

‘Beyond Green and White’
Understanding the role of institutionalism in the
“Programme d’appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)”



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Summary

A unique programme entitled the “Programme d’appui aux nouveaux arrivants” (PANA) exists in the Canadian majority Anglophone province of Ontario, within the minority French-language education system. This programme offers additional support to newcomer immigrant children who are undereducated and need assistance to catch up academically to their Canadian-born peers through a formal curriculum policy. This study linked the discussion of education policy as a means for collective identity construction to the fostering of a diverse and inclusive society, through analysis of the case of the PANA programme. It did so especially through the lens of the institutionalism inherent in the French-language education system.

Policy analysis of the PANA formal curriculum documents, as well as qualitative interviews with actors at the provincial, regional and local levels of educational governance in the province, generated interesting reflections. Notably, institutionalism, while having a role in the PANA programme does not define it. This finding differed from the expectations of the study which were based on historical institutionalism and integration theories.

The use of an abductive methodology revealed the existence of a complex web of actors involved in the governance of the PANA programme and its associated policy framework. These actors hold differing interpretations of the PANA programme and its relative importance when it comes to the dichotomy of collective identity construction and diversity and inclusion. Ultimately, local teachers, as the actors responsible for the implementation, are street-level bureaucrats who hold a high level of discretion within an opportunity transparent field, allowing for agency. They are, in fact, mandated to alter the programme to local demands through the concept of prudential curriculum, and adapt it to each child through ‘différenciation pédagogique’. This discretion is expressed by actors holding a broad range of understanding, training and motivation.

While it does create some challenges, it is recommended that the potential flexibility within the institutional framework of the French-language education system be used to implement more training, standardisation and centralisation, and thus ensure a more consistent quality of the service provided through the PANA programme within the province.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Education is universally regarded as having a role far beyond its pedagogical aims. It fundamentally influences child development (Levin, 2007) and shapes behaviour (Dodds, 2013). To ensure full participation in scholastic life, schools must address students' particular needs.

Education is not equal for all, quality and access to education widely depending on context. Some children, refugees particularly, may have experienced challenges such as frequent disruptions, limited access to schooling, language barriers in school, low quality of previous education, and various forms of discrimination (Dryden-Peterson, 2015). What happens to these children once they are resettled? These issues do not simply disappear, and additional support and programmes may be needed to help them achieve success, both with their education and with their social integration.

In the Canadian province of Ontario, which receives more than 45% of all immigrants to Canada (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2019), a curriculum policy exists with the specific aim of addressing the needs of immigrant children through additional support. The 'Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants' (PANA) is a full curriculum policy outlining specialised support for immigrant children. The case of the PANA programme is curious as it is only available in the minority French-language education system, though the English and French-language education systems are usually more or less reflections of one another. Surely, immigrant children who do not happen to be Francophone, but instead attending Ontario's majority English language schools have the same needs. This begs a few questions. Why is this curriculum policy only available in the French-language education system? Is there something particular about the Francophone community in Ontario which would lead to the development of such a programme?

In this introductory chapter, the aim of the study will be presented along with the guiding research questions. Then, both the theoretical and societal relevance of the study will be discussed.

1.1 Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The puzzling existence of the unique PANA programme in the French-language education system led to preliminary research and questioning about the differences between the French and English-language education systems in Ontario. Through initial explorations, a particular institutional path for collective identity construction was observed within the context of the minority French-language education in Ontario. The aim of the study was thus to examine and understand the specific nature of the programme and explore how the institutionalism of collective identity

construction plays a role in its existence. The study's research questions directed the exploration more concretely and are as follows.

Research Question

What role does the institutionalism of collective identity construction within the minority French-language education system in Ontario play in the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” curriculum for immigrant children?

Sub-questions

- 1. What does the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” specifically entail, and what are its main objectives?*
- 2. How has the minority Francophone community in Ontario used education as an institution for collective identity construction?*
- 3. Does the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” use collective identity construction to foster the integration of immigrant children?*

1.2 Relevance

The following section outlines the theoretical and societal relevance of the study and its research questions.

Theoretical Relevance

“Public administration has neglected public education” (Raffel, 2007, 135). This statement supports the relevance of this study, strengthening the field by integrating education policy in the discussion of public policy and politics. A concentration on institutionalism and how it interacts with collective identity creation and integration provides insights into the field of public education, and especially of immigrant education. The focus on the PANA programme in the minority French-language system is especially relevant, its existence being noteworthy given that the usually parallel majority English-language system has not chosen to create an equivalent cohesive strategy through formal curriculum. This study adds to knowledge of the way formal curriculum is created.

Insights on institutionalism and the agency of actors expands understanding of the way teachers and policymakers develop and deliver the PANA programme within a highly

institutionalised context, thus contributing to the body of literature which reintroduces actors' agency to institutional analysis (See Leca et al., 2008).

The study also contributes to the existing body of work in the field of migration pointing to the role of education in integration and ultimately social cohesion. After all, "the success (or lack of) integration in schools can affect the future labour market and social integration potential of children and youth" (Cerna, 2019, 4).

Societal Relevance

Education goes beyond pure pedagogy and acts as a site of nation-making (Waters & Leblanc, 2005; Dodds, 2013), or as it is referred to in this study, collective identity construction, shaping "who and what students are and become" (Winter, 2017, 59). Studies in the field of education are thus vital to society since schools are viewed "as the place where children will be inoculated against all social ills or taught all values" (Levin, 2007), a place where integration can happen. In addition to the motivations of equality and social justice, there is an economic cost when schools fail to properly educate immigrant children (Cummins, 2011), especially if it leads to marginalisation or segregation. It is therefore vital to understand immigrant education policies fully.

In the Canadian context, where 'multiculturalism' is regarded as a national value (Berry, 2011) and imagery of a 'Canadian mosaic' (Day, 2000) are idealised, the anomaly of the existence of the PANA programme provides important perspectives for further developments in support of immigrant children's education.

Understanding the policy framework and how this programme has been established and implemented can ultimately help comprehend what happens to under-educated or traumatised children when they arrive in their host country, provide lessons for other jurisdictions, and advance further development of the PANA programme itself.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter lays out the theoretical groundwork for the remainder of the study. It begins with a literature review of three relevant topics: institutionalism, the agency possible within institutions, and integration and education. Gaps in the literature will be described, and finally, expectations deduced from the outlined theories are presented.

In the context of this study, it was important to consider institutionalism to answer the research question, which has at its base, a focus on the role institutionalism has played in the PANA programme. It was important, however, also to look at agency within institutions in order to gain a more nuanced view of the actual situation and understand potential deviations within the fairly firm structure of education. To add to this point, it was necessary to delve into theories of policy discretion since the institutionalised governance structure of education in Ontario is rife with decentralised power and street-level bureaucrats.

Theories of integration and education were relevant in that their foundations could clarify how a curriculum could help foster integration of immigrant children, while also acknowledging the tension between integration and diversity present both in the larger societal context, as well as in the PANA programme.

2.1 Literature Review

The literature review begins with an overview of institutionalism, with a primary focus on historical institutionalism, before discussing agency, or actors and their role in institutional change through the concepts of institutional entrepreneurship and policy discretion. It then addresses education's role in integration. All these theoretical concepts are considered within the Canadian context.

2.1.1 Institutionalism

Institutions are “formal and informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organisational structure of the polity” (Hall & Taylor, 1996, 6). They “transmit a shared view of the world” (Bekkers et al., 2017, 66) and ensure a particular interpretation by actors and highly influence the course and content of policy processes. The stabilising character of institutions results from the way national constitutions outline rules, norms, values and opinions, thus laying the groundwork for future decisions.

The base idea shared among all the schools of thought of ‘new institutionalisms’ is that policies are, to a certain degree, predetermined by institutions (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Historical

institutionalism is built on political science tradition which considers formal political institutions as highly important and expands the conceptions of which institutions matter (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutional organisation of the polity is, therefore, the principal factor structuring the collective behaviour leading to particular outcomes. This approach focuses on the implicit ‘structuralism’ in institutions. There is a strong view that institutional development is affected by unintended consequences and path dependence (Greener, 2002). Public policies and formal institutions, at their very core, are designed to be difficult to change, encouraging policy continuity (Cerna, 2013).

Historical institutionalism is therefore relevant in this case as it holds explanatory power in understanding the structuralism inherent in the minority French-language education system in Ontario, and the context within which the PANA programme is offered. In fact, Lessard & Brassard (2004) state, “Canadian education is itself embedded in a number of institutions, policies and ways of thinking about problems inherited from the past” (2).

2.1.2 Agency within Institutions

While theories of institutionalism, especially of integration as a collective identity construction model within educational governance, explain existing structures and stability within policy directions, such a perspective views policies as predetermined, minimising the agency of actors within the policy framework. Concepts of agency within institutionalism can enrich and nuance the discussion. DiMaggio’s (1988) ‘institutional entrepreneurship’ was introduced to reconsider agency within institutional analysis. The theory of policy discretion of street-level bureaucrats flows from this idea of agency and explains the power individual actors such as teachers can exercise within institutional structures.

The introduction of the concept of institutional entrepreneur has in essence reinstated agency into institutional theory (Abdelnour et al., 2017). It seeks to resolve the paradox of embedded agency in which there is a tension between institutional determinism and agency (Leca et al., 2008). Abdelnour et al. (2017) state, “institutional entrepreneurship and work ‘resolve’ this puzzle by attributing actors with heightened agentic capabilities vis-a-vis institutions” (1781). Theories of institutional entrepreneurship argue that with the proper enabling conditions, agency is possible, namely: (1) the enabling role of field-level conditions; (2) the enabling of actors’ social position; and (3) the enabling role of actors’ specific characteristics (Leca et al., 2008).

A typology developed by Dorado (2005) indicates ‘opportunity transparent’ organisational fields are ideal to allow for agency. This means it is both heterogeneous, with several overlapping

institutional referents available, and has a substantial degree of institutionalisation, without being extreme. Dorado (2005) also notes when an organisational field is opportunity transparent, actors' own perception of the opacity will have an impact on their response and agency within the system. If they view the field as 'transparent' rather than 'opaque' or 'hazy', they are more likely to innovate. Dorado's visualisation of the dominant forms of organisational fields in relation to their potential to expose institutional opportunities can be seen in Figure 1¹ below.

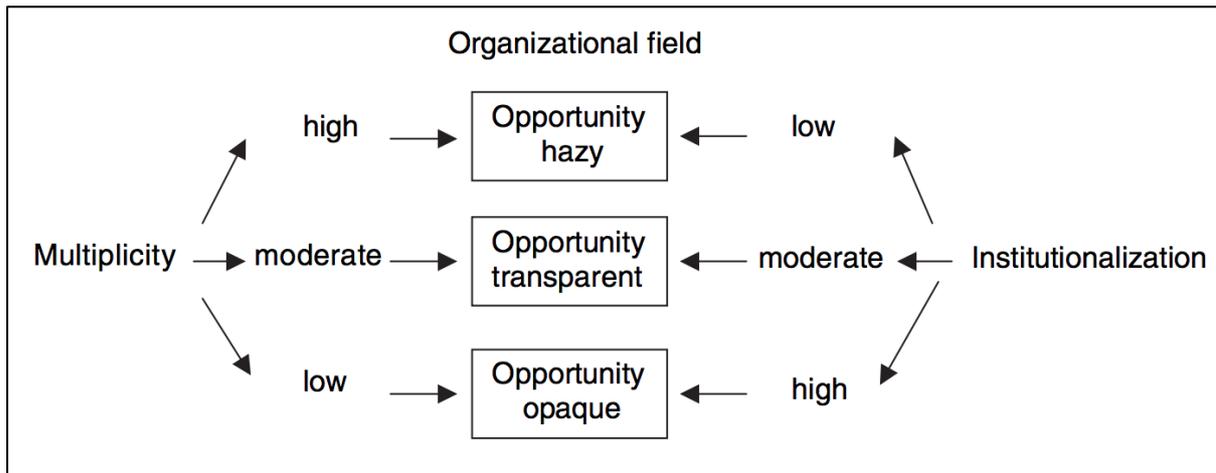


Figure 1: Dorado's Typology of Organisational Fields

In terms of actors' social position, it has been suggested that actors who are at the margins of an institutional framework will have most agency to act as institutional entrepreneurs, especially those with social skills, empathy, and the ability to link projects with their own characteristics and motivate other actors to cooperate (Leca et al., 2008).

Lounsbury & Crumley (2007) critique the notion of institutional entrepreneur due to its invocation of 'hero' imagery and prefer to focus on the actions of individuals or small groups of actors. They propose the idea of distributed agency in which there is no grand plan, but rather, incremental change brought about by collective practices over time.

When considering a large group of actors incrementally bringing about change in policy through practice, 'street-level bureaucrats' come to mind. In Lipsky's (1980) seminal work, he introduces the 'street-level bureaucrat' as a public service worker who, through his work, must interact directly with citizens and has a certain discretion in the implementation of policy. In Lipsky's view, this discretion can lead to distortions, and he states that rather than being 'policy takers' street-level bureaucrats are the real policymakers (Baviskar & Winter, 2017). These

¹ Retrieved from (Dorado, 2005, 395).

frontline practitioners include teachers who work directly with the targeted audience of the policy since they are the ones responsible for implementing the curriculum with students. Teachers in fact, “have broad latitude over how they work” and are tasked with the implementation of the curriculum policy “in situations of human interaction” (Vedung, 2015, 15). This human interaction leads to a very real adjustment of the policy to the reality in front of them, making them prime candidates for the role of street-level bureaucrats.

Complexity within the bureaucratic structure means that street-level bureaucrats’ interpretation of organisational policies is key in informally constructing and reconstructing the policies they are implementing (Akosa & Asare, 2017). One way they use this discretion is through coping strategies. These coping mechanisms are necessary due to the high demands of the ‘clients’ coupled with the limited availability of resources. To deal with this reality, street-level bureaucrats “develop routines and short-cuts for coping with their everyday jobs” (Vedung, 2015, 16).

The complexity of the organisational structure through which the PANA programme is offered raises the question of whether it is enough to understand it solely through the lens of the institutionalism inherent in the collective identity construction within the French-language education system. Policy discretion of street-level bureaucrats, in this case, teachers, also appears to enhance understanding of the agency of actors within the existing complex institutional structure.

2.1.3 Integration and Education

Another consideration of the role institutions play in shaping educational governance, is multicultural education and the link between integration and education. This notion was salient within the context of this study as the focus is on the existence of a specific curriculum for the support of immigrant children in schools.

While the term ‘integration’ is often used, some authors contest the word itself and it is used quite inconsistently (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al., 2001). In their seminal work, Ager and Strang (2008) propose a framework outlining ten core domains in normative understandings of integration: employment, housing, education, health, social bridges, social bonds, social links, language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability and rights and citizenship. The first four make up ‘markers’ and ‘means’ to measure the achievement and access across different sectors. Education would, therefore, indicate successful integration (marker) when it is happening, and, importantly, it would itself support the achievement of integration (mean).

This connection of education as a means of integration is critical when looking at the education of immigrant children. School enables them to learn the skills and competences to support future employment and ensure they become constructive and active members of society (Ager & Strang, 2008). In addition, schools serve as “the most important place of contact with members of local host communities” (Ager & Strang, 2008, 172; Mulholland & Biles, 2004), leading to important relationships crucial for supporting integration (Wessendorf & Phillimore, 2019). Education itself can be a personal resource as it develops problem analysis and solving skills which in turn lead to better adaptation (Berry, 1997). It correlates to other resources such as income, occupational status, support networks, etc., acting as protective factors (Berry, 1997). In many cases, education can provide immigrants with an introduction of what it means to be a national from a certain place (Apple, 2019), providing them with the necessary tools: language, history, values and norms of the new culture (Berry, 1997).

