Articles

A Raciolinguistic Exploration of Pre-Service ESL Teachers' Conceptualization of Plurilingualism Using Drawings

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In Canada, many English as a second language (ESL) teachers work with linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse student populations. Increased ethnic and racial diversity and shifts in the linguistic landscape in the classroom indicate a great need for pedagogical frameworks that account for learners' linguistic and cultural diversity. In Canadian initial teacher education (ITE) programs, this is often done by introducing teachers to the concept of plurilingualism. However, ESL teachers today work within a system that reinforces and reproduces oppressive language ideologies, such as monolingual ideologies and deficit-oriented perspectives toward language use. As such, for language teacher educators, actively working on identifying and deconstructing these underlying ideologies is essential to realize systemic pedagogical change.

In this article, we present an arts-based multiliteracies project developed in an ITE language course to raise future ESL teachers' critical language awareness (CLA) about plurilingualism, their linguistic repertoire, and ideologies about language learning. Centring the intersection of language and race, we begin by examining how this informs teaching ESL in Canada. Next, we examine both the notion of plurilingualism and results from ITE research on teachers' beliefs about using plurilingualism in their practice. We then introduce our conceptual framework, rooted in raciolinguistics and arts-based methodologies, developed to elicit and examine future teachers' beliefs. Our guiding research question was the following: Accounting for novice ESL teachers racial, linguistic, and ethnic profiles, how do raciolinguistic discourses permeate their plurilingual identities? We employed a multimodal discourse analysis, combining visual narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis, to account for the intersection of language and racial ideologies in the professional identity formation of future language teachers.

Au Canada, un grand nombre d'enseignants de l'anglais langue seconde (ALS) œuvrent auprès de populations estudiantines diversifiées sur le plan linguistique, culturel et racial. L'augmentation de la diversité ethnique et raciale ainsi que l'évolution du paysage linguistique dans les salles de classe soulignent un besoin important pour des cadres pédagogiques qui tiennent compte de la diversité linguistique et culturelle des apprenants. Dans les programmes de formation initiale canadiens, cela se fait souvent en présentant aux enseignants le concept de plurilinguisme.

Cependant, les enseignants d'ALS travaillent aujourd'hui dans un système qui renforce et reproduit des idéologies linguistiques oppressives, telles que les idéologies monolingues et les perspectives axées sur le déficit en matière d'utilisation des langues. Ainsi, pour les formateurs d'enseignants de langues, il est essentiel de travailler activement à l'identification et à la déconstruction de ces idéologies sous-jacentes afin de réaliser un changement pédagogique systémique.

Dans cet article, nous présentons un projet de multilittératies basé sur les arts, développé dans un cours de langue en formation initiale afin de promouvoir la conscience linguistique critique des futurs enseignants d'ALS à propos du plurilinguisme, de leur répertoire linguistique et de leurs idéologies en matière d'apprentissage des langues. En mettant l'accent sur l'intersection de la langue et de la race, nous commençons par examiner la manière dont cela façonne l'enseignement de l'ALS au Canada. Ensuite, nous examinons à la fois la notion de plurilinguisme et les résultats des recherches menées dans les contextes de formation initiale sur les croyances des enseignants quant à l'adoption du plurilinguisme dans leur pratique. Nous présentons ensuite notre cadre conceptuel, ancré dans la raciolinguistique et les méthodes basées sur l'art, élaboré pour susciter et examiner les croyances des futurs enseignants. Notre question de recherche principale était la suivante : en tenant compte des profils raciaux, linguistiques et ethniques des enseignants novices de l'ALS, comment les discours raciolinguistiques influencent-ils leurs identités plurilingues? Nous avons utilisé une analyse multimodale du discours, combinant l'analyse narrative visuelle et l'analyse critique du discours, pour rendre compte de l'intersection des idéologies linguistiques et raciales dans la formation de l'identité professionnelle des futurs enseignants de langues.

Keywords: arts-based multiliteracies research, critical language awareness, ESL, plurilingualism, pre-service teachers, teacher identities

To prepare to teach equitably, teachers in ITE programs learn about additive and subtractive bilingualism, translanguaging, and plurilingualism as concepts and pedagogies. These important conceptual and ideological shifts can prepare them for the multi-/plurilingual turn in language education (Kubota, 2020). In our own practice as teacher educators, we approach this by developing teachers' CLA by intentionally examining how language teachers' experiences with language learning and their linguistic and cultural knowledge play a role in their developing identities. In the following sections, we examine the research on how future language teachers engage with plurilingualism. In this article, we focus on the concept of plurilingualism, as this was the concept we were working on with students when they created their portraits.

Plurilingualism as a theory emerged in response to monolingual hegemony, particularly as it stood in the way of promoting European Union citizenry. Stemming from a Eurocentric perspective on language learning, plurilingualism emerged in Europe in the 1980s as a means to forge closer economic, social, and political ties among nation-states of the European Union (Candelier et al., 2010). Plurilingualism as a theory aims to reframe language learning and language holistically such that it highlights the interaction of individuals' linguistic and cultural resources. In this view, individuals are repositioned as social agents

who actively draw on their evolving linguistic and cultural repertoires to make sense of the world during social interactions. Importantly, in an asset-based perspective toward language acquisition, "even the most partial competences in and awareness of languages and cultures" (Council of Europe, 2024, para 3) warrant recognition. This view of language learners' repertoires and the potential for it to challenge monolingual ideologies indicate a move toward more inclusive and complex views of language and language use. Canada's unique heterogeneous classroom communities allow ESL teachers who are familiar with plurilingualism to make use of their learners' linguistic repertoires and to create language-learning experiences that valorize learners' contributions.

Previous studies have looked at future teachers' identity through a plurilingual lens and identified underlying ideologies that may hinder, support, or challenge the effective use of plurilingualism in the classroom. Taking the positionality of "plurilingual teacher" as a point of focus, research has highlighted their unique capacities. In one Canadian study, Faez (2012) identified that teachers who speak multiple languages are generally more empathetic and provide more assistance to English language learners who might be facing culture shock and/or educational challenges and who lack local cultural knowledge. In a Hawaiian study, Higgins and Ponte (2017) demonstrated how plurilingual teachers have more facility with developing content and curricula that speak to plurilingual learners. However, "plurilingual teacher" is rarely a positionality that is acknowledged in ITE. In Australia, Moloney and Giles (2015) investigated how plurilingual future teachers formed beliefs about their contributions to the profession during their ITE. They noted that teachers' plurilingual life experiences were invisibilized during their program, as there were no links made between their personal and professional identities. This led to feelings of exclusion when they were in schools that uphold monolingual policies and feelings of validation when they were placed in schools with diverse student populations. Moloney and Giles point out the need for ITE to account for the unique trajectories of future teachers and how this impacts the development of their future practice and their sense of self as professionals.

However, identifying as plurilingual is not enough to challenge hegemonic monoglossic ideologies. In Spain, Birello et al. (2021) showed how plurilingual teachers were more apt at recognizing and acknowledging forms of plurilingualism among students that mimicked their own, discounting those that drew from languages they were not familiar with. This suggests that teachers need intentional preparation in adopting a critical plurilingual stance.

In the North American context, the conversation about plurilingualism has expanded to include the intersectionality of race in the language curriculum, Indigeneity, colonialism, and anti-/de-colonial efforts (Lau & Van Viegen, 2020; Suraweera, 2022), what Shank Lauwo et al. (2022) refer to as "equity-oriented plurilingual approaches" (p. 113). Some critiques about plurilingualism refer to the fact that originally, it operated from the idealistic neoliberal stance that all languages have equal status. Seen through an apolitical lens, this may be a valid claim; in actuality, official policies and racializing discourses create hierarchies between languages that affect their power in different spheres (Hill, 2009). For example, Kubota and Bale (2020) highlight how neoliberal ideologies shape perceptions of plurilingualism to favour economically advantageous languages. In the Canadian context, English and French are particularly valued due to the commodification of bilingualism, leading to the gentrification of bilingual language programs (Kubota & Bale, 2020), which disproportionately benefit privileged, White families (Kunnas, 2019, 2023). This perspective, which elevates the status of English and French, further marginalizes heritage or Indigenous languages.

