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**Imagining Canada, Imagining Canadians:
National Identity in English as a Second Language Textbooks**

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Imagining Canada, Imagining Canadians: National Identity in English as a Second Language Textbooks

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Canada

Abstract

In this study, I establish that language textbooks are sites of discursive struggle through which nationalist imagined communities are reproduced. I use critical discourse analysis to analyze how these textbooks construct Canadian identities that position students in relation to an imagined community of Canada. I analyze twenty-four textbooks and three Citizenship and Immigration Canada publications used in government-funded language instruction in Ontario.

Representations of Canada and Canadianness in the texts examined include and exclude student readers, participate in banal nationalism, and legitimate particular understandings of Canada. The identified textbooks mark nationality through flags, maps, references to nation, and the use of nation as a frame of reference. The textbooks also make claims about how 'Canadians' think and behave. This banal nationalism naturalizes and essentializes imaginings of 'Canada' and 'Canadianness' supporting particular and interested constructions and positive evaluations of 'Canadian' identity. Both government produced publications and identified textbooks legitimate constructions of Canadian identity through repeated positive representations of Canadianness; the marginalising inclusions of 'others'; the subordination of gendered, racialised, and classed social positions to nation; and by maintaining a low level of dialogicality overall.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
Acknowledgements	vi
 CHAPTER 1: Introduction.....	 1
 CHAPTER 2: Literature Review: Constructions of National Identity in ESL.....	 10
Language Classrooms and Texts as Sites of Struggle	11
The ‘Received View’: National Identities in TESOL Theory	21
Seeing National Culture as a Discursive Project	28
Perspectives on Teaching Canadian Culture.....	35
Conclusion	44
 CHAPTER 3: Key Concepts	 45
Imagined Community and Banal Nationalism.....	45
Discourse.....	54
 CHAPTER 4: Methods of Textbook Analysis.....	 59
CDA as the Method of Choice.....	59
CDA and the Construction of Identities.....	61
Dialogicality, Legitimation, and the Achievement of Hegemony	79
Summary	88
 CHAPTER 5: Textbook Identification and Overview	 90
Identification of Textbooks.....	93
Overview of Identified Textbooks.....	99
Respondents’ Teaching Contexts and Involvement in Textbook Selection	109
Summary and Discussion.....	118
 CHAPTER 6: Imagining Canada: ‘Our Consensual Hallucination’.....	 120
Flagging the Nation.....	120
Mapping the Nation	131
Summary and Discussion: Imagining Nation	135
 CHAPTER 7: Imagining Canadians: Nationalising Knowledge and Behaviour	 140
Images of ‘Our’ Communion.....	140
National Heroes	169
Summary and Discussion: Imagining Nationals	181
 CHAPTER 8: Making the Canadian Normal: Legitimation Strategies	 186
Mythopoesis in Immigrant Success Stories	187
From ‘Most Canadians’ to ‘You’: Conformity Authorization.....	200
Feigned Dialogicality.....	209

Positive Self-Presentations	215
Racism and Its Denial in Identified Textbooks.....	225
Normalizing Language Teaching in CIC Publications	232
‘And they continue to come’: Immigration and a ‘logic of appearances’	237
Summary and Discussion: Legitimizing Hegemonic Relations	242
CHAPTER 9: Conclusion: Wanting to Imagine Otherwise	250
Returning to the Research Questions.....	250
Resisting the Naturalisation of Nation-ness in ESL Classrooms.....	253
Fostering Imagining Communities	255
References	259
Appendix 1: ‘Important Social Standards’ Text.....	273
Appendix 2: ‘Learning English or French’ Text	275
Appendix 3: Consent Forms and Survey Package.....	277

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Ideological Square.....	66
Table 1: Identified Textbooks	96
Table 2: Respondents' Teaching Contexts.....	110
Table 3: Respondents' Involvement in Textbook Selection	112
Table 4: Respondents' Use of CIC Publications	115
Table 5: Canadians vs. People	157
Table 6: Many/most Canadians vs. People vs. You.....	205

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this dissertation to English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers and students who have struggled creatively over notions of community and belonging. As a teacher, I have found that already imagined communities of nation often disrupt the active imagining of community within the classroom. By challenging nationalising discourses, I hope greater opportunities can be opened for more active and inclusive imaginings.

My sincere thanks go to students, friends, and colleagues who have invited me to discuss and challenged me to clarify my views. You have taught me to critique nationalising discourses while remaining respectful of those who utter them and to see the points of inclusion as well as the exclusions. I appreciate the feedback that I have received in hallways, at conferences, and in classrooms. Most provocative have been the challenges from my students – both ESL students and ESL teachers in the graduate program – who have sought the good in community amidst my critiques of nationalism.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today they command such profound emotional legitimacy. (Anderson, 2006, p. 4)

The problem with imagined community is that if some people are imagined as within the community, as belonging to the nation, others are imagined as being outside of it, inexorable aliens who are not and cannot be like one's self. (Stanley 2006, p. 33)

A society dedicated to social inclusion and cohesions (despite the problems involved in these conceptions politically), in the sense of acknowledging diversities and fostering multiculturalism whilst pursuing a more just and equal society with enhanced quality of life, must involve a concerted attack against those constructions of difference and identity that exclude and devalue. (Anthias, 2006, p. 28)

ESL (English as a second language) classes, ESL textbooks, and TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages) theory are sites in which nation-ness and nationalism are presented both explicitly and implicitly. Drawing upon Anderson's (2006) notion of imagined community, I argue that discourses within these sites reproduce and teach national ideologies and identities. Through the repetition of the symbols, understandings, and stories that have been used to define and bring into being a nation, discursive work done in these sites 'imagines' or constructs nations as communities. In the Canadian context, this occurs through the teaching of 'Canada' as a nation and through the positioning of 'newcomers to Canada' as marginal in relation to the imagined community of Canada.

Nation, Anderson (2006) argues, is "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). Nation-ness is the character of those imaginings—the imagined limits, legitimacy, and community that defines the nation.

Nationalism, a word with “multiple significations” (p. 4), is, for Anderson, the product of discourses that imagine a shared community; nationalism is a sociocultural phenomenon—a belief that the world is, can, and should be divided up into nations. This emphasis on imagination and constructedness of nations in Anderson (2006) contrasts with a nationalist understanding of nation that sees them as natural, essential, and legitimate.

In this thesis, I analyze textbooks and other Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) publications identified as being used in the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program. These texts participate in unimaginative imaginings of this national identity, presenting that identity as given and natural, pre-emptively reducing the possibility of the language classroom being a place in which ‘newcomers to Canada’ actively re-imagine their community and their participation in that community. The imaginings of community in identified textbooks draw upon discourses that have already imagined Canada in ways that exclude and include, marginalise and centre, and limit and shape the subject positionings made available to the students through discourses that serve to perpetuate hegemonic understandings of nation and national identity. Even the most creative and critical moments in these texts are limited by both ideologies of nationalism and nation-ness. Other possible sites of community identification become subordinated to nation in these nationalising texts.

The research questions that guide this study are:

1. *Do ESL textbooks used in the LINC program in Ontario teach nation-ness and nationalism and, if so, how?* Specifically, how do they construct Canada as an imagined community, how do they position ESL learners in relation to this imagined community, and how, if at all, do these constructions position other possible sites of identification?

2. *Are there continuities in the discourses of Canadian citizenship and belonging employed in the identified textbooks and those employed in the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) texts recommended for use in the LINC program, and if so, what are they?*
3. *How can theories of power, language and discourse, and subjectivity and identity help to explain these constructions of nation-ness?*

In attempting to answer these research questions, I draw upon theories of discourse that position the analyst axiologically and epistemologically. I acknowledge the ‘critical’ intent of this thesis in my attempt to ‘uncover’ relations of power embedded in and exercised through language. I admit to a hopeful intention that this critique will be put towards ameliorating the negative effects of the abuse of power by enabling the contestation of dehistoricised, naturalised, and essentialised representations of nation. To do a critical analysis of discourse is to be explicitly concerned with the social relations between language and power. Doing critical discourse analysis, also involves a claim that the social struggle that informs discourses can be read through an analysis of the discourse. Through close readings of the texts, critical discourse analysts (Fairclough, 2003; Jäger, 2001; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001) believe that connections can be elucidated between the social contexts in which texts are produced and the texts themselves.

LINC as Context

While the questions addressed in this thesis are of relevance to a variety of contexts in which English is taught, the particular context addressed here is that of the government funded Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program. I have chosen the LINC program, “a key element of the federal immigrant integration strategy” (CIC, 2004b,

para. 3), because of (a) its status as a government funded program, (b) its specific clientele of “newcomers to Canada” (CIC, 2004c), (c) its program rationale to integrate these ‘newcomers’ into Canadian society and “the Canadian way of life” (para. 1), and (d) its believed influence on textbooks (Derwing & Thomson, 2005, p. 47).

The federal government introduced the LINC program in 1992. This program replaced previous programs and aimed to standardize instruction so that “clients with similar needs [would] have access to equivalent types of training” (Employment and Immigration Canada, November 1992, cited in Thomson & Derwing, 2004) regardless of which province they had settled in. These standards are to be achieved through reference to LINC curriculum guidelines and through a set of assessment standards intended to be used nationwide, the Canadian Language Benchmarks (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002).

The *Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada* (LINC) program is intended for permanent residents of Canada who have been in the country for less than three years. It includes in its rationale social/cultural integration, economic integration, and “orientation to the Canadian way of life” (CIC, 2004c, para. 3). It is my intention to examine texts that are used in the LINC program in Ontario for constructions of ‘Canadian’ identity.