While it is the government’s task to lead on integration, successful integration is only possible if all sectors of society, including the education sector, play a role (Berry, 2011; O’Neill, 2001). A popular strategy has been for education systems to adopt a ‘multicultural education’ approach. Expected outcomes are reductions in achievement gaps, increased enrolment, retention in higher education settings of visible minority students or those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and greater educational quality (Castagno, 2009). When educating for pluralism, Castagno (2009) emphasises the celebration and respect of ‘differences’.

Schools, as important sites of political socialisation, contribute to citizens’ development of political identities, values and behaviours that remain persistent well into adulthood (Neundorf & Smets, 2017). Curricula, teaching style, and socialisation with peers all play a role in this socialisation process (Dudley & Gitelson, 2010). Government, controls curricula and scholars such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have argued schooling has always played a role in the formation and maintenance of the nation-state by reproducing dominant ideologies. Within this study, such an idea takes form in the use of curriculum as an integration tool aiming to create a collective identity and ultimately serve the interest of the state in its goal to promote and maintain the Franco-Ontarian identity.

In this case, the concept of nation-building through integration in schools describes a narrower niche limited to collective identity construction rather than nation-building in its traditional sense as ‘what it means to be a national from a certain place’. It is particularly interested in instilling a common language, history and values of ‘Franco-Ontarians’ - a minority subsection of the population of Ontario which is an Anglophone province within a larger confederation.

An important discussion in the debate on integration is that of the ‘progressive dilemma’. It is the idea that multicultural policies undermine social cohesion and weaken a sense of collective identity (Kymlicka, 2015). While there have been many studies to dispute this idea, it remains an important concept within the political realm (Bauböck & Scholten, 2016). Wright & Bloemraad (2012) propose that multiculturalism policies can, in fact, foster socio-political integration and that it in no case hinders engagement with society and government of immigrants in their adoptive nations. The typical argument against multiculturalism is social identity theory, stating there is a need for a sense of ‘we’ which multiculturalism would dilute. There is, however, no basis to this claim. In Canada in fact, those who identify most strongly with a Canadian identity usually have a more sympathetic view of immigrants, and the concept of multiculturalism is even embedded symbolically in the Canadian constitution (Banting, 2010).

Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos (2015) have argued multicultural governance supports the ultimate aim of integration policy, namely “the socialisation of immigrants into prevailing national languages, norms and institutions” (663). This would align with Kymlicka’s (2015) ‘multicultural nationalism’ which Bloemraad argues fits the mould in Canada very well, having evolved over decades of immigration and cultural conflict (Bauböck & Scholten, 2016).

The decentralised nature of Canada’s federal system complicates the discussion on multiculturalism and integration (Good, 2018). It creates variances with support for these policies, with variations in collective identity based on belonging to historic communities (Soroka et al., 2007). For example, two of the so-called ‘founding people’, the Francophones in Quebec and the Aboriginal peoples are the least integrated into a common sense of national identity (Soroka et al., 2007). With these cultural and linguistic differences in mind, it is interesting to examine a minority Francophone community outside Quebec.

2.2 Gaps in the Literature

Curriculum policy is a “neglected topic” in research literature (Connelly & Connelly, 2010, 4; Looney, 2001). Connelly & Connelly suggest this may be because policy analysts are often administration scholars, while those who are curriculum scholars concentrate on philosophical concerns rather than policy analysis.

When it comes to curriculum policy, there is much left unstudied. Curriculum development processes often go undocumented, since there is a notion that although the process is formalised, it involves many informal interactions and takes place with many consultations which do not lead to documentation (Levin, 2007), making them inherently difficult to study.

Official bilingualism complicates studies of Canadian public policy as it is possible to overlook the reality of one or the other communities and its governance structures or to assume both have perfectly parallel policies. For example, one of the most comprehensive studies of existing literature on Canadian immigrant education ignored the bilingual nature of the country, and in the methodology, used only English search terms (Ratković, et al., 2017), thus limiting its results to policy and research written in English. The current study attempted to rectify such mistakes by concentrating on a programme offered only in the minority language context and acknowledging this difference.

The case of the PANA programme is unique in its acknowledgement of the reality and particular needs of the immigrant child (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010). In contrast, the Ontario majority English-language education system, as well as many other jurisdictions within Canada, do not formally provide such additional support in a cohesive curriculum (Ratković, et al., 2017). An initial literature review indicated the PANA programme has not been the focus of many empirical studies to date. The sole work found was a longitudinal study on the establishment of the PANA programme from 2010-2013 (Fleuret et al., 2018). The limited scope of studies executed in this field is a missed opportunity.

2.3 Expectations of Study

Based on the theories outlined earlier in this chapter, two expectations were established to guide the research; one regarding the institutionalism of collective identity construction in the French-language education system and its strong impact on the PANA programme, and the other relating to the PANA programme's use of collective identity construction as a way to integrate newcomers.

- (1) In Ontario, constitutionally protected rights of French-language minorities evolved into an institutionalised goal within the French-language education system to protect, valorise and transmit the French language and culture within its minority context (Fleuret et al., 2018). It was therefore expected that the additional interest of French-language educational actors in supporting immigrant children in Ontario did not come from a particular abundance of 'goodwill', but rather from the continued goal of the Francophone community to increase its population through immigration (Dobi & Peter, 2017). In this case, evidence of substantial institutionalisation was expected due to the historical structuralism present in the French-language education system of Ontario.

To summarise, the first expectation, related to SQ2, was that through

institutionalised formal policies such as curricula the Francophone community in Ontario employed education as an institution of collective identity construction to further cultural preservation.

- (2) The historical and socio-political context in Ontario suggests an increase in diversity would be accompanied by a parallel rise in enrolment of immigrant children in French-language education schools. The schools' pre-existing task of constructing a collective Francophone identity among students (Gérin-Lajoie, 2004), shaped through institutionalism can, therefore, be relatively easily expanded to include the immigrant population and ultimately foster integration.

The PANA curriculum mentions the 'Francophone identity' frequently (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a). This issue runs deep within the core of Canadian politics and has become a cultural institution nationally and provincially. Fleuret et al. (2018) go so far as to call bilingualism one of the cornerstones of Canadian identity (10). These identity politics play out at both the national as well as the local level (Fraser, 2007), where street-level bureaucrats implement the provincial education policy through curriculum.

In summary, the second expectation related to SQ3 was that the PANA programme would have as one of its goals to integrate immigrant children and to do so with the use of the collective identity construction of a Franco-Ontarian identity. While multiculturalism is identified as a value in the Canadian context, it was expected that the strong institutionalism of collective identity construction within the French-language education system would lead to a stronger tendency towards integration into one homogenous identity rather than the promotion of diversity.

Chapter 3. Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the study's research design and methodology. First, the research question and sub-questions are reiterated, with a description of the way these were operationalised for measurement based on the theoretical concepts presented. Methods of data collection and analysis are explained, namely policy analysis and qualitative interviews. Finally, ethical considerations are addressed.

3.1 Research Questions

The following research questions were explored in the context of this study:

(RQ) What role does the institutionalism of collective identity construction within the minority French-language education system in Ontario play in the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” curriculum for immigrant children?

The first sub-question has a descriptive quality and was posed to provide a solid base of understanding of the PANA programme and to enrich the analysis.

(SQ1) What does the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” specifically entail, and what are its main objectives?

To execute a full analysis and answer the overarching research question, the following sub-questions were addressed:

(SQ2) How has the minority Francophone community in Ontario used education as an institution for collective identity construction?

(SQ3) Does the “programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” use collective identity construction to foster integration of immigrant children?

3.2 Operationalisation

As defined by Babbie (2013), operationalisation goes beyond conceptualisation and is “the process of developing operational definitions or specifying the exact operations involved in measuring a variable” (556). In order to specify the operationalisation of variables, it was important however to first identify them. See Figure 2 below.

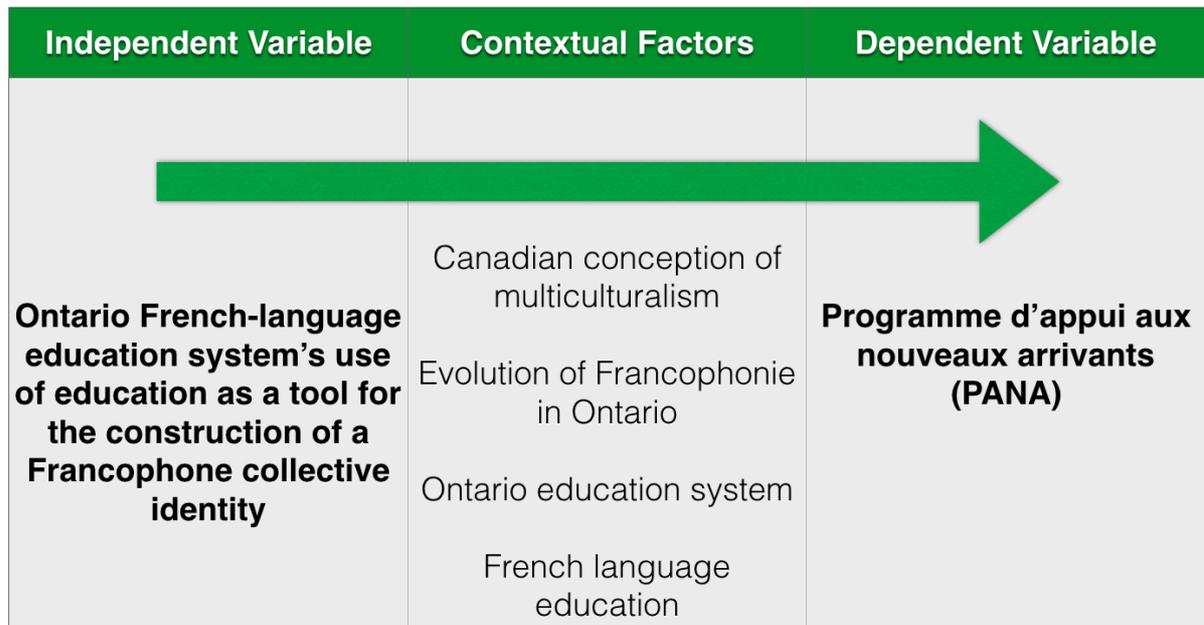


Figure 2: Variables

The Independent Variable in this study, i.e. *Ontario French-language education system's use of education as a tool for the construction of a Francophone collective identity*, is expected to have explanatory power in understanding the workings of the Dependent Variable, i.e. the *Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)* as a curriculum for immigrant education. As previously elaborated, the need for cultural preservation of the Francophone community coupled with its institutionalised collective identity construction could provide a structural base within which integrating immigrant children naturally flows. It was expected that clarifying the institutional nature of education's role in Francophone collective identity construction through empirical research as well as an exploration of the contextual factors playing a role in the larger framework of Ontario French-language education would lead to insight into the PANA programme.

An expansion of the contextual factors provides additional and necessary background in Chapter 4. The key concepts of institutionalism, collective identity construction and immigrant education which fall under the umbrellas of both the independent and dependent variables were operationalised through the application of the theories laid out in Chapter 2 and aligned with expectations. The concepts outlined in the operationalisation guided the study in order to answer the main research questions. See Table 1 below.

Variables	Key Concepts		Attributes	Indicators
<u>Independent</u> (Ontario French-language education system's use of education as a tool for the construction of a Francophone collective identity)	Education as an institutional framework		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - constitutional right to minority language education - official commitment to multiculturalism - complex funding mechanisms in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use of Federal funding for additional programming (both promoting multiculturalism and/or the French-language) - creation of commissions reporting on the state of the education system - existence of directives for hiring particular types of teachers - tax system set up for taxpayers to support the school system of their choice - strategic use of student recruitment to secure more funding
	Collective identity construction	Franco-Ontarian identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identification and categorisation of Franco-Ontarians - existence of Franco-Ontarian self-identity - commonality, connectedness and groupness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - distinction between students with minority language rights and those without - regulations in place to determine eligibility to a French-language school - existence of material and symbolic representations of Franco-Ontarian identity (i.e. flag, song, etc.) - desire for maintenance of Francophone identity made explicit - nation-building aims in curriculum - strong desire for French-language services - province-wide Franco-Ontarian events - provincial Franco-Ontarian associations
<u>Dependent</u> (Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants)	Immigrant education for integration		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inclusive immigrant policy - cultural values part of the curriculum - differences celebrated and respected - additional "official" language education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mentions of development of skills and competencies (for future employment) - learning objectives enumerated include becoming active members of society and civic engagement - involvement of parents as a point of contact creation - explicit mentions of values such as multiculturalism, diversity, gender equality - funding for second-language education

Table 1: Operationalisation

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Both policy analysis, as well as qualitative interviews, were used to answer the research questions.

3.3.1 Policy Analysis

Policy analysis served as a base to answer the descriptive sub-question, SQ1, with the aim of understanding the content, objectives and functioning of the PANA programme. This methodology was chosen based on the concept that policy analysis can provide “a way for understanding how and why governments enact certain policies, and their effects” (Browne et al., 2018, 1032), a notion which aligns well with the aims of the present study.

Standard policy analysis methods were used to execute the analysis of the collected curriculum policies. Using abductive methods, an open codebook with broad categories was utilised to code in the qualitative research programme Atlas.ti. In Reichertz's (2010) conceptualisation, the abductive method to social research is a 'means-of-inferencing'. It is founded in scientific knowledge coupled with the flexibility of leaving space for insight which in turn creates new knowledge. In the case of this study, the operationalisation table was first created as a base for the codebook and informed by theories of education as an institutional framework, collective identity construction and immigrant education for integration. Rather than simply logically testing expectations, being prepared "for being taken unprepared" (Reichertz, 2010, 221) meant additional theories and findings could be explored. As a result of this approach, theories such as policy discretion and agency within institutionalism came to the forefront, ultimately allowing for more interesting results and a better understanding of the PANA programme under study.

Looney (2001) argues it can be of great use to analyse curriculum as a 'policy' rather than focusing on 'curriculum analysis'. To justify this in the context of this study, some elaboration on the nature of curriculum as policy is necessary. There are three forms of curriculum policy: formal, implicit and prudential (Connelly & Connelly, 2010). The formal involves official, mandatory statements of what will be taught to students. The implicit are policies at various administrative and government levels influencing curriculum practices, as well as statements, documents, suggestions and other matters that accompany formal curriculum but do not have the weight of mandatory requirements. The prudential includes practical wisdom, knowledge used by teachers and administrators as they adapt the two other forms of curriculum to local situations.

In Ontario, no overall statement or single curriculum policy exists. Rather, the formal curriculum, *The Ontario Curriculum*, consists of many related policy documents and a collection of many detailed documents organised by subject within elementary (Grades 1-8) and secondary (Grades 9-12) levels (Connelly & Connelly, 2010). Within these are the PANA programme documents describing the expectations and learning objectives for those students at each level.