Critical Language Awareness for Language-Teacher Identity Construction

Language-teacher identities are indissociable from teaching practice (Cheung et al., 2015). For instance, Madamsetti (2020) demonstrated how one plurilingual teacher's social positioning toward race and social

class critically affected her interaction with students and the professional decisions she made in the classroom. Fundamental to our understanding of language teachers' evolving identities is their intersection with race (as well as gender, class, citizenship status, accent, etc.). As Von Esch et al. (2020) explain, "the racialized nature of teacher identities is particularly noticeable in the teaching of languages whose history of transmission has followed clear racial patterns, such as under conditions of colonialism" (p. 404). As such, the concept of identity-as-pedagogy (Motha et al., 2012) highlights identity's role in the development of teachers' pedagogy. Taking the position that embodied identities inform pedagogy, we seek to explore the link between beliefs about languages and race, through CLA (Alim, 2010; Fairclough, 2014), more deeply.

CLA is the awareness of relationships between languages and of power differentials and the identification and critique of standards via norms, policies, and practices in the classroom, for the purpose of understanding how these affect students' learning experiences. To ensure they form their professional judgement based on their experiences and evidence-based research, it is important to identify pre-service teachers' initial beliefs about bi-/plurilingual education (Shepard-Carey & Gopalakrishnan, 2023). CLA also has implications for future teachers' practice as it informs the didactic moves they make in the classroom (Mendoza, 2023).

Various methods, including visual narrative reflections (Rocafort, 2019), case studies (Madamsetti, 2020), questionnaires (Le Nevez, 2010; Maatouk & Payant, 2022), problem-based learning (Mary & Young, 2010), and intensive workshops (Benert & Hélot, 2010; Dooly & Vallejo, 2020), have been used to track and evaluate the evolution of teachers' understanding from a CLA perspective as it pertains to developing plurilingual pedagogy. CLA within a plurilingual education framework in teacher education has been largely researched and advocated for in Europe (Brinkmann et al., 2022; Brinkmann & Melo-Pfeifer, 2023; Erhart et al., 2010); however, investigations in the Canadian context remain limited. When it comes to using artistic methods, Valencia et al. (2020) demonstrated how the use of multimodal identity-texts can be powerful tools to help teachers identify their beliefs and how these unfold in their developing practice. Masson and Côté (2024) used plurilingual portraits and a visual-narrative raciolinguistic analysis to examine the identity construction of French as a second language teachers which revealed how the vastly different positionalities teachers take up are entrenched in complex interactions with language-standard ideologies, native-speakerism, colonialism, and racism. Although some research has looked at how future teachers can develop critical awareness around ideologies about immigration and race when working with English language learners (e.g., Faez, 2012; Pappamihiel, 2007), to our knowledge no research has examined the identity construction of plurilingual ESL teachers as it intersects with race in the Canadian context.

Conceptual Framework

Since the connection between language and race has long been obfuscated in language teacher education (Von Esch et al., 2020), we draw on raciolinguistics (Alim, 2016; Rosa & Flores, 2017) to more intentionally uncover colonial and oppressive ideologies that permeate future ESL teachers' thinking, and particularly how these will influence their comprehension of plurilingualism as a concept, a method, and a stance. For this, it is important to know that colonizing ideologies and histories contribute to the prevailing association of English with Whiteness. Hence, we use the construct of the White listening subject (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017) to unpack such ideologies. The White listening subject is "an ideological position and mode of perception" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 151) which filters language practices through the idealized linguistic practices valued and normalized by the White middle class. In applying raciolinguistic theory to the Canadian context, we examine how language ideologies around normative monolingualism and official bilingualism intersect with the notion of race, specifically as they tie into ideas of deficit-oriented perspectives and linguistic purity, which we explain below.

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First, in modern nation-states, normative monolingualism supposes that it is "natural" for a given society to use only one language and that languages should be kept separate. Even though Canada is officially bilingual, bilingualism here is constructed through "doubling up" normative monolingualism: what Cummins (2007) has called the "two solitudes," where English and French co-exist in the same nation-state but as separate closed entities that do not interact. Normative monolingualism can be reflected in people's way of thinking, and it works to erode the intergenerational transmission of minority/heritage languages and contributes to subordinating plurilinguals who speak languages other than French and English as less worthy and less legitimate citizens (Fuller, 2018). These practices were common in the 1970s and 1980s in Canada (and continue to be), when immigrant parents were discouraged by teachers from speaking their home language to their children to avoid "confusing" them as they learned English and/or French at school (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Of course, these discourses intersect with racial ideologies and work to further marginalize immigrants from racial minority groups. In this article, we use the notion of racialization to refer to a social process that affects "social groups [such that they are] distinguished and subjected to differential and unequal treatment on the basis of supposed biological, phenotypical and cultural characteristics" (Dei, 1996, p. 252). In the Canadian context, White individuals, who are part of the racial majority, benefit from racializing processes. People who identify, for instance, as Indigenous, Black, Brown, Middle Eastern, or Asian are part of the racial minority and are disadvantaged by racializing processes.

Next, reinforcing normative monolingualism, language purity ideologies suggest that a language can maintain its integrity only if it is stable and unchanging (i.e., free from disruptive and foreign linguistic influences). In the Canadian context, this serves to reinforce the power of French and English, as the linguistic stability and purity of these national languages is meant to reflect the legitimacy, stability, and unchanging nature of Canada as a nation-state. As such, in the Canadian context, plurilinguals of languages other than French and English are seen as potential "contamination" agents who could threaten the sanctity of the nation-state (Thobani, 2007). Intersecting with racial ideologies, these discourses worked to reinforce racial hierarchies of who "belongs" in the Canadian context.

Lastly, conceptualizations of second language acquisition rely on deficit-oriented perspectives toward competency, fluency, and legitimacy, namely through normative monolingualism and ideologies about language purity (Blommaert et al., 2012). A raciolinguistic perspective reveals the historical and structural processes in which deficit-oriented perspectives about language use are rooted, where, for example, the same bilingual practices seen among White children are celebrated while children from minority racial groups are seen as deficient or deviant (Rosa & Flores, 2017). Discussions about linguistic purity can easily and dangerously be used as a proxy for ideas about ethnoracial purity and superiority.

Given that ESL teachers in Canada work within a system that reinforces and reproduces oppressive language ideologies toward language use (Bale et al., 2023; Shank Lauwo et al., 2022), we seek to understand whether they adopt a plurilingual stance, what forms of resistance they show, and how that resistance is tied strongly to neoliberal, raciolinguistic, and colonial/oppressive ideologies about language learning and the status of languages locally.

Using Portraiture to Elicit Teacher Ideologies about Plurilingualism

This qualitative study employed visual narratives to gather data and critical discourse analysis to interpret it. We work with arts-based methodologies in our teacher education course to elicit future teachers' language ideologies (e.g., Melo-Pfeifer & Chik, 2022; Moore et al., 2020; Rocafort, 2019) and to further CLA through classroom discussions. Arts-based methodologies involve using multimodal multiliteracies (such as drawings, writing poetry or narratives, collaging, etc.) to capture the negotiation and interaction of discourses and ideologies throughout an artistic meaning-making process (Peters & Mongeon-Ferré, 2023).

Through arts-based methodologies, researchers can gather information via alternative modes and access ideas that may not easily be expressed verbally (Barone & Eisner, 2011; Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmund, 2008). Aligning with a CLA approach to teacher education, art that involves auto-portraiture (e.g., drawings, self-portraits) can become a tool for teachers to cast a critical perspective on their own linguistic and cultural journeys (Fillol, 2016; Molinié, 2009, 2019).

In Leitch's (2006) study of the interconnectivity of teachers' personal and professional identities, her participants indicated that arts-based activities allowed them to make sense of their own (and others') ideas about who they are (becoming) as teachers. Rocafort (2019) used a visual-narrative approach (i.e., drawings) to identify how her participants articulated ideas about plurilingualism and how they understand the principles of plurilingual education. Moore et al. (2020) used visual narratives to capture participants' developing plurilingual competence and demonstrate an ongoing transformative process where they questioned their perceptions of self and their relationships to others and considered repositioning their students as agents of their own learning. Melo-Pfeifer and Chik (2022), who invited language teachers to draw their linguistic biographies, were able to identify stereotypes in shaping attitudes toward the language-culture of instruction. All of these studies suggest that arts-based multiliteracies are a powerful tool for rendering meaning-making processes explicit, helping teacher educators identify underlying beliefs and discourses that could have implications on their future practice.