While previous federally-funded programs targeted the declared ‘breadwinners’ of the family, making it possible for “far more men than women [to] access ESL” (Derwing and Thomson, 2005, p. 46), the new program rationale called for “greater incorporation of ‘information on Canadian values into training programs’” (EIC, August 1991, cited in Thomson & Derwing, 2004). In a recent evaluation of the program rationale, language was noted as being key to the integration of newcomers into Canadian society: “CIC representatives find that newcomers need to be able to communicate in English and/or

French to meet their needs for social, cultural integration, economic integration and orientation to the Canadian way of life” (CIC, 2004c, para. 1). The integration of newcomers was said to include a need for knowledge of “information on things such as using the transportation system or understanding the media (e.g., the role of advertisements)” (CIC, 2004c, para. 4) but also the development of a sense of identity as a ‘Canadian’ and identification with certain ‘Canadian values’:

Newcomers need to develop an understanding of how Canada functions and what the expectations are of Canadians. For example, Canada is much less hierarchical and rigid in its expectations of citizens than some other countries. The LINC language teacher plays a key role in conveying and modeling these aspects of life in Canada. (para. 5)

This identification with ‘Canadian values’ was further hindered, according to CIC representatives, by some newcomers not recognizing the importance of an orientation to ‘the Canadian way of life’ and integrating instead into “certain ethnic communities or neighbourhoods without learning English or French, e.g., in the Spadina area in Toronto” (CIC, 2004c, para. 4) making them more difficult for the program to access.¹ Furthermore, CIC representatives found the program rationale of introducing newcomers to ‘the Canadian way of life’ to be problematic and not clearly defined, with some suggesting it is less important than social-cultural and economic integration (CIC, 2004c). Despite the problematic nature of defining ‘Canadianness,’ the program aims to help “newcomers to become oriented to the Canadian way of life” (CIC, 2004b, para. 3) so that, in the long-term, participants will “identify with Canadian culture and ‘feel’ like Canadians” (CIC, 2004b, para. 29).

¹ As will be discussed later, while maps represent the nation as being spread evenly and flatly across a territory, discourses may describe particular places within the territory as illegitimately extranational.

This aspect of the program rationale has led to a perceived need for material that introduces Canadianness to ESL students, sparking some debate within education and TESOL² journals published in Canada over what it means to teach Canadian values, culture, and way of life. Through a survey of ESL teachers, I have identified textbooks and other publications used in LINC classrooms in Ontario. From the textbooks identified, I have selected 24 textbooks and three CIC publications that I examine using critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003; Jäger, 2001; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001) for the ways in which they construct ‘Canadian identity.’

Thesis Overview

Literature review: Constructions of national identity in ESL

In Chapter 2, I introduce relevant theories that inform my methodological choices, my analysis, and my view of culture. I look at critiques of views of culture and cultural pedagogy in ESL both within Canada and internationally and discuss these critiques in terms of larger debates within the social sciences.

Key concepts.

In Chapter 3, I outline the key concepts of my research including Anderson’s notion of ‘imagined community’ and Billig’s observations of the banality of nationalism.

Methods of textbook analysis.

In Chapter 4, I introduce critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis, as a methodology, can be used to show where and how these social positions have

² Throughout this thesis, TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) is used to refer to the theory of English language teaching, and ESL (English as a Second Language) refers to the practice of English language teaching. When quoting other authors, the acronyms TESL (Teaching English as Second Language), TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language), and ELT (English Language Teaching) might be used. I am aware of arguments for alternative terms and more critical concepts (Pennycook, 1999; Singh, 2001) but leave such arguments for another time and place.

informed texts and how traces of various ideological and social positions can be traced out of the texts. Methods drawn from critical discourse analysis will be used to identify and analyze: banal markings and representations of Canada, (Billig, 1995); forms of group identity construction (van Dijk, 2000); levels of dialogicality achieved (Bakhtin, 1981/2000; Coffin, 2002; Coffin & O'Halloran, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Voloshinov, 1986/2000; White, 2001, 2003); various legitimations, valuations, and denials appearing in the texts (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1995; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999); and the traces of ideological assumptions in the recontextualization of social events and description of social agents (Blackledge, 2006; van Dijk, 2000);

Textbook identification and overview.

In Chapter 5, I introduce my method for identifying textbooks used in the LINC program. I identify 182 textbooks used in LINC classrooms in Ontario and select 24 textbooks from this list. I give a brief overview of each textbook with particular attention to any claims it makes about its intentions regarding the teaching or exposing of students to Canadian culture. I then introduce the survey respondents and their teaching context and the rationale that they claim influenced their decisions on which textbooks they used.

Imagining Canada and imagining Canadians.

In Chapter 6, 'Imagining Canada,' I examine the 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) of identified textbooks that reaffirms an 'imagined community' of Canada (Anderson, 2006). 'Banal nationalism' refers to the ways in which a nation is continually but unobtrusively marked through flags, currency, representations of symbols, and routine deixis. These markings of the nation in time and space legitimise the ideology of nationalism in two

significant ways: by claiming a unified space for the nation and by erasing the historical and social processes through which that space came to be national (Billig, 1995).

In Chapter 7, 'Imagining Canadians,' I examine the ways in which these texts construct 'Canadians' through the attribution of certain knowledge and behaviour to Canadians, the use of routine deixis, the representation of nationality as a ubiquitous and essential property of individuals, the repetition and practicing of stereotyping, the construction of a positive identity for Canadians and the implication of a negative identity for 'Others' who are not like these Canadians, and the mythologizing of the nation through presentations of national holidays and national heroes.

Making the Canadian Normal: Legitimation Strategies

In Chapter 8, I examine legitimation strategies (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) in identified textbooks and CIC publications. Many of the same legitimation strategies appear in identified textbooks where they legitimate social or legal expectations and particular claims about Canadian culture and identity. A number of forms of legitimation (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) appear in texts to reinforce hegemonic understandings of Canada and Canadian identity. The most evident forms of legitimation are 'conformity authorization,' a 'logic of appearances,' 'positive self-presentations,' and 'feigned dialogicality.' I introduce each of these forms of legitimation and argue that they work to legitimise and justify certain understandings of Canada while reducing the dialogicality that might show how these understandings have been contested and contradicted.

A Disclaimer

A disclaimer is in order. While I will be looking at texts that have discursive patterns that repeat racialising or gendered exclusions that have played a role in forming Canada as an

imagined community, and while I will be analyzing hegemonic discourses in these texts, my intention is not to malign the writers of these texts. The notion of discourse I draw upon and explain sees the social as shaping the patterns of meaning readily available to writers in ways of which the writers of a text may not be fully cognizant. Discourses available in describing Canadian identity bear the imprint of previous social exclusions but it is the discourse that deserves critique, not the writer of any particular text.

My research is motivated by the possibility of further opening an inclusive dialogue on community by scratching at the parts of nationalising discourses that stifle and constrain what can be said. Furthermore, this thesis has been an attempt to unsettle and upset my own, at times, uncritical acceptance and articulation of the idea of nationhood and place and its possibilities and limits as a site through which culture is produced. It has been an attempt to challenge the fixing of culture in place that I have succumbed to in trying to explain to students in my ESL classrooms my own values, expectations, and behaviours and when soliciting theirs. It is, in part, born from my realization that during eight years I spent abroad, I imagined Canada in ways that my experience upon returning 'home' did not support. Unsettling my own understandings of Canada has involved tackling the discourses that I have used to speak of Canada and Canadianness and recognize the extent to which these discourses repeated hegemonic and exclusive understandings of Canada.

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Constructions of National Identity in ESL

In this chapter, I review arguments that language classrooms, textbooks, and theories are important sites of struggle in which discourses that reinforce social divisions and inequities are reproduced and challenged. Discourses that essentialise and naturalise the connection of culture to nation ignore, downplay, and dismiss the variety of discourses that shape social identities and the variety of social positions that may shape student readers' subjectivities (Anthias, 2006; Bhambra, 2006, pp. 33-34; Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). Discourses that circulate within these sites both include and exclude learners, validating certain potential subject positions and discouraging others rather than inviting student readers to actively reimagine 'Canada' and 'Canadianness.'

To clarify the views of nation and national culture that shape (and limit) my recognition of the cultural implications of these texts, I discuss academic theories from critical discourse analysis and critical pedagogy that have informed my readings of constructions of 'Canadian' identity in ESL texts and discuss how they connect with other current research in TESOL.

Research in the field of TESOL, particularly that published in the Canadian context, has questioned and critiqued the possibilities of teaching Canadian culture in ESL classrooms (Derwing & Thomson, 2005; Courchène, 1996; Fleming, 2003; Ilieva, 2000; Sauvé, 1996; Thomson & Derwing, 2004). The questions of 'whether and how it is possible to teach Canadian culture in the ESL classroom?' and 'if it is possible, what the political and social implications are of doing so?' are relevant to the context of government-funded language

instruction. Understandings of culture and citizenship evident in previous debates on these questions affect how researchers identify instances of culture and citizenship pedagogy in texts.

Language Classrooms and Texts as Sites of Struggle

Educational institutions play a major role in defining the terms within which national identities are formed (Balibar, 2002; Bourdieu, 1991; McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005). It is, in part, through education systems that discourses on national identity are presented (de Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999, p. 156, citing Bourdieu, 1994b) and in which gendered and racialised nationhood is constructed. Students in ESL classes are “not only learning a linguistic system; they are learning a diverse set of sociocultural practices, often best understood in the context of wider relations of power” (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 115). Schools “serve as a source of racial information, a location for interracial interaction, and a means of both affirming and challenging previous racial attitudes and understandings” (Lewis, 2003, p. 284).