Two formal curriculum documents were accessed through the Ontario Ministry of Education's website and analysed. This website has a publicly accessible database of all curricula which makes up *The Ontario Curriculum*. Together these two extensive documents represent the entirety of the PANA formal policy. Within the scope of the study, it was assessed that focusing on the PANA formal curriculum itself for policy analysis would be sufficient in providing context to the findings as well as laying out a base to answer the descriptive sub-question SQ1. The

analysed documents are from the Ministry of Education's revised *Curriculum de l'Ontario 2010* programmes of study which continue to be in effect:

- 1) Le curriculum de l'Ontario, de la 1re à la 8e année - Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants, 2010
- 2) Le curriculum de l'Ontario de la 9e à la 12e année - Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants, 2010

These comprehensive documents are 125 and 292 pages in length, respectively. Analysis of the Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants formal policy documents also contributed to answering the two more analytical sub-questions SQ2-3.

Throughout the study, it became clear the formal curriculum documents were not the only policy documents with an impact on the implementation of the PANA programme. Apart from the analysis of formal PANA curriculum documents, a careful reading of the implicit curriculum policies within the broader framework provided an understanding of the positioning of the PANA programme within its context. These additional policies were chosen based on references made both in the formal PANA curriculum policy, as well as mentioned in interviews. In total, ten additional policy documents were included. A list of these resources can be found in Appendix A.

3.3.2 Qualitative Interviews

As previously indicated, curriculum policy involves a third, more informal interaction in the form of prudential curriculum (Connelly & Connelly, 2010). To fully understand the institutionalism of collective identity construction inherent in the French-language education system, and in turn the PANA programme, policy analysis would not suffice. More 'digging' in the form of interviews was necessary.

Education governance involves a combination of provincial ministry, regional school board, and local school-level participation in Ontario (Levin, 2007). Key actors in curriculum policy at each level were identified and interviewed to gain their perspectives on three aspects of the PANA curriculum: the formal, implicit and prudential. Both snowball and thematic selection contributed to locating appropriate contacts for the interviews.

Snowball selection ensured the possibility for the 'sample' to evolve throughout the course of the research (Barglowski, 2018). Starting with a small selection of interviewees, each respondent was asked to suggest additional people for interviewing (Babbie, 2013). To avoid being tied to one network, or one type of actor, multiple points of entry were used, and contacts gained through previous interlocutors. The use of theoretical sampling through research and interviews

ensured that as the theoretical understanding evolved and the thematic direction of the research was solidified, new relevant interlocutors could be included in the study (Barglowski, 2018). The clearest example of theoretical sampling from the study is the eventual inclusion of school board level and community centres contacts affiliated with the Programme des travailleuses et travailleurs en établissement dans les écoles (TÉÉ). This was done as the importance of the broader network beyond the PANA programme itself became evident.

In all, ten interviews were conducted, as well as two expert discussions. These experts were involved with curriculum development and provincial intercultural training respectively. Table 2 below provides a detailed list of interview respondents. Interviews spanned the regions of Eastern-Ontario, Southern-Ontario, and densely populated Toronto, of which three School Boards were covered, both public and catholic. Contacts from Northern-Ontario were reached and willing to participate, however, the PANA programme is not present in their communities due to lack of immigration to the Northern region.

Name	Title	Position within Ontario Education Governance Framework
Godbout, Claude	Enseignant ALF-PANA (ALF-PANA teacher)	School (Elementary)
Hueglin, Marie-Andrée	Enseignante-ressource (Resource teacher responsible for PANA)	School (Elementary)
Routhier, Carolle	Enseignante (Teacher - formerly responsible for PANA)	School (Secondary)
Stadler, Ingrid	Enseignante en affectation spéciale PED M-12, Littératie et Approche ÉLOÉ (Special assignment teacher PED K-12, Literacy and ÉLOÉ Approach)	School Board
Stadler, Ingrid	Enseignante en affectation spéciale PED M-12, Littératie et Approche ÉLOÉ (Special assignment teacher PED K-12, Literacy and ÉLOÉ Approach)	School Board
Taillon, Nadine	Enseignante en affectation spéciale ALF-PANA M-12 (Special assignment teacher ALF-PANA K-12)	School Board
Anonymous A ²	-	School Board
Anonymous B ³	(Involved with PANA and TÉÉ programmes)	School Board

² This respondent was willing to participate in the study on the condition that she would remain anonymous.

³ This respondent consented to participation in an interview and verbally accepted the terms of the information and consent form. However, due to logistical problems presented by a COVID-19 related home office situation, she was unable to provide the signed document. For this reason, her participation in the study remains included but she has been anonymised.

Newton, Debra	Agente d'éducation (Education Officer)	Ontario Ministry of Education
Lamarche, Charles	- Coordonnateur - QA en ALF/PANA (Coordinator - Additional Qualification Training for ALF/PANA) - Ancien Agent d'éducation (Former Education Officer)	- Provincial Community Centre (Centre Franco) - Ontario Ministry of Education
Marotte, Didier	Directeur Général (Executive Director)	Regional Community Centre (Centre communautaire Francophone Windsor-Essex-Kent)

Table 2: Interview Respondents

Since very little has been previously written about the PANA curriculum, a great deal of flexibility was allotted to the interlocutors in order to hear the full range of experience. A semi-structured interview style with an interview guide organising questions and major thematic sections provided direction for the interview while also leaving flexibility for respondents to steer the interview as they deemed most relevant (Wengraf, 2011). The content of the interview was then transcribed with the assistance of F5 software and analysed through coding in Atlas.ti. The original interview guide in French can be found in Appendix B along with its translation in Appendix C.

3.4 Case Selection

Though the notion of a 'case' has yet to find a consensus within social research, the study relied on Babbie's (2013) definition as a "limitation of attention to a particular instance of something" (338). Attention was limited to a particular instance of institutionalism, specifically how education as an institution of collective identity construction has led to the development of the PANA programme curriculum in Ontario.

Barglowski indicates the importance of defining the research site, unit of analysis and participants in a study: *where? what? who?* (2018). Given the qualitative nature of this research, case selection was executed using a purposive methodology to establish a useful and representative case.

Where?

Considering the link between education and integration, the location in which a study of this nature takes place is important. Berry (2011) argues receiving countries' policies and populations' attitudes regarding immigration have a major impact on the success or failure of immigrant

children's integration. In the Canadian model of multiculturalism and integration, according to Berry, there is a “happy coinciding of public opinion with public policy” (2.10).

While immigration is dealt with at a federal level, education policy is a provincial responsibility (Lessard & Brassard, 2004). The OECD has highlighted Ontario as a leader in education reform (OECD, 2011). It is the largest province in Canada of which 27% of students were born outside of Canada and 20% are members of visible minorities (OECD, 2011, 71).

What?

Within the province of Ontario, a wide range of policy documents touches on the subject of immigrant children education (Ratković, et al., 2017). It is, however, highly unusual for differences to exist between the English and French-language curricula. The PANA programme as an exception of a programme that does not exist in the English-language education system, thus raised questions.

Who?

As per paragraph 3.3.2, a variety of provincial, regional and local actors are involved in both policy formulation and implementation of the PANA programme and were included in this case study. These included policymakers in the French Language Teaching, Learning and Achievement Division of the provincial Ministry of Education, as well as staff from regional school boards and teachers responsible for the implementation of the PANA curriculum in local schools.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

In social research, ethical considerations must be addressed (Babbie, 2013). Creating questionnaires and topic guides in advance ensured bias was not present in the formulation of interview questions and minimised the interviewer's own considerations in discussion with interlocutors. An additional step of journaling allowed for personal reflections to be immediately recorded after the interview. This step allowed for mindful examination of the interviewer's personal reaction if respondents' comments were different than expected and made it possible to recognise if adjustments in next steps were needed to ‘follow’ data where it led.

Protection of consent and privacy, confidentiality, and transparency were regarded with the utmost respect. Interview respondents signed an informed consent form detailing the purpose of the study, the exact procedure of the interview, potential risks and benefits involved,

confidentiality measures taken, as well as the way results would be shared (with them and more broadly).

Audio recordings of interviews were made with respondents given the option of refusing before commencement. These recordings were safely stored on an encrypted device and will be kept, as prescribed in the consent privacy forms, for five years before destruction.

Chapter 4: Context

This chapter provides a vital contextual background of the variables inherent in the *French-language education system of Ontario's use of education as a tool for the construction of a Francophone collective identity* and the *Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants*. These include the particular conception of multiculturalism in Canada, the evolution of Francophonie in Ontario, the framework of the education system in the province, and more specifically of Ontario French-language education.

These contextual factors provide a broader understanding of the backdrop within which the PANA programme is situated, as well as evidence to substantiate the assumption that education is used as an institution for collective identity construction within the minority Francophone community in Ontario.

4.1 Canadian Conception of Multiculturalism

The idea of 'Canadian Exceptionalism' of multiculturalism is pervasive. In law, Canada recognises, "the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1985, Preamble). According to Bloemraad (2012), "the Canadian immigration-as-nation-building paradigm is rooted in a particular set of policies and institutions; it is about permanent settlement and integration into a diverse citizenry, where legal systems, public policy, and political structures encourage engagement and membership" (7). She explains that both the Canadian society as well as the immigrants view their immigration as permanent leading to government policies to promote integration, often through community organisation partnerships. The government's stated priorities reflect this mix in a document entitled *Plans & Priorities for Citizenship and Immigration Canada*. In it, the former Ministry responsible for Immigration emphasised the need for a two-way process to integration and described Canada's approach to integration as, "one that encourages a process of mutual accommodation and adjustment by both newcomers and the larger society" (UNHCR, 2013, 14).

The policy and ideology of multiculturalism articulated by the government align with Berry's (2011) conception of integration. He specifies that integration is an intercultural strategy used by ethnocultural groups, where relationships are sought with other groups, while their heritage, culture and identity are maintained. The coordinating strategy of the larger society is that of multiculturalism, where 'mutual accommodation' can be seen and the dominant culture acknowledges its own need to evolve and accommodate new groups (Berry, 2011).

For Berry (2011), the receiving context requires strong multiculturalism policies to foster positive experiences for immigrants attempting to integrate. Discussion of the Canadian context conjures up the image of a ‘mosaic’, with each new culture enriching the society while maintaining its unique traditions and values (Day, 2000). Canadians hold very positive perceptions of this ‘mosaic’, and of multiculturalism as a symbol of Canadian identity (Berry, 2011; Bloemraad, 2012; Brosseau & Dewing, 2018). Variations exist in support of multicultural ideology, however, notably along linguistic and geographic divides. In fact, the strongest support for the multicultural ideology comes from Francophones living outside the province of Quebec (Berry, 2011). The proposed explanation for this phenomenon is that outside Quebec, where French is the minority language, multicultural policies and programmes in support of cultural maintenance, also benefit promotion and survival of the minority Francophone culture and identity.

Cultural differences along linguistic lines do not simply exist as an interesting by-product of official bilingualism, they are founding principles permitting Canadian multiculturalism to flourish. Official bilingualism acts as the first acknowledgement of a non-homogenous society. “Over the course of our history, accommodating two languages has helped Canadians understand that diversity and difference are strengths and has fostered greater openness toward other cultures” (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2017).

In fact, in the 1960s, a national enquiry entitled the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission* ultimately helped shape the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy (Bloemraad, 2012). The final report of the commissioners insisted official bilingualism and multiculturalism are mutually reinforcing. It stated, “a country like Canada must admit diversity within unity, show itself hospitable, and refuse to tolerate any kind of discrimination” (Canada & Canada, 1967, 9).

4.2 Evolution of Francophonie in Ontario

Historically, there have been three important agents of socialisation in French Canada: religion, family, and school. These institutions continue to play a major political and community role in the Francophone community (Gérin-Lajoie, 2004). With mass literacy replacing religious education (Beillerot, 1998), and ‘family’ diversifying so that exogamous or single-parent families are more common, schools have become the primary agents of collective identity construction (Gérin-Lajoie, 2004). These social changes, as well as increased immigration, have required a response from education systems. The response to such challenges in Ontario can best be understood through the lens of linguistic duality and evolving cultural identity.

Linguistic Duality

Much like multiculturalism, at the base of Canada's linguistic duality is government recognition. From the first days of the Canadian confederation, the question of bilingualism permeated the political agenda. The first exchange in confederation discussions involved debate concerning language use (Fraser, 2007). The constitution of 1867 included first steps towards ensuring the maintenance of the two official languages in Article 133, Use of English and French Languages (Constitution Act, 1867).

The federal government's *Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality 2008-2013: Acting for the Future* report, affirms that both of Canada's official languages are "part of our national identity" (Government of Canada, 2008, 5). At the provincial level, the *French Languages Services Act* recognises the historic role of Francophonie in the province of Ontario in its preamble, stating, "the French language is an historic and honoured language in Ontario (...) the Legislative Assembly recognises the contribution of the cultural heritage of the French-speaking population and wishes to preserve it for future generations (...)" (French Language Services Act, 1990, Preamble).

The legal development of language rights began in 1969 when the *Official Languages Act* was adopted by the Canadian federal government, thus ensuring the right to services of federal administrations or crown corporations, and the right to be heard before a federal court in the citizen's official language of choice. It was intended as a law to facilitate the adaptation of society to the linguistic needs of the population rather than to ensure all Canadians became bilingual. This law maintains primacy over all other laws except human rights. An additional critical development entrenched language rights in the constitution with the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

In Ontario, the *French Languages Services Act* passed with unanimity in 1987 and came into effect in 1989, signalling the importance of the development of linguistic duality, at the provincial level, through the establishment of a French Language Services Commissioner.

While Canada is a bilingual country, the provinces are mostly unilingual. In Ontario, French does not have official language status provincially and with only 4.7% of the population being Francophone, it is a minority language (Ministry of Francophone Affairs, 2020). This creates an interesting minority language context in Ontario within which the PANA programme under

study is situated. An overview of the linguistic profiles of Canada’s provinces and territories can be seen in the map found in Figure 3⁴ below.

