

Élisabeth's comments echo those made by Élise above in (5) when she said, "we're not going to push [Francophone culture] on them." Perhaps because of the third space that she occupies,

Élisabeth was one of the few Francophones in this study to articulate Francophone assumptions of Anglophone ideology, that Anglophone parents primarily want their children to learn French for academic and cognitive development, and as preparation for future jobs, rather than for intercultural understanding or development. In fact, Élisabeth believed that Anglophone parents worried that their children might become Francophones through the FI program. In response to this concern, Élisabeth reiterated, "we're certainly not going to force them into things." but she agreed that, as an immersion teacher, she should expose her students to Francophone culture—to "understand others better."

Élisabeth could not recall a specific conversation with her students about culture and she indicated she and her colleagues didn't "do too much on culture" in Third Grade, although she did play music from various Franco-Canadian regions. Elisabeth's school, like Élise's, took students on field trips to Acadian cultural sites. Regarding cultural content in the immersion programming overall, she said: "It's *not* integrated into what *we're* teaching. It's up to *us* to pick and choose through that."

In sum, Élisabeth was a Francophone who was proudly bilingual and seemed well-accustomed to inhabiting the third space between Anglophones and Francophones within her family and public spaces. Élisabeth did not think, however, that there is enough time in Third Grade to address deeper cultural discussions, although she affirmed that introducing her students to Francophone culture "is kind of (her) job." She believed some Anglophone parents were afraid, so she hesitated to "force" her cultural perspective on her students. Thus, while she herself occupied a dialogical space between Francophone and Anglophone cultures, Élisabeth remained reluctant to develop similar capacity in her students.

Jessica.

Jessica's story is of increasing identification with the French language ("Once you've found your passion, that takes you on your journey"), an insatiable thirst for French language learning, and diverse cultural and linguistic influences from various regions. She attended an Anglophone university where she studied French initially because it best fit her schedule. She quickly developed "a real interest for speaking French, and I thought it was a lot of *fun*" and eventually minored in French. For the next few years, she focused on 'acquiring language' at various universities and programs: a six-week immersion program in Saint Pierre and Miquelon; two consecutive FI courses in Québec and NB; a French program at a Nova Scotian university, where she "met and interacted with" the local Acadian community; and a Master's degree at a Francophone university. Along the way, she was a language lab coordinator at her Anglophone alma mater, where she also taught Introductory French; lived in the FI student residence in Nova Scotia as the language monitor and subsequently served as coordinator of summer FL programs for three successive summers; taught Core French; and has taught in the French Immersion program for over 20 years.

In both private and public spaces, Jessica intentionally identified with French. She and her husband (of mixed parentage, Anglophone/Francophone) raised their children in a Francophone community and "basically function[ed] in French." Their children attended Francophone schools, French catechism, and a Francophone university. Jessica described French as her children's "maternal language," saying that, "We are technically two *Anglophones* who raised two *Francophones*." In speaking in public places, "I sound Francophone when I speak English, and… when I speak to them in English, they'll answer me in French. I'm like, 'Wow, I've *really arrived*!" Some of her Francophone friends did not know that she was an Anglophone! Her colleagues, and even her daughter, considered her to be Francophone. When

asked about her identity, she said: "I don't really want to be called Anglophone." If pressed, she preferred being called "bilingual."

Jessica's identity was completely transformed through her language acquisition. To a degree, Kramsch (2009) might describe her as in the later stages of her development as a "multilingual subject," except that Jessica rejected her C_1-L_1 identity in order to completely adopt C_2-L_2. Perhaps, in her mind, this was necessary to prove that she had successfully acquired French. This was certainly reflected in her comment: "I've really arrived!" Instead of finding the "third space" between her two languages and cultures (Kramsch, 2009), she adopted the Other as self, yet stopped short of calling herself a Francophone.

Jessica's reaction to the cultural documents revealed her recognition of the challenges of cultural instruction in the FI program. She began by reading the document aloud, and then mused, "Hm. Just to sort of *expose* them to it. There's a cultural component?" She continued by reflecting on a field trip to a local apple orchard, which, she noted, while a bilingual experience, did not really constitute culture. She concludes that culture is "*not* part of our program, but it *probably should be*."