The Study

The study is part of a larger, ongoing project on second language teachers' identity development toward a critical and socially just orientation, set in the Ontarian context where English is the official and dominant language at the provincial level. French, which has official status at the federal level, is a minority language in Ontario, along with a wealth of other languages that do not have official status, such as Arabic, Vietnamese, Kurdish, Farsi, Mandarin, Japanese, and Korean (we name here, as examples, the languages found in our participants' linguistic repertoires). We worked with a group of students preparing to become ESL teachers in a four-year second language teaching program over one semester (January to April 2021) at a bilingual university in Ontario located in a city that has officially enacted a Bilingualism By-law to recognize the city's bilingual character and provide services to citizens in French and English, in accordance with the federal bilingualism policy. The course, on teaching speaking and writing in a second language, took place synchronously over Zoom during the COVID-19 pandemic. Teacher candidates engaged in a series of activities and assignments that encouraged them to reflect on their own experiences to inform their potential future practice. The course addressed the fundamentals of plurilingualism and critical perspectives in language education (including culturally responsive pedagogy and antiracist and anti-oppressive education). We received ethics approval from the university to recruit students to the study once the course was over and final grades had been submitted to the department.

Participants

All 15 students in the course, second-year students between the ages of 18 and 25, were invited to participate in the study. We recruited seven participants (*n* = 7). Most had very limited experience teaching English. A few had worked as camp counsellors or tutors. We asked participants to self-identify their linguistic, cultural, and racial/ethnic background, provided in Table 1. All the names are self-selected pseudonyms and listed in alphabetical order.

Table 1

Participant Profiles (in alphabetical order)

Name	Linguistic identifier	Racial/ethnic identifier	Linguistic repertoire	Cultural repertoire	Citizenship status
Céleste	Simultaneous bilingual	White French Canadian and Anglophone	English- and French-dominant	French Canadian	Born in Canada
Charlotte	Bilingual	White Canadian	English-dominant; fluent in French	Canadian French	Born in Canada
Jade	Monolingual	White Canadian with mixed English/French Canadian background	English-dominant; limited French	Canadian	Born in Canada; Canadian citizen
John	Monolingual but striving toward being plurilingual	Middle Eastern, Persian, Southeast Asian, Vietnamese, Canadian	English-dominant; at slight ease in French; limited in Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin; some Farsi, Kurdish, and Vietnamese	Canadian, Persian, Vietnamese	Born in Canada; Canadian citizen
Lindsey	Bilingual	Levant Arab	Levantine Arabic-dominant; Standard Arabic; English	Lebanese	Lebanese citizen; immigrated to Canada at age 7; Canadian citizen
Nora	Bilingual (EN/FR); knowledge of Arabic	White Canadian of European heritage	English-dominant, advanced French knowledge; limited Arabic knowledge	Canadian, French (European)	Canadian citizen by birth
Thomas	Bilingual	White Canadian of European French heritage	French- and English-dominant; French remains stronger L1	Canadian, more specifically Québec	Born and raised in Canada; Canadian citizen

Data Collection

During the course, students were asked to draw a plurilingual portrait (Farmer & Prasad, 2014) and provide a brief description, which we later refer to as a curatorial statement. Plurilingual portraits are individual visual representations of people's linguistic repertoires. While they were not shown examples of other portraits, so as not to influence their creations, they were provided with a step-by-step procedure on how to create their plurilingual portraits, which is available as a pedagogical guide for other teacher educators.[1] By asking them to create their own plurilingual portraits, we sought to understand "how power and ideologies work together to shape linguistic realities (conventions and practice)" (Taylor et al., 2017, pp. 4–5). The aim was to think about the concept and how it might apply to their own experiences. Students were given the following prompt:

> Please complete your plurilingual portrait. Write a **title** and **description** of your silhouette in a short paragraph, a poem, or any other style you wish. For example, describe the colours, what they symbolise, what elements you added and why, etc.

We downloaded the work of students who agreed to participate in the study and established lines of communication with them for member-checking sessions.

Data Analysis

Working from the principles of multimodal discourse analysis (Kress & Bezemer, 2023), our analysis moved through three stages, combining visual-narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis. The process was not entirely linear, and we moved back and forth between different stages, working collaboratively and seeking consensus in our interpretations.

In the first stage, we conducted a semiotic and iconographic analysis to understand the denotative and connotative meanings within participants' portraits through visual-narrative analysis (van Leeuwen, 2011). The denotative meaning describes an artwork and is influenced by the viewer's knowledge of its context (Van Leeuwen, 2011). For example, we might describe a portrait as "a participants' represented plurilingual repertoire." The connotative meaning is the "layer of broader concepts, ideas, values" that the artwork represents (Van Leeuwen, 2011, p. 6). In our analysis, the connotative meaning is found in the curatorial statements the participants wrote about their portraits. To support our interpretation of the iconological symbolism embedded within the denotative and connotative meanings of each portrait, we used elements (i.e., *point, line, shape, value, form, texture, space*, and *colour*) and principles (i.e., *balance, proportion, contrast, repetition, rhythm, pattern, movement, emphasis,* and *unity*) of design (Field, 2018). Iconological symbolism is the meaning that the viewer creates based on the composition. We operate on the idea that "art [is] a symptom of something else [and] we interpret its compositional and iconographic features as … evidence of this 'something else'" (Panofsky, 1970, cited in Van Leeuwen, 2011, p. 10). We note here the importance of recognizing the myriad ongoing possible interpretations of a visual text across its context of production and consumption (Rose, 2022). Because meaning-making is a relational process that is highly contextual, the analysis presented in this article is not meant to be an absolute interpretation of the data.

After both researchers had the opportunity to reflect on the visual narrative analysis of each portrait, we engaged in a second stage, where we drew on the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA). This allowed us to consider "the way social power ..., dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and

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[1] See https://sites.google.com/view/l2-art/english/teacher-guides.

resisted by text" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Considering language as a product of the history, society, and sociopolitical contexts (Fairclough, 2015), discourse "reflects and constructs the social world … political, social, racial, economic, religious, and cultural formations" (Rogers, 2011, p. 1), so analyzing the curatorial statements enabled us to examine the polyphony of voices (Bakhtin, 1986) that allow for both (re)productions and subversions of racist, colonial, and oppressive representations of language, identity, and belonging in the Canadian context. In this case, we explicitly sought to identify language ideologies that emerged when our participants referred to their plurilingual identities textually. Conducting a line-by-line analysis of the curatorial statements as part of the interpretation phase of CDA, we read the curatorial statements critically for (a) the choices of language being used and its discursive purpose; (b) the assumptions being made, and (c) how the language connects to current sociopolitical events, contexts, or institutions (Fairclough, 2015).

Finally, we conducted a holistic reading of the data as a multimodal unit by zooming in and out of the data and accounting for the interplay of the curatorial statements and visual-narrative analysis, which Rose (2022) advocates for visual methodologies. After our initial analysis, we decided to apply a raciolinguistic conceptual framework, which posits that notions of race are embedded within language ideologies, to provide a more nuanced picture of novice ESL teachers' identity construction. The study evolved organically as we evolved as teacher educators who sought to investigate the discursive processes involved in teacher identity formation in more complex ways, as has been done elsewhere (Bale et al., 2023). Working from the premise that race is embedded within discourses about language, belonging, and identity in the Canadian context (Crump, 2014; Kubota et al., 2023; Sarkar & Allen, 2007), we moved into the third stage of the analysis, that is, examining how multimodal discursive in-/exclusions (whether visual or textual) reproduce raciolinguistic ideologies, and their effects. Taking this stance, we "plugged in" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2022) our raciolinguistic conceptual framework to identify ideologies that emerged (or did not emerge) and locate intersections of power, language, and race as we examined how Canadian ESL teachers constructed their plurilingual identity semiotically and discursively. From this, three themes emerged. These were the most commonly recurring and pertinent to our conceptual framework.