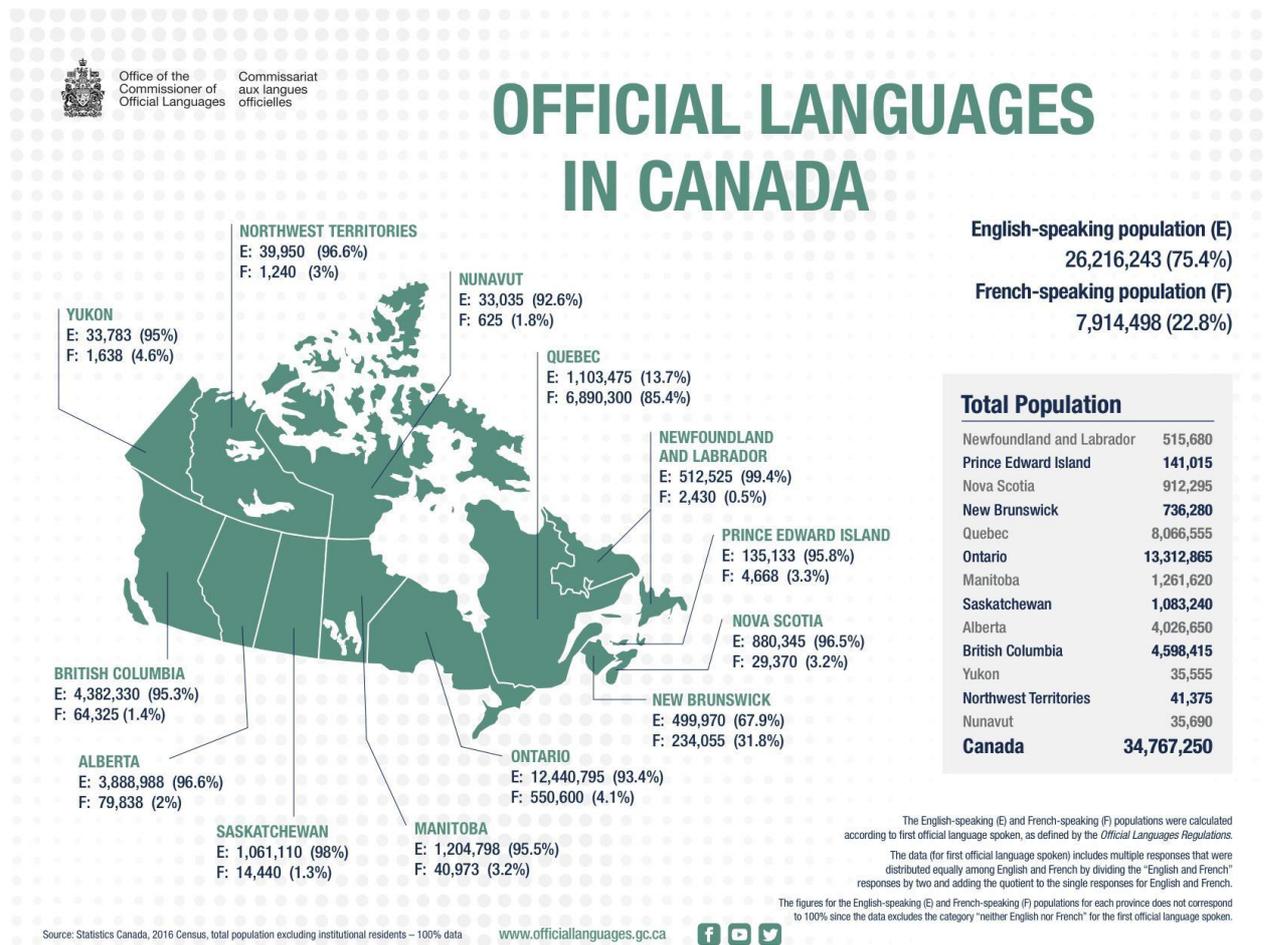


Figure 3: Linguistic Profiles Map of Canada

Franco-Ontarian Identity

The Francophone identity in Ontario has evolved over the last century. Table 3 provides an overview of the main dates in the development of Francophonie in Ontario.

Initially, the term ‘French Canadians’ described a united ‘nation’, descendants of early settlers, spread across the entire country, strong in numbers, with one important constitutional voice in opposition to the Anglophones of the country. During the Quiet Revolution, Canada’s

⁴ The percentages listed in the figure do not fully align with the information presented in the text as the percentage for Ontario does not represent the new Inclusive Definition of Francophone and the numbers are pulled from a different, less recent, census year. Figure retrieved from (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2019).

single majority French-language province, Quebec, distanced itself from religion. Nationalism⁵ took its place, and Francophone minorities outside of Quebec were excluded by the new title of ‘Québécois’. At that time, Francophones in every other province developed their own provincial pride, and a Franco-Ontarian identity emerged (Bock, 2011). The conception of Franco-Ontarian was often referred to as ‘de souche’, which can be loosely translated to ‘native’. This identity was ethnic in nature and belonged to a homogenous group of mostly white, catholic, French speakers with a common history and culture (Bock, 2011). Such an ancient monolingual, homogenising, elitist definition of Francophonie is no longer realistic, nor representative (Bélanger, 2007). The shift in the current reality led to an opening of the definition of ‘Francophone’ to a more pluralist conception, with the focus rather on the shared language. The image on the title page is fitting when considering this context as it represents both the symbolism of the collective Franco-Ontarian identity with the representation of the community’s flag as well as the new reality of a changing conception of what it means to be Franco-Ontarian with the inclusion of diverse new people.

In 2009, the Ontario government officially created a new ‘Inclusive Definition of Francophone’ (IDF). It includes not only those whose mother tongue is French but also those “whose mother tongue is neither French nor English (Allophones), but who speak French” (Office of Francophone Affairs, 2009, 2). The definition encompasses a large number of immigrants and better reflects a pluralist conception of Ontarian Francophonie - a Francophonie which includes newly arrived immigrants from Mauritius, Lebanon, France, Congo, etc. (Bergeron, 2014). At the time of the last census in 2016, 16% of the province’s Francophones self-identified as members of visible minorities (Ministry of Francophone Affairs, 2020).

Both the Federal and Provincial Governments have set targets for Francophone immigration. In order to maintain the current level of Francophones outside Quebec, the federal target was set at 4.4% outside the province. In Ontario, where the percentage of Francophones is 4.7% according to the IDF redefinition of 2009 (Ministry of Francophone Affairs, 2020), the Francophone immigration target was set at 5% (Radio Canada, 2013). The goal is to strengthen and grow the Francophone community further.

⁵ The use of the term ‘nationalism’ here in the context of the province of Quebec is deliberate. Quebecois consider themselves as one of the founding peoples of Canada who are “distinct peoples or nations within a multinational state” (Soroka, 2007, 586). In 2006, the Canadian Prime Minister at the time, Stephen Harper, officially recognised “that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada” through a motion to the House of Commons which received support from all parties (Galloway & Laghi, 2006).

1867	First debates concerning language use at the Federal Parliament of Canada and Article 133 of the <i>Constitution Act, 1867</i> ensured the right to use both French and English in all parliamentary business.
1912	The Ontario Ministry Education's <i>Regulation 17</i> significantly limits the use of French as a language of instruction in schools. This accentuates the polarisation between the Anglophone and Francophone populations in Ontario and beyond.
1927	The Education conflict is resolved once Regulation 17 is rescinded.
1960s	The Quiet Revolution takes place in Québec acting as a catalyst to the conception of the Franco-Ontarian identity.
1963	The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established to execute an inquiry into the state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and propose recommendations. They propose bilingualism and multiculturalism be used rather than biculturalism of the 'two founding peoples' to reflect the Canadian reality more accurately.
1969	Based on the results of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the <i>Official Languages Act</i> comes into force and gives French and English equal status in the government of Canada.
1982	Article 23 of the <i>Charter of Rights and Freedoms</i> grants the right for minority language education.
1986	The <i>French Language Services Act</i> was adopted with unanimous consent at the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (and came into effect in 1989).
1997	Ontario's Health Services Restructuring Commission recommends the closure of the French language Montfort Hospital. This causes the greatest mobilisation of the Franco-Ontarian community since the fight against <i>Regulation 17</i> .
2001	The Court of Appeal for Ontario ordered the Montfort Hospital to remain open.
2007	Creation of the Ontario Office of the French Language Services Commissioner, under the management of the Office of Francophone Affairs, with the primary mandate to ensure compliance with the <i>French Language Services Act</i> .
2013	The Office of the French Language Services Commissioner is transformed into an independent office - a clear sign of the institutional importance of French language services in Ontario.
2014	A public mandate letter from the Premier of Ontario to the Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs opens the door to start exploring the possibility of a new French-language postsecondary option in the province.
2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - After a change in government, the position of the French Language Services Commissioner is eliminated and transferred to the provincial Ombudsman - a political decision which signals a weaker commitment to Francophone issues. - Plans for the French language university are initially rescinded but upon public outcry, arrangements continue to be made. This change of heart from the government shows the current force of the Francophone population in Ontario.

Table 3: Quick Overview of the Development of Francophonie in Ontario

4.3 Ontario Education System

Curriculum policy should be regarded as a “cornerstone of educational governance” (Gerrard & Farrell, 2013, 4). It is a particular form of policy as it becomes the “authoritative allocation of values” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, 7 in Winter, 2017) with two principal functions: to guide practice and to establish a position on competing political positions (Connelly & Connelly, 2010). Curriculum policy is concerned with the overall shape of school curricula, and debates over the content of particular subjects (Levin, 2007).

In Canada, there are two stable elements to education governance: its three-layered structure, and the institutionalisation of democratic, community-based participation (Lessard & Brassard, 2004). Lessard and Brassard describe a vertical and horizontal axis of governance as part of Canadian education’s institutional heritage. These axes are visually represented in Figure 4.

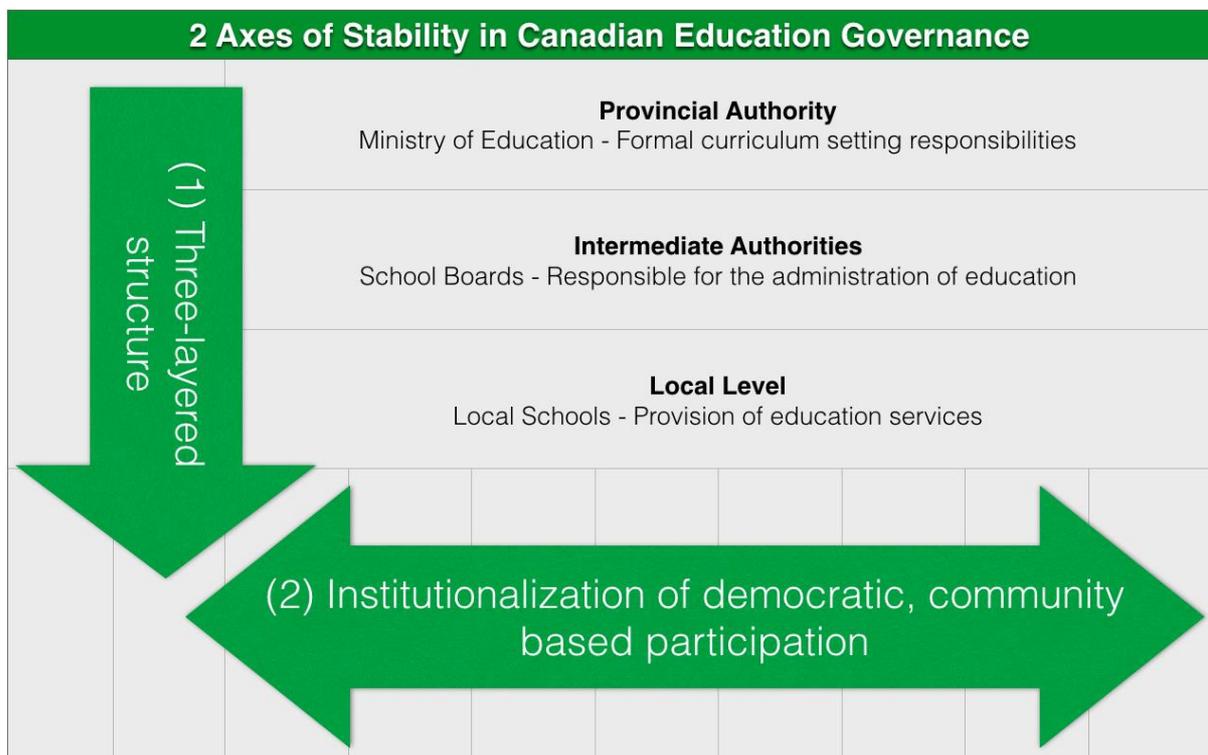


Figure 4: Stable Elements of Canadian Education Governance

On the vertical axis, education is a provincial and territorial responsibility, where the federal government has no jurisdiction, meaning no pan-Canadian regulation of education exists. Instead, there are three levels of structures: the highest level of provincial education authorities with formal curriculum setting responsibility (Ministry of Education), the intermediate authority (school boards or school districts run at a regional level) and the local level, or schools themselves (Lessard & Brassard, 2004).

Canadian provinces have significant governing powers. Each of the ten provinces and three territories can implement policy direction and curricula for the pupils within its territory (Peters & Leslie, 2015). In the province of Ontario, the Ontario Ministry of Education is the central authority and defines the orientation and the priorities of the system as well as education services people have the right to demand (for example the PANA programme). They grant powers, provide funding, and regulate the intermediate and local levels. They promulgate norms concerning the training and granting of tenure for school personnel and establish policies and norms for education services for students. These norms can be found in various official documents such as the law, the curriculum, yearly instructions, teaching programmes, and rules (Lessard & Brassard, 2004).

As the intermediate authority, regional school boards are a decentralised entity responsible for subregions within the province, administered by a council of commissioners, elected by their constituency with the power to deliberate and make decisions on the administrative workings of the board (Lessard & Brassard, 2004). School boards must ensure all the students who are in their jurisdiction receive the services they are entitled to as described by the framework imposed by the Ontario Ministry of Education. School boards vary in size in terms of region and number of students enrolled, corresponding to the general population density of the region and the percentage of Francophones who inhabit it.

While the central authority, i.e. the Ontario Ministry of Education, provides provincial funds, regional school boards also have the right to levy additional regional taxes through a school tax and to solicit voluntary contributions (Lessard & Brassard, 2004).

Finally, at the third level, local schools deliver the required education services to those who have a right to receive them. They are both reliant on the regional school board and obliged to adhere to its framework, being, in essence, a creation of the school board. This leads to a relationship “marked by the dialectic of support and control” (Lessard & Brassard, 2004, 6).

The horizontal axis emphasises the institutionalisation of democratic, community-based participation in education. The horizontal axis in Figure 4 above helps to illustrate the importance of the local level and the decentralised nature of education governance. In fact, Canadian education is “embedded in a number of institutions, policies and ways of thinking about problems inherited from the past, and this restrains the possible political options, or the application of decisions made in these areas” (Lessard & Brassard, 2004, 2). Community ideology has been the dominant idea behind the conception of education in Canada for decades (Lessard & Brassard, 2004; Mulholland & Biles, 2004). There is a strong sense school must be community-based, and both serve as

education communities, and in establishing links with the community they serve. These links to the community can assist immigrant children and their families gain ties within their local context.

4.4 French-Language Education

The legal right to French-language education emanates directly from Canada's Constitution, with minority language education rights granted in Section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The charter seeks to preserve and promote the two official languages of Canada, and their cultures, through ensuring possibilities for each language to flourish, as much as possible, in provinces where it is not spoken by the majority (*Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, 1982).

These minority language education rights are granted on three grounds: (1) Where Canadian citizens whose first language is that of the English or French linguistic minority in their province, or are children of a parent who received primary school instruction in Canada in the minority language; (2) Where one child in a family received primary or secondary school instruction in the minority language, all children in the family also have the same right; (3) Finally, where numbers warrant provision out of public funds (*Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, 1982).

At the provincial level, Part XII of Ontario's *Education Act* details the implementation of this right for administration with specific clauses. The '*Right to instruction in French-language instructional unit: school authorities*' and '*Duty of school authority to provide French-language instructional unit*' clauses clearly state Francophones have the right to receive elementary education in a French language unit. School authorities have the obligation to offer such a unit or to enter into an agreement with a neighbouring school board to ensure students' rights when a request is made (*Education Act*, 1990). Currently, in Ontario, there are twelve publicly funded French-language school boards - 4 public boards and 8 catholic boards (Ministry of Francophone Affairs, 2019).

4.5 Towards the 'Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants'

A clear link exists between the described contextual factors, which have an influence on both education as an institution, and the delivery of the Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA). Canada, a country founded on immigration, boasts multiculturalism as an important factor of its cultural richness. The decline in the population of 'native' Francophones, or Francophones 'de souches' rejection of religion, and anglicisation of the global and North American contexts, all contributed to a situation in which Ontario must rely increasingly on

immigration to ensure the maintenance of Francophone culture in the province. Even the Federal government encourages recruitment and integration of Francophone immigrants within minority communities outside Quebec (Government of Canada, 2008).

The new Inclusive Definition of Francophone and the wording of Section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* clarify that the right to French-language education extends to newcomers. The recognition that many newcomers face not only linguistic but additional social and academic challenges adds yet another aspect in understanding the context of the establishment of the PANA programme.