That education has, in Canada as elsewhere, served as a tool for assimilation (Derwing & Thomson, 2005; Ng, 1993, citing Clubine, 1991) and that English has played a role in “cultural colonialism” in which “culture [replaces] biology as the touchstone of racial definition” (Goldberg, 2002, p. 69) suggests a need for caution when urging the teaching of ‘Canadian values’ or ‘the Canadian way of life’ in ESL classes, a call that has shaped recent ESL funding policies (Thomson & Derwing, 2004, p. 18).

Textbooks Matter

Textbooks matter. The textbook is one site in which powerful discourses enter into the classroom. Textbooks are particularly worthwhile sites for investigation owing to their status as official and often obligatory discourse types. It is likely that textbooks in Canadian ESL classrooms both implicitly and explicitly present students with representations of 'Western' or 'Canadian' culture and both teachers and students "must react to them, thus positioning themselves and articulating their own sociocultural (dis)identification with the characters and themes" (Duff & Uchida, 1997, p. 470). For my purposes, explanations of a (or worse, *the*) 'Canadian way of life' purport to teach students sociocultural practices that are, by virtue of their being in the textbook, necessary. It is, therefore, "very important to examine the content, activities, and ideologies represented in textbooks" (Duff & Uchida, 1997, pp. 470-471) and the role they play in reproducing dominant ideologies (van Dijk, 2004, citing Apple, 1979, 1982, 1993; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

As a discourse type, they present themselves and are presented as authoritative, obligatory, correct, and not contradictable. Van Dijk (2001) proposes that discourses become influential when (1) they are obligatory; (2) they come from "authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media (Nesler et al., 1993)" (p. 357); (3) "there are no public discourses or media that may provide information from which alternative beliefs may be derived (Downing 1984)" (*ibid.*); and (4) they are unchallenged by prior knowledge. Textbooks are often obligatory parts of the curriculum in that they must be engaged with or repercussions may occur. (Textbooks may be made obligatory by various programs and institutions even when not government-mandated). The knowledge that the texts present as facts, being abstracted from the social contexts in which it

was produced, appears as neutral and disinterested making it more difficult to contest or challenge. Factual presentations add a sense of unbiased authority to what are often contingent and socially interested discourses. This accentuates the institutional authority already conferred on the text by its selection for the classroom. Finally, Canagarajah (1993) points out that “the fundamentals of English are considered autonomous, value-free grammatical structures” (p. 608) and textbooks that focus on correctness may empower “the teacher as the sole authority in the classroom to regulate, discipline, and arbitrate the learning process” (p. 608) reinforcing traditional pedagogical roles of teacher and student that imply a lack of knowledge on the students’ part, invalidating in advance students’ knowledge as ‘off-topic’ or ‘not part of the curriculum.’

Many of the same qualities that make textbooks an influential and problematic discourse type, make them an attractive discourse type for interrogation. Billig (1995) proposes that textbooks provide a way of accessing a society’s ideological beliefs and assumptions: “Textbooks, in seeking to transmit the disciplinary vision to a new generation of disciples, tend to package the approved view in handy form” (Billig, 1995, p. 52). As often obligatory parts of the curriculum, textbooks carry the status of official discourses making the racialising and gendered representations of these textbooks deserving of critical attention. Textbooks draw upon a number of sources but often integrate them in such a way that they construct the appearance of seamlessness, suppressing the dialogic interaction between these voices, with the narratives that have achieved hegemony being the closest to the surface. The masking of socially situated knowledge as objective fact calls for a type of analysis that can read the text for its ideological aspects.

Discourses in Textbooks

Previous research on textbooks has claimed a nationalising or globalising element to the discourses presented within them. According to van Dijk (2004), the influential discourses presented in textbooks are shaped by and involved in the reproduction of dominant ideologies including racist prejudice and nationalist ideologies. Ndura (2004) proposes that in ESL classrooms “instructional materials play the role of cultural mediators as they transmit overt and covert societal values, assumptions and images” (p. 143). Similarly, Suaysuwan and Kapitzke (2005) state that “students not only learn subject matter from textbooks, but they also acquire values, interests, and knowledge that form desires, habits, and identities” (p. 79).

Textbooks, including first and second language textbooks, present students with discourses that may support national policies, globalisation, and/or westernization. Researchers using discourse analysis (sometimes combined with critical ethnography) have found in textbooks nationalising discourses related to areas of economics, the natural environment, social control, gender roles, consumption, and everyday life (Chen, 2005; Liu, 2005; Lee, 2005; Suaysuwan & Kapitzke, 2005). In a study of Thai EFL textbooks, Suaysuwan and Kapitzke (2005) found that with industrialisation, texts and images of daily life shifted from presentations of family-oriented, gender-segregated, village life with parents engaged dutifully in agriculture to more gender integrated presentations of children as autonomous, urban, and consumption-oriented. This shift led them to argue that “in Thai English language lessons, hegemonic cogency in textbooks encourages child readers to adopt Western ideas, values, and practices such as those of consumer cultures” (p. 95). Liu (2005) finds that Chinese language textbooks reproduce discourses on the values of love of the

country, work or sacrifice for the country, diligence, collective spirit, and the happy life people enjoy “in this country.” Lee (2005) analyses a South Korean reading text finding that it describes environmental destruction and devastation in ways that backgrounds the contribution of industrial pollution implying instead that people who visit the countryside are responsible for environmental devastation. Canagarajah (1993) finds the American EFL textbooks used at one university in Sri Lanka assumes “an urbanized, technocratic, Western culture that is alien to the students” (p. 609) and promoted consumerism, industry, and upward social mobility with traces of racism while presenting itself as value free.

Although textbooks as a discourse type can be quite influential, students may also resist these ‘values, interests, and knowledge.’ Canagarajah (1993) notes resistance to the westernizing discourses he identifies in textbooks. In the margins of the textbooks are slogans promoting a separate Tamil state and some of the illustrations have been touched up to portray well known Tamil resistance fighters. Despite these critical notes, in interviews, students did not feel that U.S. culture was imposed on them through the texts and, while noting racism, social inequality, imperialism, and decadence in the texts, found them generally “interesting” (p. 619). Only one of twenty-two students interviewed thought that the texts “posed a cultural threat” (p. 620).

The examples cited above originate in a variety of teaching contexts and connect with differing socio-political concerns. The issues involved may vary widely depending on the status of the learner in the country, the status of the language in the country, whether they involve first or second languages, and threats to the learners and language. I mention them here to show that concerns about hegemonic discourses in text are widespread and of

importance to language teachers in a variety of contexts, including those teaching English to 'newcomers to Canada'.

Racialising discourses in textbooks.

Alongside these nationalising, 'westernizing,' or globalising discourses, textbooks contain racialising discourses that situate and position students vis-à-vis membership in the imagined community. Goldberg (2002) argues that race and the modern state are "co-articulated" (p. 4) through racial characterisations, marginalisations, exploitations, and exclusions (Goldberg, 2002, p. 4) and "the internalizations of exclusions" (p. 9). The social construction of racialised identity occurs through division or separation, naturalisation, and essentialisation (Montgomery, 2005, p. 319, citing Goldberg, 1993; Miles, 1989; Loveman, 1999; and McLaren & Torres, 1999) with the effect of producing a "racially configured homogeneity" which has been promoted as part of modern statehood (Goldberg, 2002, p. 5). The invention of nation and the invention of race both involve discursively marking in-groups and out-groups and often positively presenting the in-group while negatively presenting the out-group (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 142).

Such racialising representations of nation and national identity accomplish a kind of 'place making' "a construction, rather than merely a discovery, of difference" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997b, p. 13) that confuses an often unstable and mobile relation between subject and community for a fixed and rooted membership. The ubiquitousness of the concept of nationhood, however, possibly excludes marginal positions some find themselves in vis-à-vis nation and nationality. The possibility of imagining yourself regionally, transnationally, or as nationless is circumscribed by the texts' acceptance of nation as a universally applicable label. Gupta and Ferguson (1997a) describe this as a fiction that sees cultures "as discrete,

objectlike phenomena occupying discreted spaces [that] becomes implausible for those who inhabit the borderlands” (p. 34).

Critical discourse analysis of discourses on race and discourses on nation bear this out. Nationalist texts participate in the racialising of nationhood through discursive strategies of mythical expansion, collective remembrance, construction of national uniqueness and intranational sameness, the banal marking of a national body, positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, ‘othering’ of immigrants, and downplaying or denial of racism(s) (de Cillia et al., 1999; van Dijk, 2004). Van Dijk (2004) finds that “contemporary forms of racism in textbooks have become more subtle and implicit” (para. 12). In his study of social science textbooks used in Spain he found that, despite the lack of “explicitly racist passages” (para. 61), the books presented little information on immigration but what information appeared represented immigrants through a stereotypical polarization of ‘us’ and ‘them.’ In lieu of explicit racism, research on racism in textbooks has found that textbooks: exclude immigrants and minorities, essentialise difference, exoticise, and stereotype ‘others,’ offer positive self-presentations of ‘us’ and negative representations of ‘them,’ deny or downplay racism, speak about ‘others’ but do not allow their voice to be heard, contain texts and images that exhibit “the exotic, negative or problematic dimensions of Others or other countries” (para. 21), and propose assignments that “presuppose the exclusive presence of ‘white’ students in class” (para. 22). Ndura (2004) found that ESL texts used in elementary and secondary schools in the USA contained gendering, racialising, and exoticising stereotypes; omitted “any information pertaining to religion and to the important role it plays in people’s lives” (p. 147); and avoided any discussion of the pernicious effects of racism in

the present even as part of discussions in the text on topics such as the *Civil Rights Movement* and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (p. 148).