We informed participants of our intended focus on raciolinguistic discourses as the study progressed, first by asking them to self-identify their racial profiles and then by sharing with them our raciolinguistic multimodal discourse analysis. Throughout our analysis, we reviewed our interpretations with our participants through member checking (Creswell, 2014). We engaged with them to negotiate our interpretations of the data at three points in the data analysis: first, when we finalized the data collected (sending the portrait and the curatorial statement to each participant for review); next, after the visual-narrative analysis (first stage); and finally, after the CDA informed by raciolinguistics (third stage). Each time, we informed participants of the progress being made in the study and asked them to provide any comments, to feel free to request any changes in the analysis, or to withdraw from the study. In total, five participants responded at different points in the member-checking process, with each stating that they had no changes or adjustments they would make to our interpretations.

We feel it is important to note that the authors are both plurilingual White women of European heritage with a combined linguistic repertoire of Anishinabemowin, Dutch, Japanese, Spanish, Korean, French, and English. One is Canadian-born, while the other immigrated to Canada as a child. As teacher-educators who find themselves in positions of power/authority in our classes, we strive to name and deconstruct our linguistic, racial, and ethnocultural privilege when working with future language teachers. For this, critical readings and discussions from the field of language education and beyond inform our thinking (e.g., Kunnas et al., 2023).

Findings

In this section, we first present each participant's plurilingual portraits in alphabetical order, based on their chosen pseudonyms. Next, we conduct a visual analysis of the portraits to examine how beginner ESL teachers engaged with the concept of plurilingualism. Principles and elements of design have been italicized. For each participant, we include their self-selected racial identifier; see Table 1 for more information about each participant.

Figure 1

Céleste's Plurilingual Portrait

"I think my linguistic journey has been very straightforward as I could be the poster child for a simultaneous bilingual Canadian. Am a proud Franco-Ontarian as well, I use both frequently and switch subconsciously. I cherish the arts and my job very much! This means I adore music, learning, reading and swimming. The colours are vibrant as I'm very bubbly and energetic. I titled this masterpiece "Just Keep Learning" as an ode to the dazzling Dory, which always reminds us to keep going, no matter how many times you fail."

Céleste, who identifies as a White French Canadian and Anglophone, uses *line* and *shape* to create a two-dimensional *space* where we see many symbols. She uses the colour red as the background for her surfboard and uses white lines to create some details that allude to the Canadian flag. Céleste's use of *shape*, *colour*, and *line* bring our attention to her bathing suit, where the Franco-Ontarian symbols are found. She makes strong associations between English and French and the bilingual nation-state. For example, she uses a Canadian maple leaf, the Ontario trillium flower, as well as the fleur-de-lys, which represents francophone heritage among Franco-Ontarians. The placement of the French and English symbols on her body and on her surfboard, respectively, suggest a clear separation within her bilingual identity, with her French identity being closer to/on her person, while the English identity is outside her body, something that she carries with her.

Céleste self-identifies as a simultaneous bilingual (see Table 1) who has had a "very straightforward" linguistic journey. As a White English and French speaker, Céleste identifies as "the poster child for a simultaneous bilingual Canadian," revealing the value she places on official bilingualism and the influence of normative monolinguistic ideologies in the Canadian context.

Figure 2

Charlotte's Plurilingual Portrait
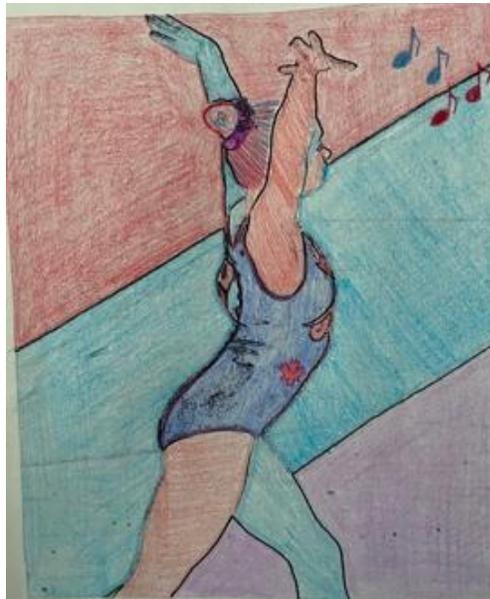
"I've included three languages, English, Spanish, and French though French and English are the two that I'm fluent in. Spanish, I'm just learning. French is blue, English is red and Spanish is purple. This particular picture is of me competing at the finals at the National Championships. My family is completely English however, I'm completely bilingual. Gymnastics was the first time I was exposed to French and I was two years old at the time. I trained 25 hours a week from ages 12 to 17. Therefore, I was greatly exposed to French and its beautiful culture. I chose this picture of me competing on the floor because music has to be playing for the routine. And I used it to represent the fact that I listened to both English and French music. Listening to music is one of my favourite things to do. And it's a way that I can immerse myself in both the English and French culture.

I chose my suit to be blue because without gymnastics, I wouldn't have been exposed to French at such a young age. I added a Canadian flag to my suit to represent my nationality and culture. I also added some red designs close to the stomach to represent my culture once again by the food that I eat. I'm half Newfie and I'm proud to be. My hair is mainly in red because it was brought up in an English household. However, I've been learning French since I was two years old. And I do think a little bit in French as well. So that is why I added some blue. My scrunchy in my hair is purple to represent Spanish because I'm only learning though it is a goal of mine to one day be able to think in Spanish as well. This is why I chose the scrunchy because a scrunchy is not yet a part of me and can be removed, but I'm striving for it to become a part of me. My lips turn blue because I speak mainly in French because I work, speak to my friends and go to school in French. For the background, I included all three colours. I added purple at the bottom of the page on my feet because I see it as a pyramid, because we must start at the bottom to get to the top. I put red to represent English by my head because it was the first language I was exposed to. I added blue to represent French in the middle, that covers most of my body, because it is the language that I use most of my life. Finally, I separated my body in half so it is blue and red to demonstrate the fact that I'm bilingual and have adapted to the culture of both languages. Therefore, they are both an equal part of my identity."

Charlotte, who identifies as a White Canadian, uses *colour* to represent the languages she speaks (French, blue; English, red; Spanish, purple) and *form* and *value* to create a three-dimensional depiction of herself doing gymnastics. Charlotte includes red and blue musical notes in her portrait to indicate that she listens to French and English music. Listening to French music is a deliberate choice, especially in an English-dominant province like Ontario. From this, we understand that Charlotte values her identity as a

"bilingual," as she demonstrates actively making choices to enrich it. Like Céleste, although Charlotte is fluent and can move between her languages easily, the placement of the colours on different parts of her body and their clear separation with diagonal lines in the background indicate an inherent division between French and English.

Her scrunchie is purple to represent Spanish, and she is "striving for it to become a part of [her]." Interestingly, Charlotte presents Spanish as something she can "remove" from her body, indicating it "is not yet a part of [her]." We note that despite also learning Spanish, Charlotte still only identifies as bilingual in French and English.

Figure 3

Jade's Plurilingual Portrait

"I have a few different shades of blue for English to represent the different streams of English I use. My head I have for more academic English I use in my studies, and my hands are a lighter shade for the more common English I use in my everyday life. I also coloured my mouth the same lighter blue as the viral English I use the most is also more colloquial in nature. I drew roots on my feet and shaded them a dark shade to represent that the majority of my skills in English stem from my love of reading. The rest of my body I tried to blend the three shades of blue together to show how they're all a part of the English base I've developed over the years and all the aspects of the different streams have shaped my current use of English. Now I'm not fluent in French, but I included it on my body as it was part of my life when I was younger from both my mother's family and from French classes through grade school. So the orange on my legs represents more of my past with French and my experiences with it when I was younger."