Chapter 5: Presentation of Findings and Analysis

This chapter describes both the analysis of the PANA curriculum policy and the interviews conducted with actors involved with the programme as policymakers, implementers and associated service providers.

As presented in Chapter 3, curriculum policy can have three expressions - the formal, implicit and prudential (Connelly & Connelly, 2010). When studying the PANA programme, it quickly became clear that it is much more than a simple formal curriculum policy. An Ontario Ministry of Education staff member responsible for the PANA portfolio expressed this view,

“The AFENA (Apprenant du français et nouveaux arrivants) strategy and the implementation Actualisation linguistique en français (ALF) and the Programme d’appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA) curricula have changed dramatically since I first started four years ago. In order to implement the ALF and PANA curricula, we have to think more about equity and inclusion and ask ourselves the following questions: How do we welcome and support French-language learners and newcomer students? How do our cultural competencies and biases impact pedagogical decisions? The wellbeing and learning experiences of our students?” (Debbra Newton).

The task of the PANA programme not only includes the design or even the implementation of the curriculum documents, but it also necessitates the creation of a context where the curriculum can be effectively provided. To better understand the context, this study has drawn findings, not only from the curriculum policy and interviews but from the broader framework of the policy as well.

It will be argued that while institutionalism of collective identity construction contributed to the establishment of the PANA programme, its impact is diminished with respect to implementation and the actual workings of the programme. Support for this position comes from the findings that (1) there is a complex web of actors and interpretations when it comes to the larger framework of the policies surrounding the PANA programme complicating the situation and diverging from the expected path of institutionalism; (2) there is a dynamic tension between the focus on collective identity creation through maintenance of the Francophone culture and the desire to promote diversity and inclusion; and (3) this complex network of actors uses significant policy discretion in the implementation of the PANA programme creating a diverse range of experiences for newcomers.

5.1 Complexity of Framework

The PANA programme was not conceived, nor is it implemented in a vacuum. To understand the PANA programme is to understand the framework in which it is positioned with its study requiring much more than an analysis of its policy documents. While the formal curriculum policy direction comes from the Ontario Ministry of Education, the possible institutionalism is challenged by the

complex framework of adjacent programmes, policies and a number of actors exercising influence at each level of programme delivery. Figure 5 illustrates the arrangements and tensions involved.

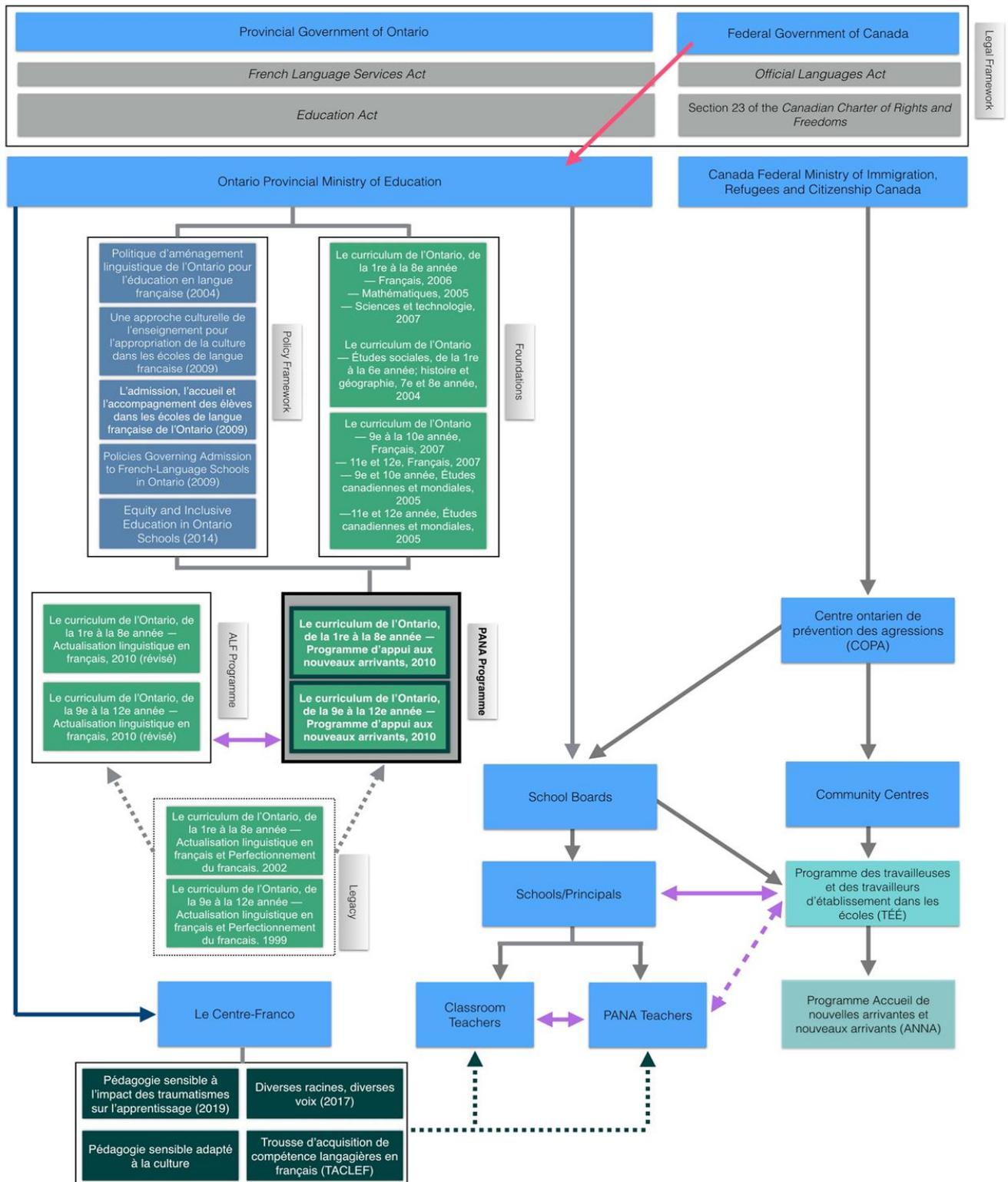


Figure 5: Broader Policy Framework of PANA Programme

Such complexity disrupts the clear path of institutionalism and is better understood with concepts of agency. In this case, the multiplicity present in the organisational field of the PANA programme, and significant level of institutionalisation can be described as an ‘opportunity transparent’ organisational field which offers actors substantial opportunity for action (Dorado, 2005).

5.1.1 Multiplicity

When a field is defined by its multiplicity it is not isolated and is rather part of a “larger whole composed of multiple, interpenetrating institutional structures operating at multiple levels and in multiple sectors” (Dorado, 2005, 392). Figure 5 indeed shows an interconnection of actors and institutional structures supporting the idea that the organisational field of the PANA programme has a significant level of multiplicity.

The light blue boxes represent the many actors involved in the PANA programme. At its origin, are government actors who created the legal framework and basis for the justification of the programme. The laws they enacted laid the groundwork for French-language education, recognised the particular heritage of the Franco-Ontarian community, the need to take action to preserve the language and culture, as well as dictated the structure of school boards, including their tax levying capabilities.

In addition to the numerous actors at the provincial, regional and local levels of the complex, three-layered, decentralised education governance structure, other players have a presence within the field. The Centre-Franco, a centre associated with all of the province’s French-language school boards, provides pedagogic resources for the development and improvement of French-language education in Ontario. Although the Federal Government of Canada has no jurisdiction in education matters, it does provide funding for the PANA programme and an adjacent programme - the Programme des travailleuses et travailleurs dans les écoles (TÉÉ).

While the PANA programme is responsible for integrating students academically and socially through the construction and understanding of the Franco-Ontarian identity, the TÉÉ programme acts as the bridge between the community, the family and the school. Informally, PANA teachers rely on their staff a great deal, and often flag to their school principal the need to involve TÉÉ workers (Claude Godbout). The TÉÉ workers are also responsible for the ANNA programme, or the Programme d’accueil des nouvelles arrivantes et des nouveaux arrivants, which aims to further facilitate newcomers’ social integration (Carolle Routhier).

The complexity of the PANA framework further confronts strict institutionalism as it has a tangled web of policies and resources supporting the PANA programme. These policies and resources highlight an existing duality within the broader context of the PANA programme of encouraging the Francophone identity to flourish while also promoting diversity. This fits within Blackburn's (1994) conception that heterogeneous institutional arrangements will create institutional incompatibilities or internal contradiction (In Leca et al., 2012).

Most official policies, represented in light green boxes in Figure 5, have a significant slant on French-language education and cultural acquisition or identity construction. These are binding and therefore have more power within the system than the resources, represented in dark green. They cover themes such as linguistic planning for Ontario's French schools, regulations on rights and processes for admission to French school, as well as cultural approaches for teaching appropriation of culture.

Language planning in this context is designed to achieve certain results (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004), namely:

- a) For students to acquire competencies in oral communication in order to maximise learning and identity construction.
- b) For teaching staff to accrue the capacity to work in a minority context in order to support the scholastic learning and identity development of each student.
- c) For school boards to accrue the capacity of maintaining and increasing the school population in order to contribute to the vitality of French-language schools and the Francophone community.

These are to be achieved through two axes of intervention; the learning axis and the identity construction axis (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004). This policy applies to the entirety of the French-language education system, not simply PANA, and addresses the need for identity construction explicitly. It states the education system has a responsibility, through its sensitising of students, to maintain the survival of the French language and culture within the minority context.

In contrast, resources available for teachers (i.e. implicit curriculum), focus more on the promotion of diversity and inclusion. This duality will be further expanded in Section 5.2.

5.1.2 Substantial Level of Institutionalisation

The larger field of the French-language education system and specifically of the frame around the PANA programme is deemed to be substantially institutionalised due to several factors: (1) the historical structural, legal and funding arrangements between the federal and provincial

governments; (2) the strategic use of student recruitment to serve the purposes of contribution to the vitality of the Francophone community; (3) the evolution of the PANA programme from previous legacy policies in a somewhat path-dependent manner; and (4) the embedded institutionalism of collective identity construction explicitly in the formal curriculum policy.

Federal-Provincial Arrangements

The *Canada-Ontario Agreement on Minority-Language Education and Second Official-Language Instruction* is a provincial-federal bilateral agreement establishing a “cooperation framework on official languages in education between Canada and Ontario”. It provides funding for Ontarian initiatives “to provide members of the French-language minority in Ontario with the opportunity to be educated in their own language, to experience cultural enrichment associated with that community” and finally, to provide residents of Ontario with French as a second language instruction (*Canada-Ontario Agreement*, 2014). This flow of funds from the Federal Ministry of Canadian Heritage to the Ministry of Education of Ontario is crucial, as it indicates absolute national importance to minority language education and creates an official institutional framework to support service delivery.

Student Recruitment

The issue of student recruitment was addressed in the interviews. One contact responsible for the recruitment of families at the school board level explained there is significant competition between school boards to enlist more students and that, “on veut avoir plus d’élèves et puis on est content. Ça c’est normal ça. Pour chaque conseil scolaire⁶” (Anonymous B). The reality, explained by another contact is, “dans un conseil scolaire les nombres veulent dire des sous⁷” (Marie-Andrée Hueglin). The more students are enrolled in a school board, the more funding it receives. It was also indicated by multiple respondents that certain school boards will even provide services at the airport to begin the recruitment at the moment of arrival (Claude Godbout, Ingrid Stadler).

Evolution of PANA

The evolution of the current PANA curriculum included a step when a similar programme existed: the ‘Actualisation linguistique en français et Perfectionnement du français’, colloquially referred to as ALF-PDF. It coupled two programmes, one for language acquisition of students from Canada

⁶ “We want to have more students and then we’re happy. That’s normal. For all school boards.” (Henceforth all translations of original quotes can be found in footnotes.)

⁷ “In a school board, numbers means dollars.”

who had the right to attend school in French but were not fluent in the language, the other, a programme for students who were new to Canada and already spoke French but not to the same academic level as their peers (Anonymous A, Charles Lamarche).

A multi-step consultation process throughout the province involving representatives from each school board as well as Ministry staff resulted in a revision of these programmes (Charles Lamarche, Nadine Taillon). The Ministry of Education staff used a deliberate strategy of including teachers' voices to increase eventual buy-in, in hopes of ensuring proper implementation of the policy (Charles Lamarche). This approach resulted in the PANA curriculum evolving from the ALF-PDF curriculum document following a historical institutional rationale of path dependence, while simultaneously including a more participatory approach in line with the stable 'horizontal' element of Canadian education governance.

Consultations resulted in the curriculum document being split into two; the Actualisation linguistique en français, 2010 (ALF), and the current Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants, 2010 (PANA). The new name was chosen to reflect the full breadth of the programme, which was about much more than language learning, with 'Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants' better reflecting the focus of 'support for newcomers' (Charles Lamarche). While the ALF and PANA programmes are officially separate and consist of completely different formal curriculum policy documents, they are closely linked. In fact, in many schools, the teacher responsible for the PANA programme holds an ALF-PANA combined position. An additional link is that both receive part of their funding from the Federal Government through the *Canada-Ontario Agreement on Minority-Language Education and Second Official-Language Instruction*.

Institutionalism of Embedded Collective Identity Construction

The institutionalism of collective identity construction of Francophone culture as part of Canadian diversity revealed itself in the introduction of the PANA formal curriculum documents. An important overarching theme was identified through analysis of the two formal curriculum policy documents that make up the guidelines for the PANA programme for elementary and secondary schools respectively. While the ultimate aim of the programme to increase the academic performance of newcomers is clear, the approach is one that very much promotes the Franco-Ontarian identity and culture.

Both documents are founded on the same principals and share much of the same content in the introductory chapters and framing of the programme, focusing on the 'raison d'être' of the

programme. The ultimate aim of the PANA programme to assist children who have recently arrived in Ontario and remain under-educated. It is stated that the PANA programme is meant to

“Aider ces élèves à se familiariser avec leur nouvel environnement, à s’initier à la société canadienne et à combler au besoin des retards en communication orale, lecture et écriture est une priorité, car le bon déroulement de leurs études en dépend, de même que leur épanouissement personnel et leur intégration sociale⁸” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a, 3).

Social integration is explicitly mentioned; however, the document also directs all teaching staff at French-language schools in Ontario to use the application of a cultural approach to teaching (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a, 6). These two ideas are coupled, and it is made clear the setup of the system is meant to allow students to “s’initier à certaines caractéristiques culturelles de la francophonie ontarienne, ce qui favorisera leur intégration à la société d’accueil⁹” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a, 8).

A major difference between the secondary and elementary PANA curricula is the scope of the subject matter offered. The elementary curriculum reflects a wide range of topics, namely: (1) Social Studies; (2) French; (3) Math; and (4) Science and Technology, but the secondary curriculum focuses purely on Social Studies and French.

This prioritisation at the secondary level implies the main goal of the programme for undereducated students is more importantly linked to their adaptation to the Canadian society and adoption of a Francophone identity over the rest of the pedagogical support. Such a priority, combined with the legal and funding framework, the strategic recruitment strategies and the continued path from legacy policies, supports the argument that collective identity construction is substantially institutionalised within the French-language education system through the use of the PANA formal policy curriculum.

Figure 5 and the in-depth discussion of the framework’s opacity and level of institutionalism has served to illustrate that delivery of the PANA programme does not happen in a straight path from a central decision-making body to ‘mindless bureaucrats’ implementing only one programme exactly as the objectives are set out through institutional structures. It demonstrates that while substantially institutionalised, the multiplicity of institutional referents creates an opportunity transparent field, and thus enables conditions for actors’ agency.