Because Jessica was one of the longest-serving teachers interviewed, it was assumed that she would be the most likely to be familiar with the cultural objectives in the FI curriculum, if indeed they were common knowledge:

(9) **R:** And what do you think about the statement of: "The purpose of this program is *not* to have children adopt Francophone culture?" I mean, you *did*!

J: *Yeah*, *definitely*! I'm *living it*. (…) Not to *adopt* French culture. Well, we're not trying to *impose* it on them, I suppose. (…) *Well*, it *sounds* like they're, uh, *tiptoeing around* the *subject*! Does it *not*?! Yeah, like they don't want to *offend* the Anglophones.

In (9), when Jessica was asked about her views on the document's wording, she responded enthusiastically, "I'm *living it*." She then concluded that the wording was meant to not offend Anglophones.

Jessica then read and commented on the Francophone curriculum's cultural objectives. As one who had been adopted into the local Francophone community, but as still distinctly aware of her status as a language learner, her quietly-spoken answer, while quite hesitant at first, is incisive:

> **(10)   J:** Yeah, they um, in the French *schools*, they make *sure* their students know *all about* Acadian culture and uh/ They have a *semaine de la fiereté française* [French Pride week], and, it's, um, almost a *requirement* to *really* (clears throat) *adopt* the Acadian culture, and/ *Much* m/ *Well*, it's *more distinct*, too. It's/ It's *easier* to identify than the *English*, uh culture. You know, the English/ What do *we* have? You know, *they* have their, their *music* and their, um, *expressions*, and their *general* approach to *life*, I think, you know? (Reads document again) "In a minority *setting*… the major role of the education system," yeah. They do *very* / Much feel responsible for teaching their children *not just* the ABCs and 123s. That's *definitely*. And, it's what keeps them *strong* as a *culture*, as a *people*, the Acadian people. Because, well, they're/ They are *afraid* to *lose* it, to lose their language. They're *afraid*. And, it's *fear*. Yeah. (speaking louder) It's *fear* that's *still* making a barrier between the English and the French people, because they *think* if they speak English, they're going to lose their *French*. **I** don't think that's *true*. Well, I mean people can be *bilingual* right? And keep *both languages*.

Above she added, "It's almost a requirement [for Francophone children] to adopt the Acadian culture," that this targeted teaching of culture "is what keeps them strong as a culture, as a

people." In (10), Jessica believed that the Acadian emphasis on cultural teaching was designed to stave off pressures to assimilate into Anglophone society. Drawing from her experience as a bilingual, she countered this view, saying, "People can be bilingual, right? And keep both languages." However, at the same time, she had minimized her own connection with Anglophone culture or her immigrant roots, even saying that Acadian culture was easier to identify than "English culture" and asking "What do *we* have?" in terms of cultural identification. Interestingly, Jessica – an Anglophone – attributed the continued "barrier between the English and the French people" to Francophones' fear of losing their distinct identity. In contrast, Jacqueline, Élise, and Élisabeth believed it was the Anglophones who would prefer not to have Francophone culture imposed on them.

In her journey with French, Jessica valued a strong relationship between language and cultural identity. She had relentlessly pursued Francophone identity and culture. Although she stopped short of calling herself a Francophone, she was proud that others considered her as such. Her identity was thus intimately tied with her perceived linguistic competence and her ability to navigate various Francophone cultures. She was also acutely aware of the Acadians' efforts for cultural and linguistic maintenance through Francophone education. However, while Jessica regarded the French C_2 and L_2 as inherently linked, whether in regard to herself or to Francophones, it did not appear that she had considered how her views might inform her teaching: She gave us no account of cultural discussions in her classroom.

Discussion

In examining FI teachers' perceptions of the relationship between language and culture in the immersion classroom, and the extent to which FI teachers engaged in intercultural mediation, four key themes emerge: Significant variation in language ideologies across regional, family and

educational backgrounds; a separation of language and culture in the classroom; teachers'

apparent ignorance of the cultural outcomes in the curriculum documents; and 'not quite, but

possible' positions on intercultural mediation.