Discursive constructions of immigrants in language training and textbooks

Language training and other assimilationist programs position immigrants as classed, racialised, and gendered national subjects. Both discourses around assimilation of new immigrants and texts produced for use in language training have assumed certain gendered and racialised positions of these new immigrants in relation to nation. Participants in these programs do not necessarily accept these texts uncritically and some researchers have identified forms of resistance to assimilationist discourses (Iacovetta & Korinek, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005).

With the LINC program, government-funded language instruction in Canada has called for language classrooms to be a site of the inculcation of ‘national values’ and social-integration at the same time as it has been made possible for more women to access language training (Derwing & Thomson, 2005, p. 46). This is interesting in light of the gendered dimensions identified in some assimilationist programs. Historically, some assimilationist campaigns have targeted women immigrants because they have been perceived as the “transmitters of cultural values” in the home through their gendered role as mothers and as the key to the transformation of ethnic communities (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 280). As potential mothers of nationalized citizens, women “were important in the reproduction of the ideology and culture of the nation, and in producing nationalised subjects through the transmission of national ideologies and practices (as well as ethnic ones)” (Anthias, 2006, p. 22, citing Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989).

Pavlenko (2005) describes an Americanization campaign that took place between 1900 and 1924 which aimed at assimilating European immigrants, particularly women, into an 'American way of life.' Racialising and gendering discourses of both progressives and assimilationists defined immigrant women by the knowledges they were perceived to lack, including knowledge of 'American' foods, 'American' ways of caring for children, and 'American' ways of ventilating the house. The classes and texts "aimed to socialise the women into middle-class values and femininities linked to domesticity and consumerism" (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 276). The texts in the classroom presented gendered realities in which men were more closely linked to the public domains of work and citizenship while women were linked to the domestic sphere. Belonging, as Anthias (2006) notes, is "a gendered process" with gender being "central to state formation and transformation" (p. 22). Texts for women immigrants "typically centred on topics such as the home, furniture, ventilation, cleaning methods, laundering, personal hygiene, child welfare, American money, shopping, cooking, and visiting schools and doctor's offices" (p. 286). Such texts were unappealing to many women and were resisted in part by their lack of participation. Many of these women opted instead for the "much more attractive linguistic repertoire [that] was offered to them by the labour movement" (p. 292).

Research on how food is nationalized in discourses directed at new immigrants have shown that presentations of food are heavily gendered and racialised. Discourses on citizenship, motherhood, membership, and belonging engage in discursive struggle in the kitchen and patch things up at the potluck. Iacovetta and Korinek (2004) find that food has been a "site of clashes and accommodations" (p. 190) with the food traditions of immigrant

women being marginalised, dismissed as unhealthy, bastardized, and transformed through gatekeeping processes of English teachers, social workers, and health professionals.

Publicly rejecting earlier 'assimilationist' policies, government officials, experts, and volunteers adopted a language of cultural tolerance, including 'integration' as the codeword of reception work, though 'Canadianization' remained popular. Postwar cultural pluralism combined a liberal respect for the newcomers' traditions and sympathy for their plight with an insistence that they embrace Canada and Canadian citizenship – but it did not preclude the cultural chauvinism of middle-class gatekeepers convinced of the superiority of their ways. (Iacovetta & Korinek, 2004, p. 196)

In post-World War II Canada, the rhetoric of cultural pluralism combined with cultural chauvinism as immigrant women were encouraged to continue cooking and eating 'ethnic' foods while attempting to include more 'Canadian' options.

According to Auerbach (1986), ESL textbooks used in competency-based ESL—a solution often encouraged in government-funded language instruction for new immigrants—show minimum wage jobs, teach language functions of subservience (apologizing, following orders), and offer curriculum aimed at fostering the language capacity for only certain minimum wage jobs. She juxtaposes a text from the early 1900s with one from 1984:

I hear the whistle, I must hurry ...
It is time to go into the shop ...
I change my clothes and get ready to work ...
I work until the whistle blows to quit.
I leave my place nice and clean.

(Korman 1967, as cited in Auerbach 1986, pp. 417-418)

Go to work on time. Don't be late ...
Work hard. Don't be lazy.
Work carefully. Always do your best.
Ask questions if you don't understand or are not sure.
Be friendly. Get along with everybody. Be nice to the other workers ... Smile at them. Be clean and neat.

(Walsh, 1984, as cited in Auerbach 1986, p. 418)

Since the turn of the century, such texts have encouraged the production of a compliant labour pool of immigrant workers—a trend actively resisted through involvement in socialism and social democratic unionism by some of the women Pavlenko (2005) describes.

The ‘Received View’: National Identities in TESOL Theory

Despite increasing attention to notions of cultural hybridity, culture is often understood in TESOL theory to be diffused within nations and shared by the members of the nation (Atkinson, 1999; Guest, 2003; Palfreyman, 2005). Atkinson (1999) conducted a survey of TESOL articles that topicalized the notion of culture and argued that culture was predominantly seen as a property of nations. Members of nations are understood to share a set of values that govern behaviour and are imagined to be part of a community of like-minded individuals. Atkinson (1999) critiques this “received view”:

By received view, I am referring to a notion of culture(s) that sees them in their most typical form as geographically (and quite often nationally) distinct entities, as relatively unchanging and homogeneous, and as all-encompassing systems of rules or norms that substantially determine personal behavior.

(p. 626; see also Holliday, 1999 and Clark & Gieve, 2006)

Such a view has been prevalent within various academic fields, including anthropology, with the notion of culture largely being one of ‘cultures’ through which “a world of human differences is to be conceptualized as a diversity of separate societies, each with its own culture” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997b, p. 1). In cultural anthropology, these ‘cultures’—often seen as coextensive with nations—came to form bounded totalities each “a universe of shared meaning” that was “radically set apart from other cultures” (p. 2).³

³ In a response paper, Siegal (2000) argued that Atkinson (1999) understated the extent to which post-structuralist, postmodernist, and feminist understandings of subjectivity and identity have emerged in the field of TESOL representing an alternative to the ‘received view’.

Effects of the 'Received View'

Discourses on national identity intersect and articulate with racialising and 'othering' discourses in TESOL research, ESL classrooms, and the lives of ESL learners. This 'othering' and 'racialisation' involves the attribution of set values and behaviours to racialised groups and the mapping of cultures along national lines (Guest, 2002; Kubota, 1999, 2001; Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Palfreyman, 2005), which are then taken up or resisted by students, teachers, researchers, and texts. Kumaravadivelu (2003), for example, notes a "harmful homogenization of nearly 3 billion people belonging to cultures as contrasting and conflicting as the Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and many others—all thrown into a single cultural basket labeled *Asian*" (p. 710). Palfreyman (2005) interviewed expatriate and Turkish administrators and Turkish teachers in a university English department and found that "cultures of learning (both those that are approved and those that are criticized) are labelled according to national cultures" (p. 220) and that "national culture is represented as the prime influence on student behaviour" (p. 222). Kubota (2001) finds that essentialising constructions of Japanese culture appear in applied linguistics literature reproducing "colonial legacies, legitimating unequal relations of power between the Self and the Other" (p. 28) and maintaining racialised hierarchies of superiority and inferiority (p. 25).⁴ Ibrahim (1999) conducted an ethnographic study of the students' reactions to racialising discourses encountered by African born Franco-Ontarian youths "in which they are already constructed, imagined, and positioned and thus treated by the hegemonic discourses and dominant groups, respectively, as Blacks" (p. 353). Clark and Gieve (2006) discuss how ESL students from mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan are positioned by "racist and post-

⁴ While some have suggested that these processes of 'othering' are more prevalent when applied internationally (Guest 2002, p. 157), both Kubota (1999) and Palfreyman (2005) see 'othering' discourses being rearticulated within nations that are othered by them.

colonialist discourses of the Chinese as industrious, often unskilled, poorly paid, uncomplaining, self-contained and unknowable, or exoticised through representations in Kung Fu films” (p. 68) and fashion new identities in reference or resistance to racialising discourses. This overlapping of racialising, nationalising, and ‘othering’ discourses in TESOL, ESL, and textbooks work towards the construction of a racialised nationhood in which ‘we’ become positively presented against an uncannily familiar and, yet, completely different ‘them,’ the negative traits of which are made explicit or are implied by ‘their’ not being a positively constructed ‘us.’

Understandings of culture that see it as homogeneous ignore the differences, diversity, and constructedness of ‘cultures’ so that ‘nation’ becomes the outer frame within which culture is placed. Bhambra (2006) writes, “Culture is frequently framed in terms of the totality of social systems and their related practices of signification, representation and symbolism” (p. 32). Students are then seen as typical or atypical representatives of those nations, which allows claims to be made about learning styles, appropriate methodology, and cultural expectations and norms (Chen, Warden, & Chang, 2005; Hu, 2005). Nation, thus, can be seen as determining the effectiveness of specific methods and the abilities, motivations, or opportunities to learn languages (Atkinson, 1999; Clark & Gieve, 2006; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Kubota, 1999; Lin & Luk, 2002; Singh & Doherty, 2004).