Jade, who identifies as a White Canadian with mixed English/French Canadian background, uses *line*, *shape*, and *colour* to create her plurilingual portrait. While Jade indicates that she speaks only English and identifies as monolingual (see Table 1), she makes moves toward assuming a plurilingual identity by referencing different registers of English. She uses academic and colloquial varieties of English, which she represents using different shades of blue.
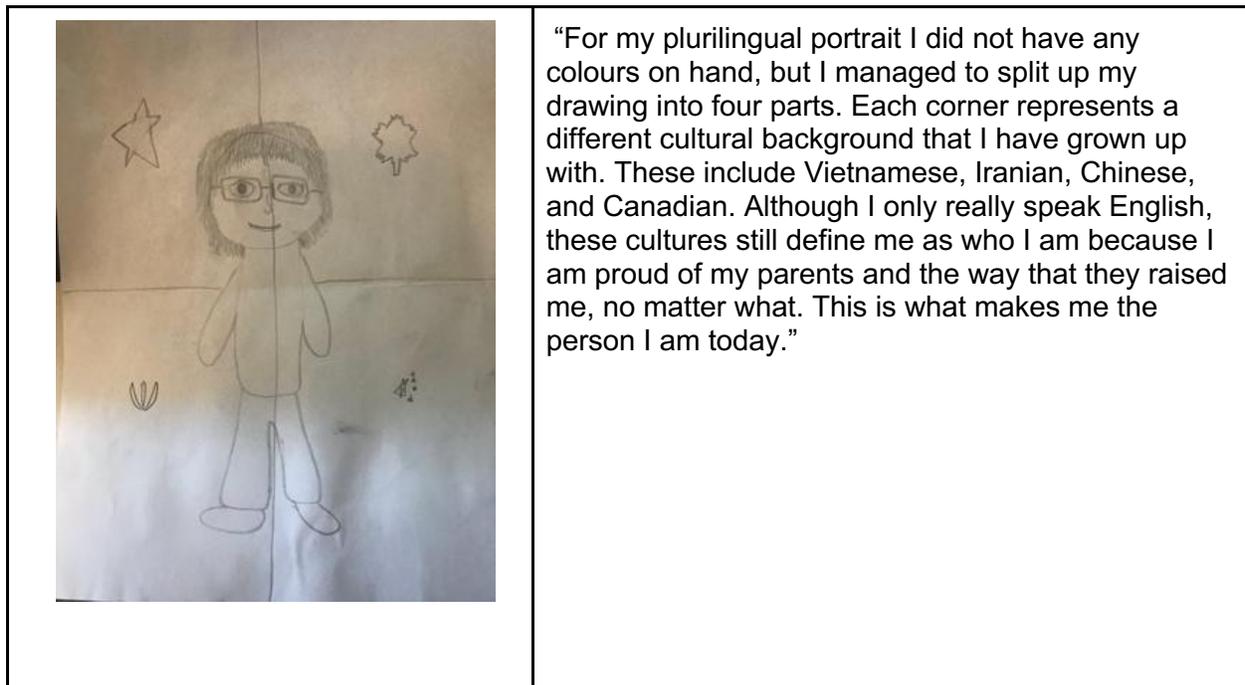
She also uses *line* to express the grounding she feels through English literacy and culture. Unlike any of the other participants, Jade discusses her English repertoire with depth, indicating she has three different registers of English, exemplifying how individuals who identify as monolingual might start to trouble this identity marker and explore their repertoire in more nuance. Jade, who does not identify as bilingual through French-English bilingualism, is one of the only participants to blend different languages in her repertoire to create a new colour (i.e., another shade of blue, to mix all her English registers).

Instead, Jade rejects the bilingual label and makes a reference to her partial knowledge and limited experiences in French, which she locates in the past ("it was part of my life when I was younger"). She uses orange to represent French on her legs, suggesting that Jade puts French far away from her head to

represent the distance she feels from this language compared to English (i.e., "I'm not fluent in French"). While she acknowledges her past experiences with French and different registers in English, she does not consider herself plurilingual.

Figure 4

John's Plurilingual Portrait

"For my plurilingual portrait I did not have any colours on hand, but I managed to split up my drawing into four parts. Each corner represents a different cultural background that I have grown up with. These include Vietnamese, Iranian, Chinese, and Canadian. Although I only really speak English, these cultures still define me as who I am because I am proud of my parents and the way that they raised me, no matter what. This is what makes me the person I am today."
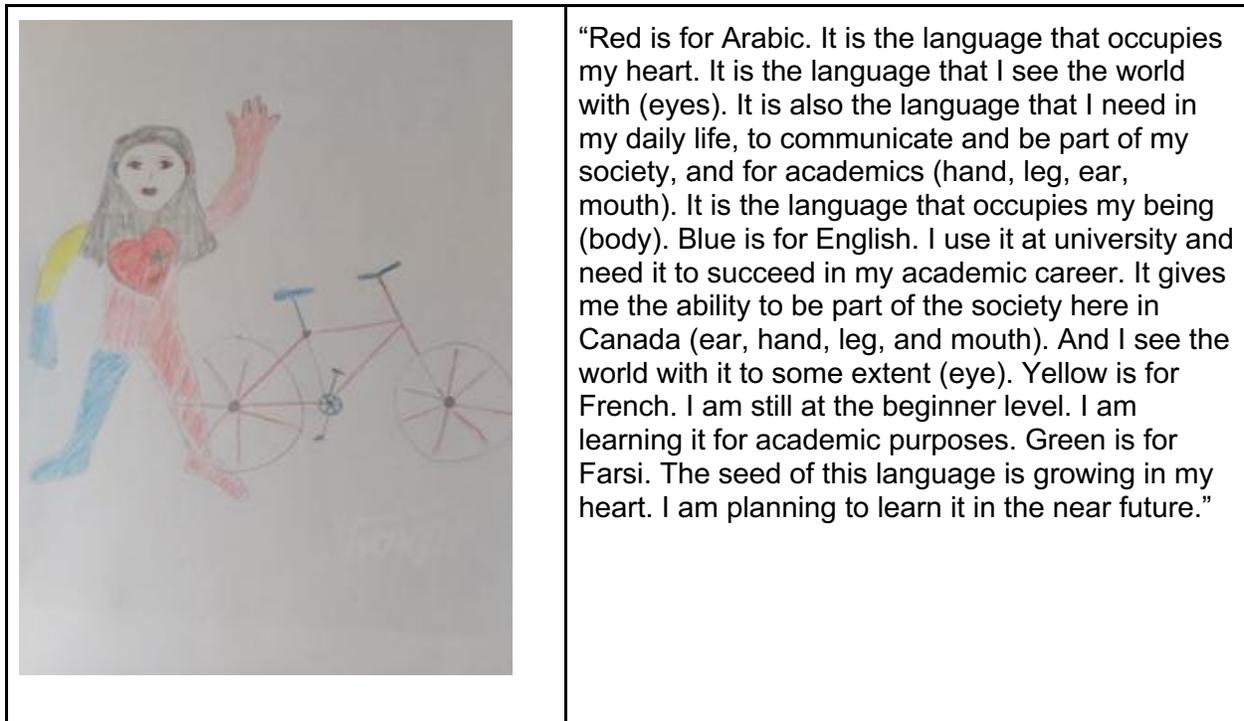
John, who identifies as a Middle Eastern, Persian, Southeast Asian, Vietnamese Canadian, uses *line* to represent his linguistic and cultural repertoire in a *balanced*, albeit siloed way. There is no *emphasis* on one or more of the cultures: Chinese, Iranian, Vietnamese and Canadian, all represented using symbols from the corresponding nation-state's flag. The symbol for each culture has a similar *proportion* and place in *space*. This creates a sense of *harmony* among the four cultures. While John mentions that the four cultures in his portrait define him, his use of horizontal and vertical *lines* to separate each culture into a quadrant indicates that these cultures are separate from each other, and that they do not intersect.

In the curatorial statement for his drawing, John's linguistic repertoire includes only English, yet there is no particular *emphasis* on this language with the symbol of the Canadian maple leaf, used to represent English-speaking Canada. Therefore, despite the separation of John's different cultures with *lines*, the balanced representation suggests a rejection of linguistic and cultural hierarchies in his repertoire, demonstrating how John is engaging with the concept of plurilingualism holistically.