⁸ “Help students familiarise themselves to their new environment, introduce them to Canadian society and make up for delays in oral communication, reading and writing if necessary is a priority because the successful progression of their studies depends on it, as well as their personal development and social integration.”

⁹ “Learn about certain cultural characteristics of the Ontario Francophonie, which will promote their integration into the host society.”

5.2 Francophone Culture Preservation-Diversity Dichotomy

Blackburn (1994) defines a contradiction as “a pair of features that together produce an unstable tension in a given system” (In Leca et al., 2008, 8). Such a dynamic tension exists within the broad framework and specific policy documents of the PANA programme. The co-existence of goals for Franco-Ontarian culture maintenance on the one hand, and promotion of diversity and inclusion on the other, implies a heterogeneous institutional arrangement.

5.2.1 Duality in Broader Policy Framework

As previously explained, the formal policies supporting the PANA programme mainly elaborate on the overarching goal of Francophone culture maintenance. In contrast, the implicit policy which includes resources and one monograph promotes diversity and inclusion. The formal and implicit policy documents represented in Figure 6 illustrate this combination of themes. Together with the interviews, they illustrate that the institutionalism of collective identity construction is not, in reality, the expected quintessential element of the PANA programme. Much of the policy discretion affecting the PANA programme reflects the dichotomy of the expected French-language education system’s deeply ingrained institutional goal of promotion of the Francophone language and heritage, with the simultaneous acknowledgement of the need to ensure inclusion within Canada’s plural society. The main respondent from the Ministry of Education acknowledged this duality. She stressed, on the one hand, there is an imperative for French to be used and the ‘Francophone culture’ to be maintained in French-language schools, and on the other hand for equity, diversity, inclusion and antiracism to be taught and practised (Debbra Newton).

	Maintenance of Francophone Culture	Promotion of Diversity and Inclusion
Formal Policy (Official, mandatory statements)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Memorandum No. 148, Policies Governing Admission to French-Language Schools in Ontario (2009) Une approche culturelle de l'enseignement pour l'appropriation de la culture dans les écoles de langue française (2009) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> L'admission, l'accueil et l'accompagnement des élèves dans les écoles de langue française de l'Ontario (2009) Politique d'aménagement linguistique de l'Ontario pour l'éducation en langue française (2004) Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools (2014)
Implicit Policy (Statements, documents, resources that influence curriculum practices)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trousse d'acquisition de compétence langagières en français (TACLEF) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pédagogie sensible à l'impact des traumatismes sur l'apprentissage (2019) Diverses racines, diverses voix (2017) Pédagogie sensible adapté à la culture Monographie no. 35, Pédagogie sensible à la culture, Promouvoir l'équité et l'inclusivité dans les écoles de l'Ontario (2004)

Figure 6: Duality of Policy Themes

While a number of other authoritative institutional policies strongly direct the creation of a collective Francophone identity, it is clear there are ways of altering this path. Institutionalism of collective identity construction, therefore, does not define the existence of the PANA programme given it does not exist solely as a straightforward formal curriculum policy document.

From its inception in 2009 to its current format, assessment of needs and evolving conceptions of the PANA programme resulted in the preparation of new reports and resources. While the production of these resources was in part funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education, they were mostly creations of the Centre-Franco. As these additional resources do not have binding power over the service deliverers, the so-called street-level bureaucrats, tasked with the implementation of the PANA programme, can choose to use them, or not. These non-binding resources mainly fall within the thematic category of promotion of diversity and inclusion. The duality of the broader framework exists, but the trend of mostly informal direction for diversity and inclusion in the PANA programme supports the claim that while there is a clear move towards a more multicultural approach, the formal institutional character of the framework surrounding the PANA programme remains that of integration through collective identity construction.

5.2.2 Collective Identity Construction and Diversity in the PANA Curriculum

As previously shown, in the context of the PANA curriculum, the goal of assisting undereducated children to ‘catch up’ to their peers has tightly linked their adaptation to Canadian society with the adoption of a Francophone identity. This perspective is formally promoted within each subject directive, and teachers are encouraged to promote Francophonie, and diversity, in a natural, concurrent manner.

Integration through the promotion of Francophone identity is especially stark in the Social Studies portion of the curriculum, alternatively called ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’. This subject exists at every grade level and is pointedly called ‘Introduction to Canadian Society’. It falls within the social studies subject and has as its stated objectives ‘Integration to scholastic, social and community life’, ‘Awareness of Canadian society’ and ‘Respect for the environment’ (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a). As summarised by one respondent, the ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ covers three main themes,

“T’as ton thème de, toi dans ton nouveau contexte de quotidien de vie de ton école. T’as une dimension qui regarde, toi dans ton nouveau chez toi plus élargi. Ta province qu’est-ce qui se passe, ton pays? Ton nouveau pays, c’est quoi? Puis après ça, t’as une dimension qui va te regarder aussi de parler des peuples

autochtones puis différents aspects culturels, puis une dimension qui porte sur l'environnement puis tout ce qui a par rapport à la gestion des déchets, puis la responsabilité écologique¹⁰” (Anonymous A).

This subject is used to help newcomer students ‘appropriate’ the Francophone culture in order to consolidate their own identity (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a, 31). They are encouraged to integrate within the scholastic and community life of Francophone Ontario while maintaining traditions of their origin country. The original description of ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ in the policy documents states:

“Ce domaine est axé sur l’intégration harmonieuse de l’élève à son nouveau milieu scolaire et communautaire et porte principalement sur l’acquisition de repères culturels et de connaissances générales liées à la vie scolaire, au fonctionnement des institutions communautaires, et aux différents groupes tels que les francophones de l’Ontario, les autochtones et les communautés ethnoculturelles. (...) L’élève nouvel arrivant est aussi amené à établir des rapports entre son expérience, lointaine et récente, et à comparer les pratiques courantes et les traditions de son pays d’origine à celles de son pays d’accueil, ce qui lui permet de mieux en apprécier la valeur¹¹” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a, 17-18).

Even within the principle of Francophone collective identity construction, the importance of celebrating newcomers’ own cultural heritage is recognised.

It is explained that to reach the goal of creating an inclusive scholastic environment, all students must be able to identify with the curriculum. One way this is encouraged is to direct teachers to help their pupils discover different perspectives on diversity when appropriate, with parents encouraged to assist. Ultimately, the idea is to promote a feeling of self-confidence and belonging within both their community of origin and their host community (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010).

5.3 Agency of Actors within PANA

Within the formal curriculum of the PANA programme, the concept of ‘différenciation pédagogique’ is often mentioned. This translates to ‘differentiated instruction’ and defined in the PANA curriculum as “l’approche de choix au niveau des processus, des contenus et des

¹⁰ “You have your theme of you in your context of daily life in your school. You have a dimension that looks at you in your new home in a broader sense. What is going on in your province, your country? What is your new country? And afterwards, you have a dimension that talks about indigenous peoples and many cultural aspects, as well as a dimension that covers the environment and everything that has to do with waste management and ecological responsibility.”

¹¹ This domain is based on the harmonious integration of the student in his/her new scholastic and community environment and mainly concerns the acquisition of cultural references and general knowledge related to scholastic life, the functioning of community institutions, and the different groups such as Francophones in Ontario, indigenous peoples and ethnocultural communities. (...) The newly arrived student is also assisted in establishing connections between his/her experience, distant and recent, and to compare the current practices and traditions of his/her country of origin with those of his/her host country, which allows for a better appreciation of its value.”

productions, ce qui permet à l'élève bénéficiant du programme de satisfaire aux attentes de ce programme pour l'amener à suivre le cours ordinaire de français¹²” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010b, 8). To an elementary school PANA teacher, the term meant,

“adapte toi au niveau de l'élève devant toi. (...) T'as des élèves qui vont faire une tâche de maths sans matériels de manipulations, t'as des élèves qui en ont besoin. T'as des élèves qui ont besoin des pistes supplémentaires. (...) T'as des élèves qui ont besoin de plus de temps. Comme, c'est ça la différenciation pédagogique. Tu fais pas toute la même chose pour tous tes élèves.¹³” (Marie-Andrée Hueglin)

The Ministry staffer proposed that the current approach of ‘différenciation pédagogique’ has evolved over time. Whereas it was once considered mainly for students with additional needs, it is now understood that each student has a particular way of learning and it should be used more universally (Debbra Newton).

The idea of ‘différenciation pédagogique’ is in line with that of prudential curriculum policy, “prudence, practical wisdom, and practical knowledge used by teachers, school administrators, school board staff, and elected trustees as they adapt formal and implicit curriculum policy for local situations” (Connelly & Connelly, 2010, 2).

Interviews revealed liberties are taken freely when implementing the PANA programme. It does not look the same everywhere. Each school board, each school and even each teacher may use an individual approach, diluting the institutional direction of the policy. This divergence from one path confirms the existence of prudential curriculum in this case.

One PANA teacher described it as having “carte blanche”, or free rein to adapt the programme to the needs of the students. He expanded stating, “oui, on peut utiliser le curriculum plus ou moins comme on veut¹⁴” (Claude Godbout). This ‘carte blanche’ creates differences in implementation and complicates the institutionalist nature of the PANA programme. Information brought to light in interviews supports the argument that there are differing and numerous expressions of the PANA programme. The following section outlines the different ways the curriculum is interpreted through differences in structure as well as differing interpretations of the relative importance of collective identity construction and diversity and inclusion.

¹² “The approach of choice at the level of processes, content and assignments, which permits students in benefiting from the programme to meet the expectations of the programme to ensure he can ultimately follow the regular French stream.”

¹³ “You must adapt to the level of the student in front of you. (...) You have students who are going to do a math task without assistance, you have students who need it. You have students who need additional options. (...) You have students who need more time. Like, this is differentiated instruction. You don't do the same thing for all your students.”

¹⁴ “Yes, we can use the curriculum more or less however we want to.”

5.3.1 Structure of Programme

Choices regarding the logistical and administrative aspects of the PANA programme can have a big impact on the delivery of the curriculum. The Ontario Ministry of Education sets the overarching aim, and regional school boards and schools are obligated to offer the programme, although they do have great leeway when it comes to deciding how to provide the programme. Students must attend a school in their district and the school must ensure any needs of those students are met (Nadine Taillon). The actual delivery and its quality depend on the expertise and willingness of staff present, with no apparent programme evaluation system in place currently.

There is a range in the way school boards choose to set up the PANA programme. Some school boards have set up welcome centres for preliminary evaluation of the students (Anonymous B), others provide additional training in concert with community centres to help teachers gain intercultural competencies (Didier Marotte). Some school boards provide additional support staff at the board level who go to local schools and assist in incidents of acute need (Ingrid Stadler). The regional school board must ensure there are PANA teachers where necessary but mostly leave it to the school administration to decide details of staffing.

Some schools make deliberate choices regarding the teachers for the PANA programme according to experience and training while others look at timetables and simply do what is logistically most feasible (Anonymous A). One teacher responsible for PANA at the secondary level stated she did not know why she had been particularly chosen for the programme, having not demonstrated a proclivity towards it (Carolle Routhier).

These variances in the programmes continue at the teacher level, who are granted much discretion in setting up the logistics of the programme. Some examples provided in the interview responses were one-on-one lessons, small groups where the children are taken out at the same time every day, assistance from a PANA teacher sitting with the student in a regular classroom. Some schools have opted for a dedicated 'welcome class' for all newcomers (Carolle Routhier, Claude Godbout, Ingrid Stadler, Marie-Andrée Hueglin). One teacher viewed her role especially as an 'advocate' for the PANA students when it came to the whole of the teaching staff rather than simply supporting a specific child directly (Marie-Andrée Hueglin).

The role of teachers on the periphery of the French-language education system framework, with their front-line access to students, places them in a position to act within the institutionalised setting as outlined by Leca et al. (2012). When making choices about the programme, each individual teacher can bring in their own talents, values, understanding or experience vis-a-vis

collective identity construction, or alternatively, diversity and inclusion emphasising one over the other.

5.3.2 Integration into Collective Identity

Differences in the delivery of the programme also appear in collective identity construction. Francophone identity is an important aspect of the PANA programme, the most obvious incidence of its promotion being the ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ subject. Here as well, interviews indicated teachers do not all see eye to eye on its importance or ways to implement it into their course load.

There was no consensus on the very notion of *which* collective identity is the target of integration. The term Franco-Ontarien ‘de souche’ (or native Franco-Ontarian) was used by respondents in half of the interviews. However, they were not referred to in the same context. In some, it was used in an off-handed manner to refer to the host community, in others, it was to make a statement that the ‘de souche’ identity no longer exists, and Francophonie in Ontario is becoming more diverse. One respondent even discussed the term itself and his perspective of it as a problematic concept for which no alternative exists (Didier Marotte).

Interview questions related to the specific content of ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ revealed wide-ranging practices. Some teachers stated they do not find the time to implement the curriculum, and contacts at the regional board level mentioned the recurring theme of teachers simply being swamped by the demands of the rest of the curriculum and omitting the Social Studies subject altogether.

Some teachers described creative ways of ‘initiating’ students to the Canadian society, infusing the curriculum with their own individual character, such as removing students from class for the first snowfall of the season.

“Comme par exemple, t’sais la première journée où est-ce que la neige était de la neige parfaite à bonhomme, je suis allée à tous mes enseignants, j’ai dit ‘j’espère que t’as rien de prévu après parce que moi je les garde dehors après la récré. Y’ont jamais fait un bonhomme de neige¹⁵” (Marie-Andrée Hueglin).

Some respondents described the importance of providing cultural activities for newcomers so they can have experiences that Ontarian children have had in order to help them understand cultural references. Several such activities were mentioned: carving a pumpkin, jumping in a pile of leaves

¹⁵ “Like for example, you know, the first day when it snows and it’s perfect snowman snow, I went to all my teachers, I said, ‘I hope you don’t have anything prepared for afterwards because I’m keeping them outside with me after recess. They’ve never made a snowman!”

in the fall, talking about the tradition of Halloween, or visiting a sugar shack where maple syrup is made (Carolle Routhier, Ingrid Stadler, Marie-Andrée Hueglin). Other teachers described a more political approach and viewed ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ rather in the vein of being a citizen of Canada and arranged visits to the Federal or Provincial Parliament Buildings (Carolle Routhier, Ingrid Stadler). The means of the local school, and the number of newcomers in the PANA programme, as well as teacher motivation, influence such decisions.

5.3.3 Diversity and Inclusion

The promotion of diversity and inclusion was identified as an additional guiding principle of the PANA programme in the formal policy and more strongly in its implicit curriculum. The prudential curriculum continues this trend and many actors have adopted an approach of some kind in the implementation of the goals related to it. Differing expressions of diversity and inclusion were reported by respondents. An overwhelming majority of respondents mentioned intercultural competencies as important when discussing the programme. While this consists of a type of consensus, how these intercultural competencies were expressed varied.

Many respondents mentioned teachers’ need for additional training to find ways to relate to their students, and to understand some common cultural differences. An example cited by half of the respondents was that many teachers do not know their pupils have been taught not to make eye contact as a sign of respect in their culture. In Canada, this is viewed as a sign of disrespect. Without standardised training, some teachers may react differently in the face of such an issue.

Sometimes, the TÉÉs assist and create programmes to inform teachers on request. The Director of the Centre communautaire Francophone Windsor-Essex-Kent explained the benefits of training to increase understanding among teaching staff and ultimately avoid future conflicts.