The need for challenges to the reduction of culture to nation becomes obvious when one looks at discursive constructions of the cultures of students, teachers, and researchers in debates on the ‘importation’ of communicative methodologies to ‘the Chinese teaching context.’ Such debates are often phrased in terms of cultural (in)appropriateness, paradigmatic incommensurability, and fundamental differences (Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Ellis,

1996; Hu, 2002; Yu, 2001) and often participate in orientalist discourses that posit ‘Asian’ students as non-critical, group oriented, and irredeemably other while constructing ‘Western’ students as critical, individualistic, and familiar (Kubota, 1999, 2001; for a discussion of ‘Orientalism’ see Said, 2001).

Critiques of the ‘Received View’

The problem with the positing of culture as national is not whether certain discourses are generally diffused within an imagined community, perhaps through the system of education or mass media but, rather, how such presentations ignore a myriad of diverse influences on understandings while legitimating nationalist values and beliefs that may not be shared. Several critiques have been made of the ‘received view’:

- (1) Such discourses tend to posit intranational sameness while emphasizing international difference and, consequently, conceive of cultures too homogeneously: “There is no social group that is not constantly infiltrated by outside influences” (Atkinson, 1999, p. 631).
- (2) Discussions of national cultures understate individual subjectivity: “Personal idiosyncrasy, agency, and person-internal cognitive disunity also subvert the idea of homogeneous cultures—individuals frequently act in ways that modify, resist, or ignore cultural norms” (Atkinson, 1999, p. 633).
- (3) The reification of nation results in a lack of attention to a range of other social positions, discourses that ‘other’ students, and the repetition of racialising tropes in the guise of claims about ethnicity. TESOL discourse⁵ often underestimates the extent to which “patterns may well vary within a given society, for example, between socioeconomic groups or within the same individual in different settings” (Palfreyman, 2005, p. 212). In much TESOL research,

⁵ The reification of nation occurs in many fields. In this thesis, however, I am mostly concerned with the reification of nation in TESOL.

research into subject-positionings responding to the interplay of gender, race, age, sexuality, and class has been overshadowed by the deterministic role assigned to national and cultural identities in language acquisition (Benesch, 1999, p. 575, citing Zamel, 1997; see also Lin et al., 2004 and Beckett & MacPherson, 2005).

(4) Cultures have been imagined upon ideological lines in the interest of dominant social groups who present their interests as *the* culture and achieve hegemonic status for their representations of culture: “Power is implicated in basically all sociocultural phenomena, but received views of culture(s) typically idealize such phenomena so that this fact is hidden or left out of the picture” (Atkinson, 1999, p. 634). TESOL literature, for example, often critiques the cultural predispositions attributed to students while leaving practitioners’ cultural assumptions underanalyzed (Palfreyman, 2005, p. 212).

Theories of subjectivity, identity and TESOL research.

While I will not be investigating how ESL students *negotiate* nationalising discourses in textbooks in positioning themselves as subjects, theories of subject formation are relevant to this thesis. The recognition that language learners negotiate their subjectivity with reference to powerful discourses and that such negotiation can influence learning makes it important to study how these discourses enter language classrooms.

Largely informed by Chomskyan linguistics, which considers questions of subjectivity outside the proper scope of linguistics (Norton, 1997, p. 409), and by cognitive psychology, which “sees individuals ... as radically autonomous language acquirers” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 534 citing Pennycook, 1997; see also Norton & Toohey, 2002), second language acquisition (SLA) has, for the most part, worked with a view of second language (L2) learners as divorced from the social contexts in which acquisition takes place (Norton

Pierce, 1995). Consequently, much SLA research has failed to develop a notion of the language learner as “having a complex social identity that must be understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable social structures that are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction” (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 13).

Research within this cognitive psychology/linguistics paradigm presented the student as being akin to a brain in a box, receiving input and producing output (Atkinson, 2002). Little attention was paid to whether and how learners negotiate issues of power and access to language; whether and how normalizing subject-positionings are reproduced in ESL classrooms; and whether and how English is “implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities in different contexts in the world” (Lin, 1999, p. 393). A conception of the learner as having “relatively fixed and long-term traits and characteristics” (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 121) corresponds to humanist discourses that “presuppose an essence at the heart of the individual which is unique, fixed and coherent and which makes her what she *is*” (Weedon, 1997, p. 32) and allows racialisation of “fixed ‘selves’ which we either are or are not” (Hall, 1996, p. 444).

Several researchers in TESOL detect a shift⁶ from conceiving of the learner as autonomous and learning as a cognitive process towards seeing the learner as socially implicated and learning as a social process (Block, 2007; Canagarajah, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2002; Pennycook, 2001; Palfreyman, 2005; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). To investigate such questions, some TESOL researchers draw upon critical and poststructuralist theories of subjectivity, language, and power (Block, 2007; Canagarajah, 2006; Dufresne &

⁶ While Norton and Toohey (2002) make the claim that “in recent language learning research, conceptions of identity are congruent with prevailing theories of language and learning” which see identity as “multiple, changing, and a site of struggle” (p. 116), this should not be taken as suggesting that there has been a decisive break within SLA and TESOL research. Cognitive applied linguistics is still the dominant conceptual framework within the field (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 36).

Masny, 2005; Fleming, 2003; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Johnson, 2006; Kumaravadivelu, 2006; Nelson, 1999; Norton, 1997; Pennycook, 1999; Ramanathan, 2005; Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

Language is not only a signifying system utilized to exchange information; it is also a complex, socially distributed system through which the speaker, the social, and the speaker's position in the social are negotiated as "speech, speakers, and social relationships are inseparable" (Norton, 1997, p. 410). As it is through always unstable, contested, and socially and historically located language(s) that our subjectivities are constituted (Genishi, 1999; Weedon, 1997), subjectivities are themselves multiple and sometimes contradictory. Subject positions get negotiated, taken up, and contested through language. For Norton (1997) and Norton Pierce (1995) language learning becomes an investment in one's social identity as it is through language that "a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time" (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 13). This subject formation is not without constraints, however. Certain subject positions can be questioned on the basis of gender, race, or sexuality.

Subject positionings from this perspective are not seen as immutable essences determined by biology or socioeconomic status, but as continually being transformed and performed through classroom practices. When subject positionings are theorized as "contextualised, readable acts rather than inner essences that are universal" (Nelson, 1999, p. 388) then ESL classes and texts can be understood as sites in which subjectivity can be constructed, contested, and performed (Gebhard, 2005; Hirst, 2003; Ibrahim, 1999; Lin, 1999; Norton Pierce, 1995). This research has called for understanding of learners' desires as "not simply distractions from the proper task of language learning or accidental deviations ...

[but] ... as constituting the very fabric of students' lives and as determining their investment in learning the target language" (McKay & Wong, 1996, p. 603).

Seeing National Culture as a Discursive Project

Critical discourse analysis can be used to challenge the more limiting notions of nationhood and national culture and to argue for language teaching that engages students in dialogue with the hopes of promoting more critical understandings of the possibilities of both belonging and citizenship.

Insights from Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (van Dijk 2001, p. 352)

This definition touches upon a number basic tenets of CDA shared by many key CDA theorists (Jäger, 2001; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001):

(1) Texts and language are socially shared and produced. It is in this social distribution of language and texts that power, dominance, and inequality are produced and reproduced, challenged, and enacted.

(2) Discourses are not reflections or merely representations of the social and social activity; they are social action.

(3) Although discourses are socially produced, they are also mediated by individuals (individuals whose subjectivities are, in turn, discursively constituted). These individuals have the capacity to resist, challenge, or transform discourses.

(4) While discourses are constitutive of subjectivities (Jäger, 2001, citing Foucault 1992), the individual is not fully cognizant of the social aspects of the discourses they produce. Discourses are historically and ideologically imprinted and connect individuals to the social through complex networks of representations (Foucault, 1980).

(5) Thus, analyses of discourse are not value-free. The analyst does not stand outside of discourse but produces analyses with reference to knowledges and values through which their subjectivities were discursively constituted.

(6) Analyses are not intended to be value-free; they are intended to address social problems. Analysts take explicit positions within and in response to discourse.

Critical discourse analysis is a method of researching the social dimensions of the process of making meaning through texts and language. It is a branch of discourse analysis that is explicitly intended to unsettle the hegemonic achievement of texts. It traces in texts the ways in which these discourses enable social inequities to be textually produced, reproduced, challenged, transformed and resisted.

While not denying that individuals have agency and produce counter-hegemonic readings of texts, critical discourse analysis examines how relations of power shape and are shaped by texts; how power is enacted, legitimated, or masked through texts; and how traces of the possibility of alternative relations of power, alternative understandings, and counter-hegemonic discourses are left in texts at the moments of their delegitimation, exclusion, or proscription. As a form of analysis, CDA must find ways to run against the grain of texts to reveal the places where the conditional and tentative aspect of the hegemonic status of interested knowledges has been smoothed over. To accomplish this, critical discourse analysis draws upon both linguistic and social theories, remains a reflexive practice, and

encourages multidisciplinary (van Dijk, 2001). CDA research must be (1) rigorous due to its marginality, (2) multidisciplinary due to the breadth and complexity of its subject matter, and (3) interpretive and explanatory to accomplish its goal of bridging textual representations and socially structured inequality (van Dijk, 2001, p. 353).

As discourses are socially shared, historical, and naturalised, the writers of texts are not always fully aware of the imprint of power within discourses that they produce. “Very few linguistic forms have not at some stage been pressed into the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor” (Wodak, 2001, p. 11). CDA, then, is non-accusatory in that it does not individualize the representations in a text as those of a particular author. The author of a text is a social being, influenced and produced with reference to social positions, speaking through a language rich with socially produced meanings. The texts produced connect with the social worlds of authors in ways that the author may not be fully aware of. Consequently, the author’s interpretation of a text, the author’s specific account of what was being accomplished in the text, is an interesting but incomplete account.