Variation in ideologies

This analysis demonstrates the extent of variation in language ideologies held by

Francophone majority, minority and L2 French immersion teachers and in their perspectives

concerning the role of culture in the Third Grade curriculum, from open conversations about

Francophone culture with students (Jacqueline) to a focus on the language code and linguistic

competency coupled with a non-confrontational stance on cultural issues (Élise). Elizabeth had

no particular regional Francophone cultural attachment and considered French/English

bilingualism as integral in all areas of her life, whether public or private, but was unsure about

the role of Francophone culture in her classroom, while Jessica, the 'Francophoned'

Anglophone, has developed a pan-Francophone affiliation with strong Acadian tendencies

without reflecting on her Francophone identity or integrating it into her teaching.

Separation of language and culture

Despite these differences, all of the teachers suggest a language ideology that emphasizes

"language-as-code", devoid of culture. In order to avoid local, regional, or even national

historical debates on Francophones' cultural and linguistic rights, these teachers believed that

deep cultural discussions did not belong in Anglophone schools, even in FI. This parallels the

perspectives of two Australian teachers of Indonesian in Kohler's (2015) study, who were unsure

how much they should share and thus avoided cultural discussions that might trigger stereotypes

of Indonesian society. While deeply aware of the connection between C_1 and L_1, and of C_2 and

L_2 in their own lives, two of Kohler's (2015) three participants were unwilling to impose their

own cultural backgrounds and perspectives on students in the language classroom.

Lack of awareness of cultural objectives

All of the teachers were unaware that cultural objectives were clearly stated in the

curriculum documents, articulated most clearly by Jessica when she asked, "There's a cultural

component?" There was significant hesitancy in their responses, suggesting the cultural

outcomes were not something they had thought through in their lesson development and

classroom practice. Rather, clear priority was given to the outcomes related to language

acquisition, which they took to be their program's primary objective (apart from the NB

Anglophone curriculum's core standards). Such ambiguities related to cultural objectives in

immersion programs' curricula are in fact not unique to NB. A perusal of Canadian FI programs'

curricula (e.g., British Columbia Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training, 1997; Ontario

Ministry of Education, 2013), and also of curricula from total and dual-immersion programs

offered in the United States (e.g. Louisiana Department of Education, 2013; Utah State Office of

Education, 2017), shows that cultural objectives in immersion curricula, no matter the program

design, vary greatly. What is more, even if their curricula include cultural objectives, very few

programs articulate them within the framework of intercultural competence.

Intercultural mediation

The study also investigated the extent to which teachers considered intercultural mediation to be

part of their role. Based on these case studies, the answer is not clear-cut. It could be argued that

in her daily life, each of the four teachers occupied Kramsch's (2009) "third place," either as a

bilingual Francophone with sufficient competence in English to secure a job in the Anglophone

sector, or a bilingual Anglophone whose French competence enabled her to teach in FI. Each

one's perspective on the social context showed at least some ability to describe all points of view. However, according to their accounts, any intercultural discussions that might have occurred in their classrooms gave way to an emphasis on communicative competence. As Jacqueline said, when pressed for time, "The French gonna get the kick."

Conversely, the teachers indicated very clearly that *they did* conceive of culture as discourse when applied to their personal lives and the Francophone and/or Acadian identity ($L_1 \sim C_1$, or in Jessica's case, $L_2 \sim C_2$). Since the curriculum did not designate specific outcomes concerning the development of ICC, students' exposure to the dialectic relationship between language and culture varied according to teachers' own language ideologies and perhaps available instructional time. One thing was clear: these FI teachers did not conceive of intercultural mediation as part of their role. Even without being familiar with the curriculum documents that were discussed in the interviews, their perspectives aligned with the province's ideological privileging of linguistic code above (inter)cultural development, showing that local or even national language ideologies may influence language teaching in salient ways.

In the United States, essentialist ideologies of an English-only society (see Kearny, 2016 for an overview) seem to be slowly shifting. This is evidenced by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences' (2017) report to a bipartisan group of U.S. Senators and Representatives advocating for increased rates of biliteracy and biculturalism among American students. Currently 28 states and Washington D.C. have adopted the Seal of Biliteracy (Californians Together & Velázquez Press, 2017) and, at the time of the last survey, 590 schools across the country offered some variety of immersion programs (total, partial, or two-way immersion) (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2011). It is an opportune moment, then, to capitalize on this

ideological shift away from linguistic and cultural essentialism and create programs that

intentionally target students' ICC in conjunction with their biliteracy.