“Ah, tiens, ces coutumes-là, il se fait ici, maintenant je comprends pourquoi le jeune ne me regarde pas dans les yeux. Parce que chez eux ce n’est pas comme ça.’ Et une fois qu’eux commencent à comprendre, on peut peut-être modifier (...) le comportement et faire un pas en avant. Et ça explique beaucoup de choses, ça évite les défis ou les conflits, etc.¹⁶” (Didier Marotte).

This is but one example. Similar issues regarding lack of understanding in the case of trauma or difficult behaviour from children coming from refugee camps or war-torn countries were also raised. Many respondents indicated there were significant variances in the general understanding of other cultures among teachers.

¹⁶ “Oh there, those customs, it is done here, now I understand why this child doesn’t look me in the eyes. Because where he’s from, it isn’t done.’ And once they start to understand, they can modify (...) the behaviour and make a step forward. And it explains a lot, it avoids challenges or conflicts, etc.”

Carolle Routhier described herself as a “petite fille blanche, très typique canadienne¹⁷”. She mentioned this in the context of wondering how her students would perceive her. Marie-Andrée Hueglin mentioned it was difficult for her to conceive of some traumatic experiences her students may have experienced. While these teachers may acknowledge their shortcomings, thus enabling them to take steps to rectify, it was also indicated that many do not take the time to inform themselves or to care (Anonymous A).

These findings pointed to the conclusion that the identitarian institutionalism present in the formal policies of the PANA curriculum and accompanying policies on Francophonie has been too limited given the reality of the broader context. First, the focus is not simply on collective identity construction, but also on the promotion of diversity and inclusion. Within the complexity of the network of policies however, these main themes and goals are not enacted the same way throughout the system. The variance can be explained by the combination of policy discretion held by various actors in the decentralised framework of street-level bureaucrats implementing the policy at many levels, and the lack of clarity of the relative importance of the Francophonie and inclusion and diversity aspects in formal policy.

¹⁷ “Little white girl, very typically Canadian.”

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter reviews the expectations of the study in light of the findings. Reflections are not limited to the findings from the PANA curriculum policy analysis and interviews, but also include important perspectives gained from the examination of the broader context of the PANA programme. The process cumulates in answers to the study's sub-questions.

6.1 Review of Expectations

While the expectations of the study did prove to have some merit, they did not align perfectly with the reality of the PANA programme. The abductive approach of the study allowed for an unexpected change in direction that led to new knowledge. Two main deviations from the expectations occurred. First, the process revealed that the PANA programme must be understood within the complexity of the framework in which it evolved and continues to exist. What was learned is that the educational governance responsible for the PANA programme holds, at its base, a dynamic tension between Franco-Ontarian collective identity construction, and diversity and inclusion. These two seemingly contradictory principles co-exist and are institutionalised within the French-language education system, with Francophone identity holding primacy within the formal policy, while diversity and inclusion are the primary foci within the implicit curriculum. The second deviation is related to the prudential curriculum policy and the many varied actors responsible for the implementation. These actors exercise a wide range of interpretations, with varying degrees of knowledge and understanding. This reality, coupled with the lack of a standardised approach to ensure consistent programme delivery and administration, results in significant policy discretion and agency within an institutionalised environment.

6.1.1 Institutionalism of Collective Identity Construction

The first expectation presented in Section 2.3 was that the institutionalism of Francophone cultural maintenance would play a significant role in the existence of the PANA programme in terms of its initial conception and implementation. There is indeed some truth to the idea that the Francophone community has used education as a tool of collective identity construction. Also, a certain historical institutionalism of Federal-Provincial funding structures, constitutional legislation commissions and tax systems all serve to support the maintenance of the French language and culture in a minority setting. The PANA programme incorporates these ideas within its formal curriculum policy and combines them with its broader framework to transmit a shared view of the world - a defining characteristic of institutions as per Bekkers et al. (2017).

Collective identity construction is present in PANA. There are clear instances of the identification and categorisation of a Franco-Ontarian identity institutionalised within the Ontario context. Indeed, its maintenance and development are stated goals of the PANA programme. This is, however, not the only influence at play and does not qualify as the defining characteristic of the programme as was expected.

The duality present within the policy framework is a limiting factor in the role of the institutionalism of collective identity construction. It combines a desire to promote and maintain the Franco-Ontarian identity, while simultaneously encouraging diversity and inclusion. There has been some speculation within political discourses that, “this juxtaposition - between integration and national attachment on one hand, and multiculturalism on the other - implies that there is a zero-sum trade-off between the two” (Wright & Bloemraad, 2012, 77). Wright and Bloemraad (2012) assert this assumption does not hold merit. When outlining expectations for this study, however, this false juxtaposition was given too much weight, resulting in the erroneous assumption the integration goals of the PANA would be pursued solely through collective identity construction to the detriment of diversity and inclusion. Wright and Bloemraad (2012) have hypothesised that in Canada, where explicit multicultural policies exist, integration programmes are not seen as onerous or assimilatory by immigrants. Thus, institutionalism of the Francophone culture preservation does not preclude the promotion of diversity and inclusion.

Wright and Bloemraad’s hypothesis, coupled with Berry’s (2011) position that the context of the larger society must be accepting of groups’ maintenance of their heritage, culture and identity as well as seeking to have interactions with out-groups, supports the argument the PANA programme can at the same time promote collective identity and pluralism. For many Canadians, especially French Canadians outside of Quebec, the idea of mutual accommodation and multiculturalism stands as a national symbol and this is aligned with its unique number of explicit multicultural policies (Berry, 2011, 2.10).

For the immigrant, maintenance of cultural heritage encompasses important advantages. In addition to facilitating the acquisition of work or housing, (migrant) social networks residing in the enclave can help a migrant find the combination of the cultural and institutional practice of the host society. Simultaneously, maintaining a link with the culture of the country of origin contributes to migrants’ wellbeing (Berry, 2011). Being a part of the PANA programme could help newcomers acclimatise to the host country, and therefore diminish acculturation stress, isolation and depression (Berry, 2011) while still being permitted to celebrate their differences.

A view held by many and proposed by Robineau (2010) is that in the long term, integration of many cultures into French-language schools in Ontario will not only contribute to a rich, diverse and inclusive environment but will also create a community of people who believe in the value of French-language education and can continue in the struggle against the domination of the Anglophone culture and its propensity to assimilate other cultures. This aligns with the conception that it is possible to construct collective identity while simultaneously promoting diversity and inclusion, two important axes of the PANA programme. From this point of view, embracing multiculturalism would, in fact, serve the institutionalised goal of Francophone culture preservation.

6.1.2 Integration of Newcomers

The second expectation of the study was that the French-language education system would choose to integrate newcomers through collective identity construction. While the integration model supported by the PANA programme has been discussed, it is interesting that the PANA programme contains an explicit section aligning directly with the ideal of collective identity construction for integration, through the ‘Initiation à la société canadienne’ subject. It also exists in the clearly stated founding principle of the ‘axe de construction identitaire’ (Identity Construction Axis). While the statement supports the study’s expectation, in reality, findings from interviews indicate its implementation varies in each school, its importance differing greatly based on many factors including individual teacher motivation and training, administrative setup, as well as resources and time available. This is logical within a decentralised system where street-level bureaucrats hold substantial agency.

It does appear that policy discretion has strong explanatory power in understanding the distortion of the institutional path of the PANA programme and its framework. Akosa and Asare (2017) argue that policies are reconstructed by street-level bureaucrats because of complexity within the bureaucratic structure. In the case of the PANA programme, findings from policy analysis and interviews illustrate both the complexity of the structure, as well as a bottom-up style conception of ‘teacher as policymaker’ and their agency to implement the PANA curriculum as they see fit.

6.2 Review of Research Questions

The empirical research for this study was guided by the sub-questions outlined in Section 3.1. In order to arrive at final conclusions regarding the main puzzle of the study, answers to these sub-questions must first be addressed.

(SQ1) The first sub-question sought to understand the specific nature of the PANA programme. The objective of the programme is to help newcomers' transition into the regular study stream through the two axes of intervention; the learning axis and the identity construction axis (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004). It is a programme mandated by the provincial authority, the Ministry of Education, administered by regional school boards and implemented at the local level by teachers in local schools. There is much flexibility in the programme through 'différenciation pédagogique' and thus it looks different in each school or classroom.

(SQ2) This question examined the Francophone community's use of education as an institution of collective identity construction. Analysis of formal policies, both in the PANA curriculum, and the surrounding context, described the Ontario Francophone community's extensive use of the institutionalism of collective identity present in education by promoting a Franco-Ontarian identity in schools and fostering pride in students. The school, and therefore education has become an important locale of language and cultural maintenance. The mandate of French-language schools in Ontario remains the protection, valorisation and transmission of the language and culture (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004).

(SQ3) The third question was geared toward examining the direction taken regarding the social integration of immigrant children within the PANA programme. It was found that the PANA programme does indeed fit within the broader institutional framework of French-language education and its role in collective identity construction. The identity construction axis at its base, as well as the subject of 'Initiation à la société canadienne' are two clear indications of collective identity construction which have found their way within the formal curriculum policy. Many references are also made about what it means to be Francophone or Franco-Ontarian, with the definition having been adjusted as a way to improve social integration of newcomers by including them within a 'multicultural nationalism' as conceptualised by Kymlicka (2015). The students who participate in the PANA programme therefore encounter much content which promotes the Francophone identity, ultimately assisting with their integration into the broader community.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings of the study and draws conclusions as a culmination of the theoretical framework established and the empirical research conducted. It then discusses the study's contribution to existing literature, its limitations, and finally, proposes questions for future research.

7.1 Overview of Study

This study aimed to answer the question ‘*What role does the institutionalism of collective identity construction within the minority French-language education system in Ontario play in the “programme d’appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA)” curriculum for immigrant children?*’.

As an answer to this question, the study concluded that institutionalism of collective identity construction has indeed had a role to play in the conceptualisation and delivery of the PANA programme. It serves as a base within which immigrant children can be integrated and was a natural progression of the French-language system's mandate of language and culture preservation. The impact of institutionalism, however, has been diminished by the complexity of its institutional framework wherein many decentralised actors have agency to mould the programme to their needs, or according to their own interpretations. This dynamic, coupled with the tension between collective identity construction, and diversity and inclusion, dilutes the single path to Franco-Ontarian identity promotion. Concurrently, the aim of fostering multiculturalism is ever-present. These two aims of Francophone culture maintenance and of fostering multiculturalism were found to be compatible. In fact, combining the notion of a strong Franco-Ontarian identity with diversity and inclusion means immigrant children in French-language schools can be incorporated into the collective identity as it also becomes a more pluralistic heterogeneous identity.

To academic audiences, these findings emphasise the role of agency in changing institutional structures. It is important to continue to consider agency when studying matters of institutionalism to have a full picture of the situation at hand. Within the field of policy, the findings can shed some light on why centralised policies such as the PANA programme, even with a strong base in structural institutionalism, can vary in their implementation in different locations. When there are contradictions or tensions within the field, such as the case here with collective identity construction and diversity and inclusion, it becomes clear that more guidance must be provided, or deliberate choices made to achieve consistency. At the same time, the findings shed light on the opportunities present within institutional frameworks to allow discretion involving

actors' own characteristics and interpretations. The study has also shown that collective identity construction can be used as a tool for integration without having to abandon notions of multiculturalism.

One respondent summarised the PANA programme neatly, “le PANA est quelque chose qui est d’une part très mécompris, c’est quelque chose très complexe, c’est quelque chose que je considère à certains égards une spécialisation¹⁸” (Anonymous A).

The PANA programme cannot be understood in a straight line defined by identitarian institutionalism. Such a view is much too limited for the complexity of the policy framework. There is neither one path from central policymaker to street-level bureaucrat implementing the curriculum, nor a single path in its delivery. The situation is more nuanced and involves not only the agency of actors but also an important duality of collective identity construction as well as the promotion of diversity and inclusion.

An important symbol of Franco-Ontarian collective identity is that of the green and white flag, as seen on the title page of this study (Millette & Gagnon, 2018). It has rallied Franco-Ontarians together over the years and represents the existence of a distinct people within Ontario. Now, the conception of what it means to be a part of this group is changing. One interview respondent expressed that the PANA programme offers the chance for students to integrate into the school culture as well as the larger community, “tout en partageant, en gardant leurs couleurs, leurs cultures¹⁹” (Nadine Taillon) - while also preserving their own colours. These colours, which range far beyond the historical green and white of Franco-Ontarians ‘de souches’ enrich the ever-evolving community.

7.2 Contribution to Existing Literature

Findings made throughout the study help understand educational governance and its ‘cornerstone’; curriculum policy (Gerrard & Farrell). It raises awareness of the complexity and the interesting dynamics which exist within public education, a field long neglected by public administration scholars according to Raffel (2007). Furthermore, the focus on curriculum policy rather than general educational governance has shed some light on this “neglected topic” in the research literature (Connelly & Connelly).

¹⁸ “PANA is something which is on the one hand very misunderstood, it is something very complex, and it is something that I consider to a certain extent a specialisation.”

¹⁹ “All while sharing, while keeping their colours, their cultures.”

This study contributes to the large body of work aimed at dispelling the political conception that integration, or in this case collective identity construction and diversity, cannot co-exist. The findings support arguments about this possibility made by authors such as Wright and Bloemraad (2012).

Finally, the study adds another voice to the explanations of the way multicultural policies across Canada have an impact on many aspects of life. In this case, it demonstrates the niche of minority language instruction of newcomers in Ontario and its link with social integration. The field of multicultural policy in Canada is much researched, however, the perspective of how it intersects with curriculum policy is unique and valuable.

7.3 Limitations of Study

The context of COVID-19 necessitated slight alterations to the study. The greatest impact of the pandemic was to eliminate any school administration (i.e. principals) as respondents for the study. Conducting interviews with principals would have benefited the study, however, it was flagged by teachers and school board contacts that principals were in unusually high demand during these difficult times, and therefore unable to participate. Such representation of school administration would have been very informative in understanding the reasons certain decisions are made concerning programme delivery, teacher selection, etc.

7.4 Questions for Future Research

This study further justifies Wright and Bloemraad's (2012) argument that integration and multiculturalism are not mutually exclusive by illustrating a curriculum policy which has both as important foci. The important perspective of the newcomers themselves, however, was overlooked. It would be informative to conduct empirical studies exploring whether it is possible for them to indeed feel integrated, yet manage to maintain their own heritage, culture and identity through participation in the PANA programme.

Respondents interviewed for the study had varying views on whether newcomers benefit from attending a French-language school within a minority context. While there are considerable efforts from the school boards, and on a larger scale as a political strategy of the Ontario Francophone community to recruit students into their schools, a question remains. Is it possible that being educated in a French-language school in Ontario, where English is the language of the majority impedes social integration as it creates a type of double minority? Do newcomers who do

not quickly acquire the language of the majority miss out on the possibility of a rich academic life and economic opportunities in the future?

Finally, from a purely public administration perspective, it would be interesting to determine if the complexity of the governance structure encountered is typical in educational governance, or if it is unique to the PANA programme and the Franco-Ontarian context. Comparative studies, or studies of other programmes within the French-language education system, the English-language education system, and beyond could provide useful insight and further the field of public education governance.

Chapter 8: Recommendations

Considering the practicality of the Public Administration field, an important element within its academic research design is to provide concrete recommendations regarding the topic in question. Such practical recommendations are included in this chapter.