Discursive hegemony is accomplished in part by hiding that it is an accomplishment. The sometimes contradictory concessions necessary to the achievement of consensus—the “compromise equilibrium” that has been formed (Gramsci, 2000, p. 211)—are hidden as are the historical, conditional, and interested nature of the knowledges produced. The discourse analyst exploits this. Jäger (2001) writes:

The (dominating) discourses can be criticized and problematized; this is done by analysing them, by revealing their contradictions and non-expression and / or the spectrum of what can be said and what can be done covered by them, and by making evident the means by which the acceptance of merely temporarily valid truths is to be achieved. (p. 34)

Rather than relying (solely) on an author's account of a text or a reader's account of a text—both of which would be interesting but partial texts in their own right—CDA attempts to analyse “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). To do this it must dispel the illusion of coherency within texts, revealing the dialogicality of the text, the struggle for power, the concessions inherent in achievement of hegemony, the intertextuality, and the recontextualisation of (often competing) discourses (Wodak, 2001, p. 11).

If texts are multiaccentual with multiple possible interpretations, (Bakhtin, 1981/2000; Voloshinov, 1986/2000) some of which are preferred and some negotiated, conflicts over meaning are not only inevitable but also encoded into texts and culture (Said, 1979). Social inequities allow some (hegemonically established) individuals and institutions a more influential position from which to attempt to ‘fix’ the readings of texts than is available to others. However, as the meaning of texts is always produced through use, i.e. through subjective interpretation, negotiated or oppositional readings are possible and even likely. It is possible, then, that through studies of the contradictions and moments of incoherencies in texts we can see how meanings have been negotiated and exhume cultural understandings that have been subjugated. In the case of texts describing national communities, some of these subjugated understandings might be those that are informed by gendered, racialised, and classed subject positions that have been excluded from the hegemonic understandings of nationhood.

Explicitly political, CDA engages with counter-hegemonic imaginings of community that can disrupt the inequitable practices that hegemonic imaginations of nation legitimise. By counter-hegemonic imaginings, I am referring to those understandings of culture and

community that reopen debates that have been closed through the achievement of hegemony—a premature and uncomfortable consensus that it is not in ‘our’ best interests to continue to ask such questions. CDA attempts to unmask the conditional nature of hegemony by:

- identifying and questioning whether and how “specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 354) in multiple genres or contexts;
- identifying the “traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance” (Wodak, 2001, p. 11);
- finding the ways in which differences of power are “in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre” (Wodak, 2001, p. 11);
- making note of denial and relativising strategies that make it possible to say what “in a certain society at a certain point in time cannot yet, or can no longer, be said, unless special ‘tricks’ are used in order to express them without negative sanctions” (Jäger, 2001, p. 35);
- tracing the history of specific discourses that “have evolved and become independent as the result of historical processes [and] convey more knowledge than the individual subjects are aware of” (Jäger, 2001, p. 37).
- demonstrating that discourses serve purposes and “exercise power with all its effects. They do this because they are institutionalized and regulated, because they are linked to social action” (Jäger, 2001, p. 34, citing Foucault 1992).

Despite the framing of CDA as ‘unmasking’ the ideology and ‘dispelling illusions’ in texts, CDA does not position itself as a truer form of knowledge outside of ideology. To

argue that a text hides its own ideological assumptions and essentialisations does not necessarily imply that a non-ideological representation of reality is possible but, rather, it opens the text up to social dialogue and critique. Critical discourse analysis is not value-free. Van Dijk (2001) describes it as “dissident research” in which “analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (p. 352). The goals of CDA are explicitly axiological.

While the axiological aspect of CDA is intentional, it is also inevitable. As discourse is seen as constitutive of subjectivities and not completely known by readers or authors of texts, discourse analysts are not considered able to stand outside of the discourses that they are critiquing. Jäger (2001) writes:

Any researcher conducting such an analysis must, moreover, see clearly that with his/her critique he/she is not situated outside the discourse he/she is analysing. If not, he/she places his/her own concept of discourse analysis in doubt. (p. 34)

The norms, values, laws, and rights that inform discourse analysts’ critical understandings are products of discourses and connect them to ideological positions. The discourse analyst does not identify the ideological positioning taking place through texts from a position of truth that stands outside of discourse but from “a position that in turn is the result of a discursive process” (Jäger, 2001, p. 34).

Cautionary Notes from Critical Pedagogy

TESOL, CDA, and critical pedagogy intersect in their concern for how meanings are made and struggled over through language within and between cultures. Research on language classrooms and language textbooks, particularly when the language teaching context has been targetted as a site in which social and cultural integration should take place, could draw upon theories that problematise language, power, culture, and pedagogy.

Critical pedagogy sees classrooms, textbooks, and schools not as neutral sites in which education occurs completely autonomous of the larger social world outside the classroom including issues of power and social inequities, but as places in which these power dynamics and inequities are sometimes reproduced (Canagarajah, 1993; Kincheloe, 2005). At the same time, however, critical pedagogy errs if it denies the extent to which individuals are able to negotiate the processes that could reproduce those social inequities (Canagarajah, 1993; Kincheloe, 2005). In understanding classrooms as ‘relatively autonomous’ spaces, critical pedagogy should avoid constructing learners as oppressed or powerless (Auerbach, 2000) and instead assume complex interactions between gender, race, age, sexuality, and class and the subject positions they claim or are denied (Benesch, 2001, p. 58). It should also be willing to engage with issues of social justice and, yet, do so without assuming that the students do and should share the teachers’ values (Benesch, 1999; Norton & Toohey, 2004).

Researchers in the field of TESOL have debated the extent to which English language teaching, particularly English for Academic Purposes (EAP), has been dominated by an uncritical pragmatism (Benesch, 1993; Pennycook, 1997). Benesch (1996) and Pennycook (2000) have argued that setting only pragmatic goals results in the reproduction of racism, sexism, English linguisticism, and other forms of inequity in the ESL classroom and have called upon English language teachers to be more critically aware. They argue that practitioners and theorists should seek understandings that “connect the microrelations of TESOL—classrooms, teaching approaches, interactions—with broader social and political relations” (Pennycook, 1999, p. 331).

Such critical work should, however, avoid a pessimistic and patronizing emancipatory agenda (Atkinson, 1999; Benesch, 1999; Nelson, 1999; Pennycook, 1999) that would, in the

field of ELT, often involve English teachers from ‘the West’ telling people from ‘the rest’ how to liberate themselves from and/or through English. Pennycook (1999) proposes a “critical theory as problematizing practice” (p. 341), which would: avoid modernist-emancipatory politics; critically engage with people’s desires, discourses, and dialects; and be challenged and extended by post-structuralist notions of discourse. It would attempt to question the “normative assumptions” of second language education theories, including its own (Benesch, 2001, p. xvii), maintaining a “constant scepticism, a constant questioning about the types of knowledge, theory, practice, or praxis they operate with” (Pennycook, 1999, p. 345). Critical researchers should not assume that language classrooms or language students are ‘cultural dupes.’

While how discourses of inclusion or exclusion are taken up and resisted in the language classroom is beyond the scope of this thesis, I do not assume the learners to be ‘cultural dupes’ incapable of thinking critically or resisting the hegemonic messages in the text. The respect that researchers in critical pedagogy and cultural studies have attempted to maintain for the ‘readers’ of cultural texts has made it possible to argue that texts can contain dominant, hegemonic, and discriminatory discourses without presenting the readers of these texts as dominated, disempowered, and unwitting victims of discrimination.

Perspectives on Teaching Canadian Culture

Views of culture and nation in discourses on the teaching of Canadian identity in ESL differ in terms of whether they emphasize the extent to which culture is shared by members of a community or realized by the individual; the extent to which culture is coherent, cohesive, and stable or to which it is in flux and sometimes not consciously understood by

those 'within' the culture; and the extent to which it is defined by nationhood or involves numerous social groupings. In this section, I explore debates over the possibility and implications of teaching of Canadian culture in ESL classrooms.

Culture as National Facts and Values

According to Derwing and Thomson (2005) "The early 1990s saw the release of more Canadian-authored ESL textbooks than ever before, although the representation of Canadiana in most such commercial textbooks is lacking in substance (Fleming, 2003; Ilieva, 2000; Thomson & Derwing, 2004)" (p. 47). They argue for more attention to Canadian values in ESL textbooks.

Thomson and Derwing (2004) used surveys and oral interviews to identify 100 texts that were used in LINC classes, only a few of which were widely used. They conducted cursory analyses of 67 texts, which included all those used in two or more programs. Of these, they found that "37% (25) of the materials were Canadian commercial texts, 17% (11) were government publications, and 46% (31) were United States textbooks" (p. 21). They found, however, that many textbooks lacked "substantive Canadian content" (p. 23) and dismissed claims about Canadian identity that "could just as easily be applied to many Western countries" (p. 24). They found that a third of the texts in use contained only the most superficial references to Canada and that many of the texts "actually had little or no substantive Canadian content" (p. 23) as many of the texts could be set anywhere in North America were it not for the use of Canadian place names and Canadian money. "In other words, Wall Street has been changed to Bay Street, but for all intents and purposes, there is nothing distinctively Canadian in these books" (p. 23).