Di Stefano (2017) described one such program in her ethnographic case study of a Third

Grade dual-immersion Spanish/English classroom on the East Coast of the United States. She

detailed the practices of Ms. Ramírez, a teacher who actively engaged with her students on

language, identity, and the importance of biculturalism. Di Stefano (2017) noted multiple

occasions during which Ms. Ramírez spoke to her students of her own cultural and linguistic

background, leading to discussions among her students on their own home cultural and linguistic

practices. Discussions incorporated entries by students in their journals in which they described

elements of their identities. Ms. Ramírez's practices reflect her recognition of the socio-semiotic

relationship between language and culture and her conscientious effort to develop this

knowledge in her students, which Kohler (2015) would call intercultural mediation.

To cultivate language teachers' ability to serve as intercultural mediators, Kohler (2015)

recommended pre-service and in-service training designed to help teachers integrate the socio-

semiotic view of language and culture exemplified in their own lives into their classroom

practice. The Intercultural Can-Do Statements developed by ACTFL (2017) and the NCSSL and

the intercultural components of Council of Europe's European Language Portfolio (Little &

Simpson, 2003) also provide useful platforms for the development of curriculum and resource

materials that focus on ICC instruction in immersion and dual-language classrooms. Materials

might be modeled on activities like Ms. Ramírez's identity journal (Di Stefano, 2017) or the

global village model (described in Magnin, 1997 and again in Kearney, 2016) and tailored to

students' levels of communicative competence. In this vein, future research on ICC in immersion

and dual-language programs could address the provision of such professional development training and its immediate and longitudinal outcomes on teachers' practices.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this analysis has demonstrated that, even in Canada where multiculturalism is policy, the development of students' ICC is not always a de facto aim of FI programs or teachers. Ideological ambiguities persist between NB's two official language groups, and these local, regional, and national language ideologies impact how (or even *if*) FI teachers incorporate cultural content in their language instruction. This study's focus was on teachers in a one-way immersion program, and at the entry point of FI, where admittedly, the development of students' linguistic competence is paramount. However, these results may inform teachers' practices in other primary education language programs, such as dual-language or heritage language programs. Recalling that the ideological premise of ICC is a view of language as social practice and culture as discourse, both embedded in their contexts of use, specific generalizations from this study are not possible across contexts. Rather, following Kohler (2015, p. 198), we invite our colleagues—teachers, administrators, and researchers—to continue this dialogue on how language education, even at the elementary level, might help develop students' intercultural identities and to conduct research into classroom practices and program design. We encourage curriculum developers to consider developing carefully delineated intercultural outcomes within their language curriculum. Finally, we note the importance of providing teachers with continued professional development on incorporating intercultural mediation into their teaching.

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Notes

1. Because we have drawn from various scholars in developing our understanding of ICC

(including Byram's *intercultural communicative competence* and Kramsch's *symbolic*

competence), we have adopted the more general term *intercultural competence*.

2. The Canadian census employs the term *Francophone* to designate citizens who select French

as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2016a). While most Francophones in New Brunswick

are Acadian, the demographic data include Francophone migrants from other provinces (Forgues

et al, 2009).

3. This number varies depending on historical source.

4. Education Policy 321 stipulates that children may attend a school if they speak its official

language, are fully competent in both languages, or speak neither official language. The only

exception is *ayant droit* children, of mixed parentage or with at least one Francophone parent but

lacking high competence in French who may attend French schools. In rare cases, Anglophone

children with high competence in French may petition to transfer to Francophone schools (Policy 321). Francophone children may not attend FI in Anglophone schools.

5. This is not an exact count; some teachers may have been on leave. This count is based on school profiles on the District's website.

6. In September 2017, entry into Early FI moved to First Grade.

7. Verbatim quotes have been lightly edited (e.g. removing 'um', insignificant pauses, etc.). The symbol / indicates a sentence ending prematurely. Italics indicate words participants accentuated; bold indicates authors' emphasis.

8. This concept has to do with an organized approach to minority Franco-Canadian socio-cultural activism with the aim of social and cultural revitalization through the establishment of public Francophone spaces and services (see also Author, 2014a).

9. It is common in this region to use *English* and *Anglophone* and *French* and *Francophone* interchangeably.