Figure 5

Lindsey's Plurilingual Portrait

"Red is for Arabic. It is the language that occupies my heart. It is the language that I see the world with (eyes). It is also the language that I need in my daily life, to communicate and be part of my society, and for academics (hand, leg, ear, mouth). It is the language that occupies my being (body). Blue is for English. I use it at university and need it to succeed in my academic career. It gives me the ability to be part of the society here in Canada (ear, hand, leg, and mouth). And I see the world with it to some extent (eye). Yellow is for French. I am still at the beginner level. I am learning it for academic purposes. Green is for Farsi. The seed of this language is growing in my heart. I am planning to learn it in the near future."
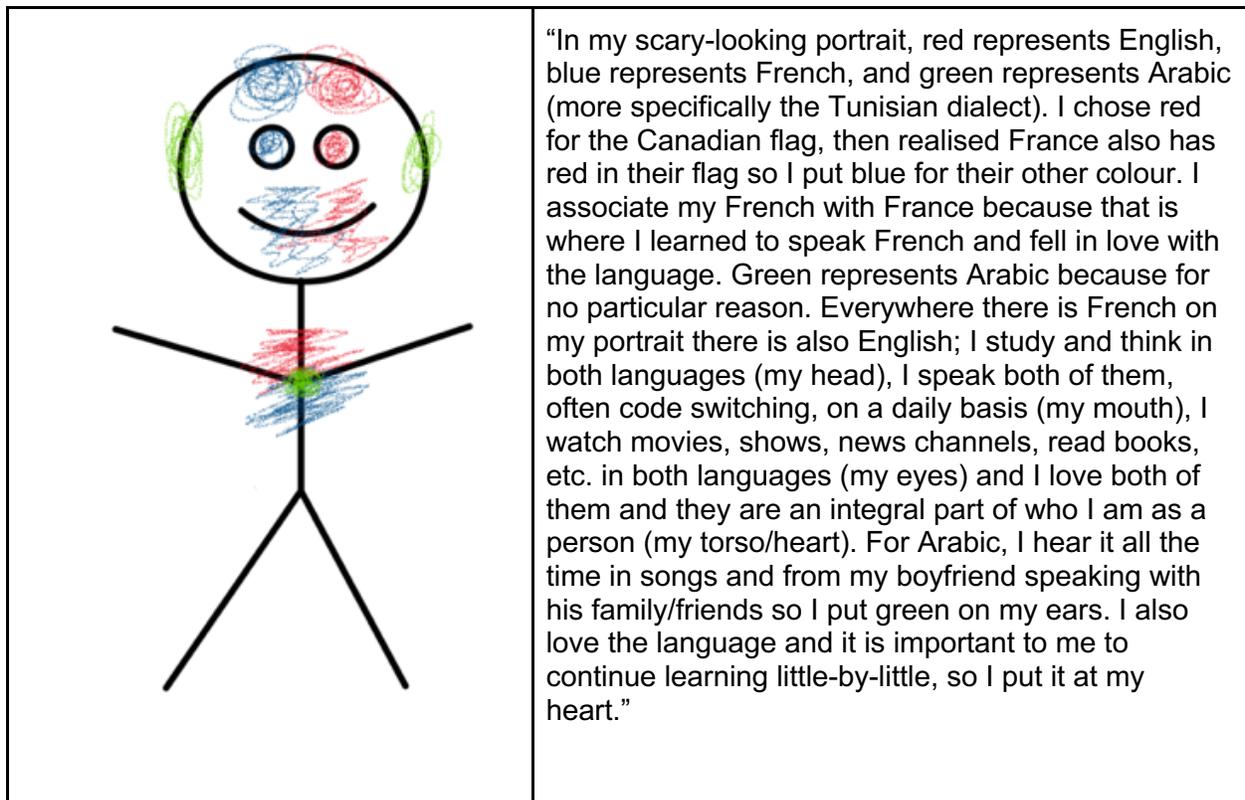
Lindsey, who identifies as a Levant Arab, uses *line*, *shape*, and *colour* to create her portrait. She explains that she has a strong emotional connection to Arabic (represented by red), as it occupies her "heart" and her "being,", supporting prior research that highlights the interconnection between emotion and identities in language learning (Barcelos, 2015). It is essential for her to be able to "be part of *my* society" (emphasis added), which presumably includes her Arabic speaking friends and family. She also includes a small drawing of a seed in her heart to represent Farsi and her growing desire to learn it in the "near future."

The bike next to her figure suggests how Lindsey moves through the world. The seat, pedals, and handlebars are blue (English), and the rest of the bike is red (Arabic). In terms of moving through society, English is the language that she rests on (seat) to propel herself (pedals) forward and steer herself (handlebars), while the structure of her being or worldview (the body of the bike and the wheels) is Arabic.

Although Lindsey indicates that she is learning French and Farsi, she identifies as bilingual in English and Arabic (see Table 1). For example, she indicates that she needs English (blue) and French (yellow) for her academic success and for being "a part of the society here in Canada." She says, "I use [English] at university and need it to succeed in my academic career" and "I am learning [French] for academic purposes."

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Figure 6

Nora's Plurilingual Portrait

"In my scary-looking portrait, red represents English, blue represents French, and green represents Arabic (more specifically the Tunisian dialect). I chose red for the Canadian flag, then realised France also has red in their flag so I put blue for their other colour. I associate my French with France because that is where I learned to speak French and fell in love with the language. Green represents Arabic because for no particular reason. Everywhere there is French on my portrait there is also English; I study and think in both languages (my head), I speak both of them, often code switching, on a daily basis (my mouth), I watch movies, shows, news channels, read books, etc. in both languages (my eyes) and I love both of them and they are an integral part of who I am as a person (my torso/heart). For Arabic, I hear it all the time in songs and from my boyfriend speaking with his family/friends so I put green on my ears. I also love the language and it is important to me to continue learning little-by-little, so I put it at my heart."

Nora, who identifies as a White Canadian of European heritage, uses *line* and *shape* to create her stick-figure portrait. She uses *line* and *colour* to represent her linguistic repertoire. The lines Nora uses to represent her linguistic repertoire are wild and scribbly, adding a sense of energy and dynamism to her portrait.

She chose the colours for French (blue) and English (red) based on national flags (France, Canada), associating nation-states with these languages. As such, Nora relates her linguistic competencies and experiences to the context in which she learned the languages (i.e., she learned to speak French in France). She describes choosing green to represent Arabic at random. In a follow-up member-checking session, she says she chose green because there are a lot Arabic-speaking countries in the Maghreb which have green on their flags (e.g., Algeria, Morocco, and Libya), again reinforcing her strong associations between languages and nation-states.
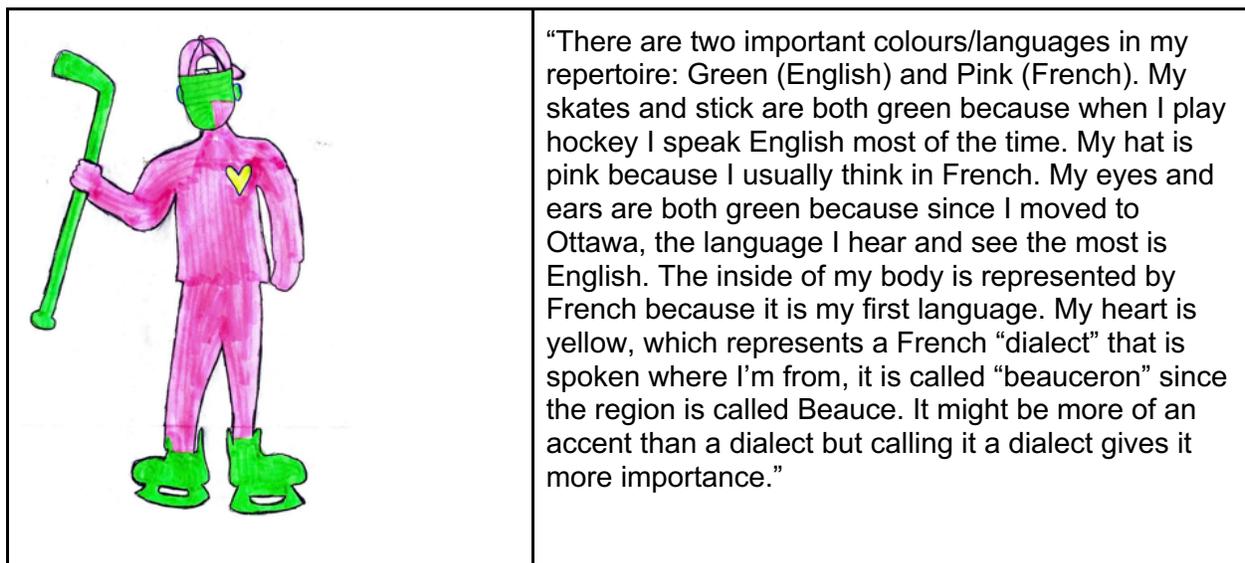
Nora expresses that English and French are found overlapping on the same parts of her body (her head, mouth, torso/heart), yet the two languages never actually overlap on her portrait, reinforcing this vision of the two languages as siloed. Because she is equally fluent in both of them, "often code switching on a daily basis," Nora identifies as bilingual in French and English (see Table 1), embodying the narrative of official bilingualism in Canada.