Thomson and Derwing (2004) found that of those textbooks they considered to contain ‘substantive Canadian content,’ most contained *explicit* cultural content, which they divided into six categories—geography, history, government, law/policy, functional language skills for integration, and cultural facts. Fewer texts contained representations of what they considered *implicit* cultural knowledge—cultural values, such as multiculturalism, peace, and civil responsibilities (p. 22). Some of the Canadian values they identified through a survey of practicing teachers were equality, respect, and legal rights. While many of these teachers were committed to sharing these values with their students, “others were unsure how to balance teaching about dominant Canadian values and those held by some groups represented in the LINC classroom (e.g., equality of women)” (Thomson & Derwing, 2004, p. 26).

In their discussion of which textbooks they consider to be lacking in cultural content, Thomson and Derwing (2004) reveal an understanding of national identity that posits a nation as unique and specific. Taking *Canadian Concepts 2* (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1992) as an example, they argue that most of the Canadian content is “relatively superficial and generic” (p. 23) and, other than information of weather patterns and notes on the color of Canadian mailboxes, little was seen as specifically Canadian. They discounted claims being made about Canada that were not particular to Canada when examining the range of Canadian content included within the texts.

While Thomson and Derwing (2004) have critiqued this ‘Facts and Values’ orientation for its lack of substance, from my perspective, the selection and presentation of certain facts and values as ‘Canadian’ is a discursive construction of a community who knows these things and who is made known by them to a group of ‘others’ who are positioned as not knowing and needing to know. ‘Factual information,’ such as “the story of

Laura Secord,” discussions of eating habits, the color of mailboxes, and stories about the royal family (Thomson & Derwing, 2004), present opportunities for analysis of whose facts and values are being presented by the text and begs the question of whether such texts privilege discourses and practices that legitimate white, European-Canadian identities.

While I am also studying texts used in LINC classes, this research differs from that of Thomson and Derwing (2004) in its assumptions, intention, theory, and methodology. The present research draws upon the concept of nation as a social imaginary and is interested in texts that imagine the nation banally through widely diffused cultural practices. The depiction of a stamp on an envelope places the stamp of nationality within the text through a banal flagging of the nation. Such texts are interesting in that they articulate and repeat imaginings of the nation. Texts will not be excluded on the grounds that their ‘Canadianness’ is apparently limited to the banal nationalism of place names and routine flaggings of the nation. Furthermore, the imagining of national identities sometimes involves the nationalising of behaviours or values that are not unique to the nation. Rather than discounting such claims as Thomson and Derwing have done, I consider the nationalising of widespread behaviours or traits to be of particular relevance to an analysis of how communities are imagined. These texts are not so much lacking in substantive ‘Canadian content’ as they are saturated with a positive valuing of nation-ness and nationalism. The same texts that Thomson and Derwing discount as “relatively superficial and generic in nature” (p. 23) are of great interest and referred to frequently in my chapter on banal nationalism.⁷

⁷ The version of *Canadian Concepts 2* that I analyze is a later edition different than the one examined by Thomson and Derwing (2004), which may account for some of the differences in our opinion. However, in a cursory examination of the first edition, I see much of the same type of ‘banal flagging’.

Critiques of teaching national culture as 'facts & values'.

Texts that present Canadian culture as facts and values can be and have been critiqued for their superficiality, their under-representation of diversity within Canada, their central positioning of the values associated with majority cultural groups, their marginalisation of non-dominant cultural 'facts and values,' and their association with a transmission mode of teaching. Fleming (2003), emphasizing the contested and constructed nature of national identities, cautions against treating students as passive objects, observing that "definitions of Canadian identity are changeable, multifaceted, and, most important, contested" (p. 66). He argues for an observation of the ways in ESL curriculum and texts may encourage teachers "to conceive of their students as passive objects to be molded into a monolithic version of Canadian national identity" (pp. 65-66).

One often cited example of a text that presented Canadian culture as a set of knowable 'facts and values orientation' is *Canada: A source book for orientation, language and settlement workers* (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1991), a government-produced text intended to help second language teachers and settlement workers meet the needs of newcomers to Canada. Characterised as "a notorious set of teaching guidelines that the federal government commissioned for Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC)" (Fleming, 2003, p. 66), this text included notes on expected behaviour, facts about Canadian politics, history, and geography, and claims as to the values Canadians hold:

"Do not defecate or urinate anywhere other than a private toilet"

"Canada is a federation of ten provinces ..."

"Canadians respect authority, but they demand justification for its actions"

– (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1991 cited in Derwing & Thomson, 2005, p. 47).

Such texts present, at best, a superficial presentation of Canada and at worst bring into official discourses traces of racist depictions of immigrant behaviour.

When national cultures are treated as discrete facts and shared values, the perceived *foreign* cultural expertise of newcomers to Canada may be introduced by questions and assignments as a point of comparison. Instructors often rely on a kind of contrastive analysis where teachers invited learners to compare their culture with the target culture (Derwing and Thomson, 2005, p. 55): “Instructors reported that they encourage their students to compare their cultures with Canadian culture and with those of the other learners” (p. 52). In ‘Being Canadian,’ for example, Cameron and Derwing (2004) ask students if “there are any rights that Canadians have that you didn’t have in the country that you came from?” and vice versa (p. 145). Carver et al. (1993) ask students to compare public transportation in “your native country” and “public transportation in Canada” (p. 102). Such comparisons of learners’ culture with the supposed target culture positions the students’ cultural knowledge as other than and in opposition to knowledge of Canada. By calling upon the student to speak of and for the nation, such questions engage in constructions of nationness. The construction of nation appears not in the particular wording of the question but in the unit of analysis (nation) and the assumption that nation can be spoken for and of. Furthermore, the selection of topics of comparison is often related to positive identity claims made about Canada and Canadianness.

National Culture as System of Interpretation

Other TESOL researchers see national culture more as an interpretive framework through which people make meanings of their lives. Culture is seen as dynamic and variable, pertaining as much to underlying values as to surface behaviour. Canadian culture is “forever

in transition, a vision on the way to becoming but never reaching its destination” (Courchêne, 1996, p. 8). Teachers should be able to emphasize the similarities between cultures and develop cross-cultural sensitivity “to avoid causing harm to the students in their classes” (Courchêne, 1996, p. 10). Furthermore, pedagogical discussions of culture must begin to explicitly address the ways in which cultural representations are biased. Courchêne (1996) argues that a new vision of culture for language teaching “will have to be a vision that explains why we have not given equal voice to many groups in our society, how we have degraded others, and how we intend to rectify the situation” (p. 7).

Courchêne (1996) argues that “if culture is going to be more than a list of do’s and don’t’s, teachers must be able to explain to students, especially new Canadians, why we act and think the way we do” (p. 9) and “we cannot teach what we do not know ourselves” (p. 9). Despite seeing the value in making cultural values explicit, Courchêne (1996) feels that culture can be “systematically integrated into the curriculum in both explicit and implicit ways” (p. 3). Others argue that if culture is seen as an underlying system of interpretation, then it becomes impossible to teach explicitly: “How is it possible to teach something when we cannot even be fully conscious of it? I am comfortable with the notion of enabling the acquisition of culture; I am less comfortable with the idea of trying to teach it” (Sauvé, 1996, p. 17).

The analyses of researchers that discuss culture as contested and contextual, however, often remain constrained by the qualifier that the culture taught in ESL books should be Canadian. Even those who argue for notions of culture that recognize difference and contestation frame their discussion with reference to nation and national identities (Courchêne, 1996; Ilieva, 2000; Sauvé, 1996). This framing limits the extent to which culture

can be seen as something students actively construct and participate in. It impresses upon the pedagogical possibilities an already imagined Canada and a positive self-presentation of that Canada. Those advocating a more reflexive, active, living sense of culture end up speaking to and about '*Canadian*' values of multiculturalism.

Debates on culture that leave the notion of nation unproblematised reaffirm these allegedly coherent, cohesive, relatively stable and enduring imagined communities that are perceived as distinct in some way from other imagined communities. The emphasis becomes placed upon majority cultures or dominant cultures that are seen as being shared throughout the nation (through perhaps mass media, government policy, and education) with some mostly symbolic acknowledgement of cultural difference and diversity between this ostensibly cohesive national culture and the cultures of these marginalised, 'multicultural' others. Contestations and challenges to the majority cultural position may be acknowledged but are given less importance or emphasis than the dominant culture's positive self-representations. Looking at culture through the unexamined lens of nationalism either ignores or reframes as 'national' the discussion and debate around the very many practices and discourses that do not distinguish us, do not show us to be nationally unique, but inform our lives on a daily basis. Discussion and debate around race, gender, and social class become subsumed by nation, their relevance to the formation of identity or a sense of community being downplayed. The rationale that directs us to teach Canadian culture, in the end, steers us away from teaching about the broad range of cultural performances that our students interact with on a daily basis and towards already imagined encounters with Laura Secord, native guides (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 31), and Terry Fox (p. 122). Chained to the equation of culture with nation, even those who see culture an interpretive framework that is not fully

knowable may still imply a relative stability to knowledge and identifiability with nation (Courchène, 1996; Ilieva, 2000; Sauvé, 1996).

National Culture as a Discursive Project

If culture is “characterized as much by multivocality, diversity, conflicts, and contradictions as by consistency (Rosaldo, 1993)” (Ilieva, 2001, p. 7), then the view of national culture that informs ESL pedagogy and theory should be one that emphasizes the ongoing construction of culture through conflicting and competing discourses. Culture, for Ilieva (2001), is “a negotiation of meanings among particular individuals in particular communities locked in an interplay of power relations” (p. 7). Such a view implies a pedagogical stance that would emphasize diversity and difference with particular attention to the ways in which certain perspectives have been silenced or marginalised. The teacher becomes neither a presenter of cultural facts nor a facilitator of investigation of shared cultural values. Rather, the teacher becomes involved in facilitating students’ attempts to develop their own voice and perspective on culture, questioning the students on their own perspectives and the assumptions they make, aggravating possible contradictions, and bringing into the discourse marginalised perspectives.