The scope of this study was limited to understanding the role of institutionalism of collective identity construction of the French-language system in Ontario in the existence of the PANA curriculum. Nevertheless, it also provided a platform for actors at the policymaking and implementation levels to express their views. This study, with its methodological approach of semi-structured interviews including open-ended discussion, providing a forum for actors to discuss the PANA programme's strengths, weaknesses and potential. Such input can be translated into opportunities for improvement.

One aspect of the institutional nature of educational governance identified through analysis of the interviews is that reviews of formal curriculum are conducted infrequently and involve extensive consultation periods lasting multiple years and involving many actors in a stilted forum. In fact, a number of actors from the Ministry of Education and school board levels spoke of curriculum review, with some of the opinion that it was high time for the PANA programme to be updated (Charles Lamarche, Ingrid Stadler, Nadine Taillon). The findings of this study can inform the actors involved in the PANA programme at both the policymaking and delivery levels as part of such reviews and improve the quality and consistency of the programme by understanding the range of policy discretion which greatly affects the service provided in each school.

Understanding that formal curriculum policy does have an institutional path and that it is a path based on collective identity creation is a good starting place when altering the PANA programme for the current reality. It is also clear that even without lengthy formal revisions, more deliberate evolutions can be planned with the strategic creation of resources, rather than the current ad hoc strategy.

To contribute to the future development of the programme, and to provide something meaningful to the participants of the study, some trends have been identified from the analysis and are presented below in the form of recommendations. These are grouped within the interrelated themes of training, standardisation and centralisation.

8.1 Training

The current curriculum may be easily misunderstood if the teaching staff are not fully versed in the realities of the immigrant children's experience. If staff view the group as homogenous,

misunderstandings and improper treatment of academic planning can occur. Many respondents mentioned the need for the development of intercultural competencies to address this issue. A pan-Ontario training being developed for all staff in schools (from janitors to principals) is deemed a step in the right direction by many (Ingrid Stadler).

Intercultural competency training, while a good start, does not go far enough to deal with the issue of trauma mentioned as a major issue for newcomers in schools. More support and resources for teachers regarding Trauma-Informed Learning is required. Teachers must fully understand the possibility their students may have experienced trauma and its potential effects, if they are to effectively support them in their academic and social endeavours.

Currently, an additional qualification course is on offer. It provides opportunities for teachers to receive additional training if they have a special interest in welcoming newcomers. It is presented as a three-part certificate course in partnership with the pedagogical resource centre Centre-Franco (Charles Lamarche, Nadine Taillon). Many welcome this course, but it remains optional, and certification is not required to teach the PANA curriculum. In fact, one respondent was quite critical of this additional qualification course. She does not think it is enough, and especially finds the content to be problematic. She calls for broader reforms of the system to fight against systemic racism and discrimination inherent in the PANA programme (Anonymous A).

8.2 Standardisation

Some respondents interviewed were sceptical that the goals of the PANA programme are being met as intended, or that they are being met equally across the system. It is not possible to substantiate this claim with statistics since there are no specifically outlined standards or existing evaluation mechanisms. One respondent mentioned it appears the measure of success in the PANA programme is based on the quality of intentions. If intentions are good, and the teacher is ‘nice’, then it is deemed a good programme (Anonymous A). A possible way to ensure better standard quality is to demand specific approaches in the implementation of the programme. Ministry level contacts proposed that as the student population of French-language schools is evolving, ‘différentiation pédagogique’ combined with a culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy is key in support French-language learners and newcomer students academically and ensuring their wellbeing. Plurilingual approaches are encouraged while providing a framework for developing a modern French-speaking community in an intercultural context (Debra Newton).

Given that PANA students tend to go through frequent changes of class or schools, there needs to be more opportunities for information sharing and tracking through a standard process

that also respects privacy. Teaching staff would then be better prepared to welcome students the moment they enter the school system, or if and when they transfer to a new school. The lack of a full understanding of a child's background could have grave consequences, particularly if they have a history of trauma.

8.3 Centralisation

Centralisation here describes distribution of knowledge, evaluation and resources, rather than programme delivery. This suggestion aligns with the other recommendations for enhancing the introduction of new approaches and the availability of training. The benefits of training and resources will be lost, however, if there is no easily understood repository of knowledge, nor a clear understanding of how the system works. Grouping all resources and ensuring their equal dispersion and promotion across the province would ensure more consistency in the delivery of the PANA programme. It would reduce the differences in knowledge levels regarding how and what to teach and inform actors about the resources and organisation models that exist in the system.

The PANA programme offers an interesting glimpse into one of the many ways governments may choose to deal with the issue of under-educated newcomers arriving in their schools. In this particular instance, collective identity creation, integration and multiculturalism come together within the larger framework of educational governance to provide additional support to these children and help them achieve academic success and social integration.

The importance of providing recommendations in this context is clear as it can ultimately have an impact on young newcomers' lives. While some schools meet their goals and are delivered by dedicated individuals, the great policy discretion which exists fails to guarantee consistency. When discussing the goal of the PANA programme, one teacher stated, "le but c'est de s'assurer qu'ils arrivent à compléter leurs cours, le but c'est qu'il se découragent pas, le but c'est qu'ils voient un avenir²⁰" (Carolle Routhier). Ensuring each student has a future is a valiant goal, however, the outcome remains in the hands of individuals. Enacting structural change informed by knowledge of the larger institutional context of the PANA programme would lead to greater equality throughout the system and ultimately improved livelihood for these young newcomers, some of whom have experienced significant challenges along the way to Canada.

²⁰ "And the goal is to ensure they can complete their courses, the goal is that they do not get discouraged, the goal is that they have a future."

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Appendices

Appendix A - Additional Resources List

Monographie no. 35, Pédagogie sensible à la culture, Promouvoir l'équité et l'inclusivité dans les écoles de l'Ontario	Ontario Ministry of Education	2004
Politique d'aménagement linguistique de l'Ontario pour l'éducation en langue française	Ontario Ministry of Education	2004
L'admission, l'accueil et l'accompagnement des élèves dans les écoles de langue française de l'Ontario	Ontario Ministry of Education	2009
Memorandum No. 148, Policies Governing Admission to French-Language Schools in Ontario	Ontario Ministry of Education	2009
Une approche culturelle de l'enseignement pour l'appropriation de la culture dans les écoles de langue française	Ontario Ministry of Education	2009
Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario	Ontario Ministry of Education	2014
Diverses racines, diverses voix	Le Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques	2017
Pédagogie sensible à l'impact des traumatismes sur l'apprentissage	Le Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques	2019
Pédagogie sensible et adaptée à la culture (PSAC)	Le Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques	(Interactive Tool)
Trousse d'acquisition de compétence langagières en français (TACLEF)	Le Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques	(Interactive Tool)
* Le Centre franco produces resources through funding from the Ontario Ministry of Education.		

Appendix B - Interview Guide [French Version; used in interviews]

Question #	Question	Audience
Introduction		
1a	Quel est votre poste?	
1b	Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous dans ce poste?	
1c	Dans votre rôle, quel rapport avez-vous avec le programme PANA?	
Broad Ice-Breaking Questions		
2a	Pouvez-vous m'en dire un peu au sujet du programme PANA? (Par exemple, dans vos propres mots quels sont les buts du programme ou qu'est-ce que c'est exactement?)	
2b	D'après vous, pourquoi la communauté francophone de l'Ontario aurait-elle développé un programme de support additionnel pour les nouveaux arrivants?	
2c	Est-ce qu'il existe une approche particulière de la francophonie vis-à-vis la diversité et le multiculturalisme en Ontario?	
2d	Pourquoi les familles non-francophones choisissent d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école en français?	
Franco-Ontarian Identity		
3a	Pensez-vous qu'il y a une identité franco-ontarienne distincte? Si oui, est-ce que vous pouvez la décrire?	
3b	Comment est l'identité Franco-Ontarienne explicitement ou implicitement encouragée?	
3c	De quelle façon est-ce que l'éducation est utilisée pour promouvoir une identité Franco-Ontarienne?	
3d	Qu'est-ce qu'on attend de vous pour favoriser cette identité Franco-Ontarienne chez les élèves?	T
3e	Quelles sortes d'activités, parascolaires et dans le cadre du curriculum sont offertes à l'école pour créer cet esprit de l'identité francophone?	T & SB
3f	Comment sont les décisions prises pour faire les consignes de quels étudiants non-titulaires des droits peuvent être acceptés aux écoles de langue française?	SB & M
3g	Pourquoi on a mis tellement une emphase sur la francophonie dans le programme PANA?	M
Immigrant Education for Integration		
4a	Quels sont les défis liés à avoir des nouveaux arrivants en classe?	T
4b	Comment ces défis sont-ils relevés?	T
4c	Quels genres de structures ou réseaux existent pour appuyer les enseignants ou les écoles dans l'accueil des nouveaux arrivants?	
4d	De quelle façon le programme PANA facilite-t-il l'intégration des participants?	
4e	Quelle est l'approche du système scolaire de langue française en matière de recrutement de nouveaux arrivants?	
4f	Quels soutiens existent pour la formation des enseignants en matière de l'éducation interculturelles?	
4g	Pouvez-vous m'aider à comprendre les buts du domaine de l'Initiation à la société canadienne spécifié dans le curriculum PANA?	T & SB

Education as an Institutional Framework of Collective Identity Construction		
5a	Quelles ressources sont disponibles pour aider les enseignants avec la promotion de l'identité Franco-Ontarienne?	
5b	Est-ce qu'il y a des règles qui limitent ou encouragent le personnel enseignant à promouvoir l'identité francophone?	
5c	Quels soutiens existent pour la formation des enseignants en matière de sujets Franco-Ontariens?	T & SB
5c	Comment le ministère provincial de l'éducation collabore-t-il avec les autres niveaux du gouvernement pour faire une offre d'enseignement en français et du PANA?	M
5d	Existe-t-il des collaborations importantes avec d'autres ministères au niveau provincial dans l'offre d'enseignement en français?	M
5e	Lors de l'élaboration du curriculum PANA, quelles ont été les considérations les plus importantes?	M
5f	Dans le cadre des règles et du financement, comment est-il possible que le programme PANA existe? (Structurelle)	M
5g	Comment peuvent les écoles ou les conseils scolaires s'organiser à offrir le programme PANA? (Choix, financement, la structure etc.)	M
5h	Comment est-ce que votre conseil scolaire organise le programme PANA?	SB
5i	Comment est-ce que votre école organise le programme PANA?	T
Programme des Travailleuses et travailleurs en établissement dans les écoles (TÉÉ)		
6a	Pouvez-vous un peu m'expliquer quel est le programme des TÉÉs et sa structure?	TÉÉ
6b	Quel est la raison d'être du programme TÉÉ?	TÉÉ
6c	Comment les TÉÉs interagissent avec les autres acteurs clés du domaine? Ex. les écoles, les conseils, le Ministère, etc.	TÉÉ
6d	Plusieurs interlocuteurs ont mentionné que les TÉÉs sont le pont entre l'école, la famille et la communauté. Comment voyez-vous le rôle des TÉÉ envers l'intégration de toute la famille?	TÉÉ
6e	Comment on choisit où sont les besoins et où placer les TÉÉs?	TÉÉ
6f	Dans le programme PANA, la francophonie est en emphase et on essaye de promouvoir une identité franco-ontarienne. Est-ce que les TÉÉs jouent un rôle dans cette initiation à la francophonie canadienne?	TÉÉ
6g	C'est quoi le rapport entre le programme des TÉÉs et le programme PANA?	TÉÉ
Legend		
	Question for all respondents.	
T	Question for teachers.	
SB	Question for school board staff.	
M	Question for current and past Ministry of Education staff.	
TÉÉ	Question for respondents affiliated with the TÉÉ programme.	

Appendix C - Interview Guide [English Translation]

Question #	Question	Audience
Introduction		
1a	What is your position?	
1b	How long have you been in your position?	
1c	Within the scope of your role, what is your relationship with the PANA programme?	
Broad Ice-Breaking Questions		
2a	Could you tell me a bit more about the PANA programme? (For example, in your own words could you tell me the goals of the programme and what is it exactly?)	
2b	Why do you think the Francophone community in Ontario specifically, developed this additional support system for newcomers?	
2c	Is there a specific Francophone approach to dealing with diversity and multiculturalism in Ontario?	
2d	Why would non-Francophone families choose to send their children to a French-language school?	
Franco-Ontarian Identity		
3a	Do you think there is a distinct Franco-Ontarian identity? If so, could you describe it?	
3b	How is the Franco-Ontarian identity promoted, explicitly or implicitly?	
3c	In what way is education a way of fostering a Franco-Ontarian identity?	
3d	What are you expected to do in order to foster this Franco-Ontarian identity in the students?	T
3e	What types of activities, both extracurricular and within the curriculum are offered at the school which foster a spirit of Francophone identity?	T & SB
3f	How are decisions made for guidelines on which non-right holder students can be accepted into French-language schools?	SB & M
3g	Why is there such an emphasis on Francophonie in the PANA programme?	M
Immigrant Education for Integration		
4a	What are the challenges of having newcomers in the classroom?	T
4b	How are these challenges addressed?	T
4c	What kinds of structures or networks exist to support teachers or schools in welcoming newcomers?	
4d	How do you see the PANA programme facilitating integration of the participants?	
4e	What is the French-language education system's approach to recruitment of newcomers?	
4f	Which supports exist for training of teachers when it comes to intercultural education?	
4g	Could you help me understand the goals of the 'Initiation à la société canadienne' section of the PANA curriculum?	T & SB

Education as an Institutional Framework of Collective Identity Construction		
5a	What resources are available to assist teachers with the promotion of the Franco-Ontarian identity?	
5b	Are there rules or regulations limiting or encouraging the teaching staff to promote the Francophone identity?	
5c	What supports exist for the training of teachers when it comes to Franco-Ontarian matters?	T & SB
5c	How does the provincial Ministry of Education collaborate with other levels of government to provide French-language education and the PANA programme?	M
5d	Are there any important collaborations with other ministries at the provincial level in the provision of French-language education?	M
5e	When developing the PANA curriculum, what were the most important considerations?	M
5f	In terms of regulations and financing, how is it possible for the PANA programme to exist? (Structurally)	M
5g	How do schools or school boards functionally offer the PANA programme? (In terms of choice, financing, structure, etc.)	M
5h	How does your school board organise the PANA programme?	SB
5i	How does your school organise the PANA programme?	T
Programme des Travailleuses et travailleurs en établissement dans les écoles (TÉÉ)		
6a	Can you tell me a bit about the TÉÉ programme and its structure?	TÉÉ
6b	What is the raison d'être of the TÉÉ programme?	TÉÉ
6c	How do the TÉÉ workers interact with the other key actors in this domain? Ex. schools, school boards, the Ministry, etc.	TÉÉ
6d	Many interlocutors mentioned that the TÉÉ workers are the bridge between school, family and community. How do you see the role of the TÉÉ workers in terms of integration for the entire family?	TÉÉ
6e	How is the need for the TÉÉ programme assessed and how are the workers placed?	TÉÉ
6f	In the PANA programme, Francophonie is emphasised and a Franco-Ontarian identity is promoted. Do the TÉÉ workers play a role in this initiation to Canadian Francophonie?	TÉÉ
6g	What is the relationship between the TÉÉ and PANA programmes?	TÉÉ
Legend		
	Question for all respondents.	
T	Question for teachers.	
SB	Question for school board staff.	
M	Question for current and past Ministry of Education staff.	
TÉÉ	Question for respondents affiliated with the TÉÉ programme.	