She expresses a strong emotional connection with Arabic because of its association to her partner and his family (for this reason, she put it on her ears and heart), again signalling the power of emotions and language learning (Barcelos, 2015) in the plurilingual identity formation process. She also contrasts her active competency (production) in English and French to her passive competency (receptive) in Arabic. For

her, adding Arabic to her plurilingual repertoire may rely on achieving active and full competency in this language.

Figure 7

Thomas's Plurilingual Portrait

"There are two important colours/languages in my repertoire: Green (English) and Pink (French). My skates and stick are both green because when I play hockey I speak English most of the time. My hat is pink because I usually think in French. My eyes and ears are both green because since I moved to Ottawa, the language I hear and see the most is English. The inside of my body is represented by French because it is my first language. My heart is yellow, which represents a French "dialect" that is spoken where I'm from, it is called "beauceron" since the region is called Beauce. It might be more of an accent than a dialect but calling it a dialect gives it more importance."

Thomas, who identifies as a White Canadian of European French heritage, uses *line* and *shape* to create his portrait and *colour* to represent his linguistic repertoire. He is intentional with the colours he chooses and where he puts them on his body: his hat is pink because he "think[s] in French." His hockey stick and skates are green because he speaks English when he plays hockey. We note that French and English do not overlap on Thomas's body, indicating a siloing of the different languages in his repertoire.

The drawing reveals that, for Thomas, some tensions exist between the different varieties of French he speaks. Thomas places a yellow heart *shape* on his body to represent the "dialect" (Beauceron) of his home region in Québec that is dear to him. When he says "calling it a dialect gives it more importance," he is responding to a perceived language hierarchy between standard Québécois French and Beauceron French. While standard Québécois French has social and political power, Beauceron French has emotional power for Thomas. He recognizes his dialect as other than the standard and feels a need to defend it by elevating its status from an accent to a dialect. This highlights, again, how language and emotion are tied up in identity formation (Barcelos, 2015).

Discussion

Our research question sought to account for novice ESL teachers' racial, linguistic, and ethnic profiles, to examine how raciolinguistic discourses permeate their plurilingual identities. CLA provides the structure for addressing the intersections of power, language, and race with future ESL teachers' interactions with the concept of plurilingualism in ITE. Here, we paid particular attention to their relationship with the different perceived languages in their linguistic repertoire, how they position themselves as speakers, and their interaction with discourses about languages and language learning stemming from Canadian language policies (Taylor et al., 2017). From our analysis, three themes emerged, which we discuss below.

Throughout our discussion, we make note of the findings that emerged from participants from minority racial groups and White participants, with the understanding that this is not to make blanket statements about specific racial groups. Working from the premise that raciolinguistic ideologies are deeply embedded with identity-making discursive processes allowed us to consider the data in ways that explicitly centred the notion of race, as has been suggested by critical race scholars in Canada (Kubota & Lin, 2009; Von Esch et al., 2020). We recognize the limitations of our approach, which we return to in the concluding section.

Deficit-Oriented Perspectives Toward Language Competency

Almost all participants seemed to adopt a deficit-oriented perspective toward the languages in their linguistic repertoire when they felt they had not achieved sufficiently high fluency or "only" passive or limited competency (i.e., Thomas, Celeste, Charlotte, Jade, Lindsey, John). John, a participant from a racial minority, mentions additional languages (see Table 1), adding "slight ease" with French, Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin, and some Farsi, Kurdish, and Vietnamese, but he does not include them in his portrait. This suggests the pervasive influence of normative monolingualism, which hinders future ESL teachers' potential for understanding the legitimacy of their linguistic repertoires as it is conceived of in plurilingualism, that is, composed of full and partial linguistic and cultural competencies.

When it came to acknowledging the languages in which they had partial competence in their repertoire, our participants from racial minorities approached them differently from our White participants. Charlotte, as a White participant, talked about taking it off (i.e., her scrunchy), whereas Lindsey, a participant from a racial minority, talked about it growing in her heart (seed). While Charlotte viewed Spanish as an add-on to her official bilingualism in French and English, Lindsey viewed Farsi as embedded/enmeshed in her body.

Reproducing the Hegemony of French and English through Official Bilingualism

When it is examined through a critical racial lens, we see how the country's language policy of official bilingualism, despite introducing teachers to equity-oriented plurilingual discourses, works to subvert and erase the contributions of racially and culturally diverse populations (Haque, 2012; Patel, 2014; Thobani, 2007). Whether part of dominant or minority racial groups, all participants reproduced the neoliberal discourse that French/English bilingualism is the normal/dominant form of linguistic identity for social and economic success, and a "normal" Canadian experience, and that is very much characteristic of the city they find themselves in. This is despite the fact that only 17% of Canadians identify as English/French bilinguals, firmly representing the power of the White listening subject in the way in which future ESL teachers position themselves with respect to possibilities of belonging in Canadian society.

Echoing findings that have emerged in the field of French as a second language in Canada (Wernicke, 2022), White participants in particular engage with plurilingualism through an official bilingualism lens (Céleste, Charlotte, Nora, Thomas). That is, official English/French bilingualism is treated as the default norm when it comes to speaking more than one language in the Canadian context. This conceptualization of plurilingualism suggests that they believe bilingualism in French and English is the default setting for a "true" Canadian bilingual. This leads us to speculate that the pervasive neoliberal discourses advocating the advantages of official bilingualism in Canada serve as a foundation for these candidates' conceptualization of plurilingualism.

We also noted the common association of languages with nations, which reinforces the one-nation-one-language ideology. This ideology is a founding principle of normative monolingualism, with nations using language policies to create a national identity and agenda. Madamsetti (2020) highlights the fact that

the "racial and linguistic ideologies in teacher preparation programs and practica can be powerful subtexts that convey a message for these teachers about who should and can be a 'good teacher'" (p. 345). In the Canadian context, the idea of a "true" bilingual Canadian and a "good" language teacher may overlap, particularly for those who are bilingual in French and English. Of note is the fact that participants from racial minority groups (e.g., John and Lindsey) do not identify with official bilingualism or express a positive valuation toward it (to the same extent as the White participants). For us, this observation provides further evidence of how processes of racialization exclude racial minority groups from claiming French/English bilingualism, given the strong associations of Whiteness with official bilingualism in Canada (Kubota & Bale, 2020).

The Place of Culture in Plurilingualism

Participants also approached their cultural heritage differently, making it possible, in some cases, to align with official bilingualism (French and English) more strongly. John and Céleste express pride in bringing in culture, but they take a slightly different stance as participants who have undergone racializing processes differently. Céleste, who identified as White, positions her cultural heritage as "straightforward," revealing the de facto normalization of French/English bilingual and cultural heritage. Visual analysis reveals that her de facto heritage takes up very little space on the page, whereas John, who identified as being from several racial minority groups, uses all the space on his page to depict his cultural heritage. His Iranian, Vietnamese, and Chinese cultures take up as much space as Canadian culture. John also stresses pride in how his parents raised him, suggesting an awareness of being different from the "norm," potentially responding to the White listening subject, which captures the idealized linguistic practices valued and normalized by the White middle class (that is, French/English bilingualism), which work to erase or dismiss other languages and cultures.

Almost all participants revealed a strong association of culture with nation-states, suggesting the need to review the concept of language beyond the one-nation-one-language ideology embedded in normative monolingualism. However, we also noted some evidence of transcending this notion of national borders with Thomas and Jade, who address regional varieties of French and English within Canada.

While Thomas, Nora, Lindsey, and Jade make no explicit mention of culture, John and Charlotte do. The findings suggest that the participants could further develop their understanding of plurilingualism to include notions of culture and to reflect on how their cultural competences and experiences influence their plurilingual identity as a whole. By not making any connections to their cultural competencies or experiences, these future teachers demonstrate a partial understanding of the concept of plurilingualism.

Limitations and Further Considerations

We recognize a few limitations with the conceptualization of this study and the interpretation of the data. In terms of conceptualization, first, using critical multilingual language awareness (CMLA; García, 2017), rather than CLA, would also mean the project could be designed to include a transformative and actionable component to align with the social-justice mission of the CMLA framework. Second, we recognize that the choice to introduce the concept of race later in the study (during the analysis), after having collected the data from participants, may have impacted the data that were generated. Although we discussed the notion of race with participants during the course, we believe it would strengthen this type of research to introduce the notion of racial identity with more intentionality. Future research in this area could prompt participants to consider this intersectional aspect of their plurilingual identities as they created their portraits and reflected on them in their curatorial statement. In terms of interpretation, first, while we seek to account for our positions of power/authority as White women bilingual in both official languages in the Canadian

context, our linguistic, racial, and ethnocultural privilege was made evident to us during the analysis process when dealing with the notion of official bilingualism. Having been raised and trained in this context, we have also both been conditioned to centre English/French bilingualism (steeped in Whiteness) as the default in Canadian plurilingualism and ESL teacher preparation. It was during the analysis, as the construct emerged from our participants' discourses, that we were able to reflect on it and the need to decentre English/French bilingualism as the de facto stance when it comes to plurilingual identity in the Canadian context to make room for marginalized plurilingual experiences, which often end up being those of participants from racial minority groups.

Second, we also recognize that while naming the participants' racial identities can be somewhat reductive as an identity marker, in the context of ESL research in Canada, where race has often been ignored (Von Esch et al., 2020), it was important for us to name these identities in the context of this research. Incorporating raciolinguistic discourses in our conceptual framework, we sought to nuance and deepen interactions with the constructs of race in the identity-formation process of these novice ESL teachers as they engaged with the concept of plurilingualism. Finally, we also noted the ways in which arts-based activities elicited connection between emotions, language learning, and identity formation (Barcelos, 2015) for the participants. We believe that future research should consider more explicitly how to centre this connection in the analysis as a means of disrupting cognitively oriented research on language learning, perhaps even in more holistic ways through a re/humanizing perspective (Lyle, 2022), at the risk of reinforcing a mind/body dualism.

Implications for ESL Teacher Preparation

In Canada specifically, due to the focus on official bilingualism, "little has been done to promote the country's multilingual awareness" (García, 2017, p. 267). Here, we make suggestions as to what ESL teacher educators could work on with future ESL teachers. The challenges illustrated here, when it comes to grappling with the underlying beliefs that emerge when introduced to the concept of plurilingualism, means that future teachers who wish to implement plurilingual education need support to negotiate pedagogical tensions that emerge as novice teachers develop their practice. While some teacher educators may try to make room for this in their courses, this does not yet seem to be a standard in ITE around the world (i.e., Benert & Hélot, 2010; Moloney & Giles, 2015; Rocafort, 2019). For ESL teachers in Canada, it is important to help them understand plurilingualism as a framework for teaching and how it intersects with English/French official bilingualism and racializing discourses.

The findings demonstrating deficit-oriented perspectives toward language competency suggest a need for explicit discussions with their teacher educators about what the criteria are for languages and cultures to be included in a repertoire. It also leads us to questions about how future language teachers might honour students' knowledge and build culturally responsive teaching practices. Findings demonstrating how teachers' beliefs reproduce the hegemony of French and English through official bilingualism imply that more work is needed during ITE programs to examine and deconstruct how legitimacy and access to multiple languages are constructed in the Canadian context. We suggest that not doing so can contribute to narratives that reinforce this sense of legitimacy for French/English bilingualism and further erase or silence those who are bi-/plurilingual in other languages (Thobani, 2007). We also suggest that teacher educators explicitly consider the relationship between race and language with Canadian plurilinguals in the making, as it can work to disrupt nationalistic ideologies perpetuated in official bilingualism discourse and create space for more inclusive conceptualizations of plurilingual Canadians. Findings that reveal ambiguity about the place of culture in plurilingualism for our participants raise questions for us about how growing up in a context where speakers whose dominant language and culture (e.g., Arabic) are marginalized might inhibit teachers (whether they are White or from a racial

minority group) from seeing and drawing on multicultural students' knowledge in the ESL learning experience, because they have internalized the power differential between official and non-official languages and cultures. For teacher educators, deconstructing the notion of culture and legitimacy within the context of Canadian multiculturalism policies may serve to disrupt these internalized power differentials.

While there are no hard data to corroborate this claim, anecdotal evidence suggests that a great number of language teachers in the Canadian context are in fact plurilingual. If we accept this to be true, then teacher educators can work on affirming and validating teachers' plurilingual identities to help them conceptualize plurilingualism as a stance, since their plurilingual identities will in turn greatly inform how they develop their practice. For ITE, this might require greater clarity and acknowledgment of plurilingual competence and identities among future teachers during their preparation pathway (Moloney & Giles, 2015). To this we would add an intentional study and discussion of the socio-historical and political context in which language teachers are preparing to teach, as well as explicit courses centred around developing critical language awareness for the purpose of teaching in socially just ways.

Conclusion

Educational researchers and teacher educators around the world have noted the absence of CLA in ITE, and many have argued that some form of CLA should be integrated into ITE (de Jong, 2014; Erhart et al, 2010; García, 2008; Faez, 2012; Moloney & Giles, 2015). We would argue that the same is necessary for language teachers in Canadian ITE programs. Understanding and identifying future teachers' beliefs is important for introducing new frames of reference in teacher education (Rocafort, 2019). As illustrated in the findings above, in Canada, this is particularly important for critically examining English/French official bilingualism in language teacher ITE. There are important implications to the sociopolitical intersections of language and race for ESL education in Canada. Recognizing that English is being taught in a settler colonial setting that privileges White Eurocentric values will inevitably influence teachers' approaches to engaging with the curriculum, classroom resources, and their students. For instance, reproducing colonial practices may contribute to marginalizing racially, culturally, or ethnically diverse students who deviate from the "norm."

Furthermore, racial and linguistic ideologies and policies have converged to create a narrative about Canada as "raceless" (Backhouse, 2001, cited in Haque & Patrick, 2015). This narrative risks reinforcing colour-evasive discourses about treating all students the same and thus ignoring important parts of their lived reality and how they are socially positioned within their context. The continued erasure of students' languages, cultures, and racial identity (i.e., by measuring their knowledge against the linguistic standards and norms valued in Canada) potentially also pushes teachers further toward a deficit-oriented perspective about their students' languages and their ability to learn additional languages (Bale et al., 2023).

Plurilingual portraiture interpreted through a critical lens, as a means of visually acknowledging the rich cultural and linguistic diversity of future teachers, serves to challenge monoglossic ideologies. For language teachers who are (re)shaping their professional identities during ITEs, troubling the socio-historical and political context in which plurilingualism operates is just the tip of the equity-oriented iceberg. As teacher educators, we can work toward integrating the intersection of complex social, racial, and other barriers with official bilingualism and plurilingualism to examine how these provide room to promote identity formation in a holistic (and not superficial) way. Despite many language teachers' open-mindedness toward including students' linguistic and cultural repertoires, the challenge for teacher educators is the ongoing tension between introducing and adopting plurilingualism as a pedagogical practice and the backdrop of deeply ingrained normative monolingualism, English/French official bilingualism, and deficit-oriented perspectives, which to a great extent underpin the denial of racializing

discourses in language education, making it crucial to ensure that ITEs bridge the gap between real-world obligations and ideological perspectives (Kubota, 2020).

These findings, which offer a snapshot into some future ESL teachers' understanding of plurilingualism, cannot be generalized. However, by examining how future ESL teachers engage with plurilingualism and taking into account their ethnolinguistic and racial identities, we seek to make explicit the connection between language and race and explore how this connection might impact the approach taken by teacher educators when introducing new concepts, such as plurilingualism, in ITE courses. We argue that future ESL teachers in Canada also need to examine English/French official bilingualism and how this shapes their beliefs about plurilingualism so they are not reproducing neoliberal, colonial, and oppressive ideologies. With the understanding that beliefs are tied to practice (Buehl & Beck, 2015; Melo-Pfeifer & Tavares, 2024), exploring future teachers' beliefs could be a means to promoting socially just and equity-oriented language teachers in the Canadian context.

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