By thinking of culture as the social distribution of discourses, we are able to unlock it from notions of stability, coherency, and cohesiveness that are assumed by the received view. Treating both nation and culture as discursive projects brings them into the realm of language teaching and learning in ways that views that assume stability and coherence do not. Culture becomes understood not as something that is taught through language, as a set of rules, or along side language, as part of social integration, but as an ongoing struggle over meaning and knowing engaged in (partly) through language that leaves behind traces within the

language. In fact, if we acknowledge that competing discourses are present in society and that the majority culture contains numerous contradictions and incoherencies linguistically expressed, critical analyses of discourses becomes an excellent technique for both language teaching and the introduction of culture into the ESL curriculum.

Conclusion

If language classrooms and textbooks can be seen as sites of struggle through which powerful discourses that attempt to organize the possibilities of membership and belonging enter the classroom, then TESOL theory needs to critically examine these texts. I have presented arguments that textbooks are an influential and problematic discourse type and introduced previous research on textbooks, particularly second language textbooks or textbooks that position 'newcomers' vis-à-vis a national community. I have discussed ways in which language training programs have indoctrinated immigrants into racialised and gendered understandings of nation. By pointing to contradictions, incoherencies, and moments at which texts reduce dialogicality and use various forms of legitimation to foster consent, researchers can mark the traces of struggles over culture that remain in these texts. I have also presented critiques that see TESOL theory as being dominated by an understanding of nation that subordinates other possible sites of identification. I have argued for the value of seeing nation as a discursive project. Finally, I have given an overview of debates over the teaching of Canadian identity that has taken place in TESOL journals.

Chapter 3

Key Concepts

This thesis is informed by understandings of imagined community, banal nationalism, and discourse. In this section, I will briefly introduce these key concepts in order to explicate clearly which meanings I intend when I use them in subsequent discussion.

Imagined Community and Banal Nationalism

Theorists of nationalism have challenged the apparent objectivity of nations (Anderson, 2006; Bhabha, 1990a,b; Billig, 1995; Renan, 1882/1990). Renan (1882/1990) challenges notions that nations are naturally occurring and correspond to geographic, ethnic, or linguistic boundaries. A nation's existence involves "a daily plebiscite" (p. 19) whereby the nation is affirmed to exist. Anderson (2006), drawing upon Renan, refers to nations as *imagined communities* and emphasizes the role of media and narrative in the imagining of nation. Bhabha (1990a, b) studies how these narratives operate through textual strategies that homogenize the heterogeneous, attempting to lay claim to a locality through displacement and delineation of national communities. Billig (1995), studies in more depth, the ways in which the nation is affirmed through the little reminders that say little about the nation but affirm its existence, the *banal flaggings* of nation.

The Constructedness of Nations

Renan (1882/1990) challenges notions of the origins of nations that would see them as naturally and predetermined, essential and legitimate. He argues against the imagining of the members of a nation as a racial, linguistic, or ethnic group with a legitimate claim to a geographic region. These claims to legitimacy are supported by a process of forgetting,

particularly a forgetting of the “deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial” (p. 11).

Anderson (2006) challenges the apparent objective reality of nations, arguing that nations are socio-cultural concepts or as he calls them *imagined communities*. By *imagined communities*, Anderson is referring to the ways in which nations are discursively constructed as limited and sovereign communities. Today it has become commonsensical to think of all individuals as being members of nations. However, *nation-ness* has only recently achieved its widespread legitimacy, partly through the discursive work done to diffuse it as a concept.

The idea that national identities and memories are constructed and reconstructed is not new: getting its history wrong is crucial for the creation of a nation. (Osborne, 2001, citing Renan, 1990 [1882])

The seemingly ubiquitous and common-sensical recognition of nation-ness is a testament to the extent to which *nation* has achieved hegemony. It has not always, however, been so hegemonic:

Nationalism, far from being an age-old ‘primordial’ condition, has been produced by the age of the modern nation-state. The rise of the state has brought about an ideological transformation of common sense. (Billig, 1995, pp. 9-10)

Anderson (2006) writes of the extent to which this achievement is paradoxical, with the theorists of nationalism being unable to explain these three paradoxes:

1. The objective modernity of nations to the historian’s eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalist.
2. The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will ‘have’ a nationality, as he or she ‘has’ a gender – vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations, such that, by definition, ‘Greek’ nationality is *sui generis*.
3. The ‘political’ power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence. (p. 5)

Such paradoxes can only continue unresolved if the concept of nation becomes so naturalised and commonplace as to remain unquestioned and unquestionable. The idea that we live in nations, that we inhabit nations, that we are nationals, is so ubiquitous and commonplace that we forget that we have learnt to think this way and we cease to find it remarkable.

Nations are *imagined* (Anderson, 2006). The nation is imagined as limited in that it is described as having particular and finite borders with legitimate claim to the territory within these borders. Such imaginings downplay contestation both within and between nations, that is, between alternative and contradictory imaginings. The nation is imagined in time through the tracing of a myth of the past in ways that legitimise the present claims to the territory and hegemonic relations within the community. Stories of origin such as those regarding the naming of Canada (CIC, 2006a, p. 13), for example, may work to mythologize Canada and legitimise colonization. The nation is imagined as sovereign. It is imagined as capable of acting as a coherent entity, with interests and values, and having the right to exercise power in the name of those interests over its citizen/subjects. Such exercises of power may include the collecting of taxes, declarations of war, and deployment of athletes for international games. Such imaginings work to legitimise or excuse the repressive or exclusionary exercise of power and justify the exercising of power that supports what is seen to be ‘in the national interest.’ The nation is imagined as a community, the members of which can be legitimately described as nationals with the particular obligations and commitments that that implies. These rights and responsibilities—this expected commitment to the nation—is imagined despite “the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail” within the nation (Anderson, 2006, p. 7) and despite the fact that, in even the smallest nation, the members of the nation do not know each other as individuals (p. 6).

Emphasizing the constructedness of ‘our’ nations and of ‘our’ membership in national communities is, in itself, provocative. Nations and nationality have become naturalised, essential, and ubiquitous. To question their naturalness and essence, to denaturalise them, runs against widely diffused understandings that are heavily legitimated within various discourses. The idea of nation as ‘imagined community’ allows for the denaturalisation and demythologization of nation-ness. Rather than seeing the nation as a stable and coherent marker of identity—an identity that is applied both to a territory (e.g., Canada) and to the membership of the nation (e.g., Canadians)—nations can be seen as often incoherent constructions that are constantly in flux and depend upon repetitive and contextualised assertions of their existence.

Bhabha (1990b) describes persistent attempts to “produce the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress” (p. 1) which involves “textual strategies, metaphoric displacements, sub-texts and figurative strategems” (p. 2). This narration of nation often involves marginalizing closures in the delineation of the nation and non-nation: “the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are moments of disavowal, displacement, exclusion, and cultural contestation” (p. 5). Thus, studies of those who are marginal to the nation become a form of re-opening and deessentializing of the nation as narration. Bhabha (1990a) argues that the ambivalence of nationalizing narratives are revealed through their “continual slippage into analogous, even metonymic, categories, like the people, minorities, or ‘cultural difference’ that continually overlap in the act of writing the nation” (p. 292). Consequently, an analysis of how ‘newcomers to Canada’ are positioned as both inside and outside of the nation can undermine these processes of essentialization.

Banal Nationalism

To say that a nation is an imagined community should not be taken as implying that it is an imaginative community. These imagined communities “are reproduced as nations and their citizenry as nationals” (Billig, 1995, p. 6) on a daily basis through the repetition of “a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices” (p. 6) necessitating banal and familiar repetitions of the established symbols of nation and nationalist ideologies. ‘We,’ however, are not ‘nationalists.’ *Nationalist* is a term reserved for those involved in the struggle to create new nations or secede from current ones (Billig, 1995, p. 5). If one imagines a nation as it has already been imagined—an unimaginative imagining of the nation—then one is not perceived as a *nationalist*, one is simply perceived as a citizen. In contradiction to the usual reservation of the term nationalism for what Billig (1995) calls its *hot* varieties, Billig (1995) argues that nationalism is neither peripheral nor exotic, drawing attention to the everyday performances of nation-ness and the ubiquitous ideology of nationalism that would be otherwise ignored were nationalism to be seen only as a property of ‘others.’ Billig (1995) characterises these banal repetitions of nation-ness and nationalism as *banal nationalism*.

Banal nationalism is “at the centre of things” (p. 5) in ‘more established’ nations and is reproduced daily through a ‘banal flagging’ of the nation. This flagging becomes the way in which nationals are reminded of the already imagined nation. Its banality helps to ensure that this reminding goes unremarked and the possibility of being other than a member of a nation does not suggest itself. Billig (1995) writes:

National identity in established nations is remembered because it is embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or ‘flag’, nationhood. However, these reminders, or ‘flaggings’, are so numerous and they are such a familiar

part of the social environment, that they operated mindlessly, rather than mindfully. (p. 38)

While for Renan (1882/1990) forgetting is necessary to the creation of a nation, for Billig (1995) constant reminders are needed. The citizens of a nation do not consciously choose, each day, to be members of the nation. Yet, it would be unusual to forget one's nationality. The daily remembrance of nation and nationality occurs in part because of the constant, sometimes subtle and sometimes merely unremarkable, reminders of nation. The "daily plebiscite" through which a nation is affirmed (Renan, 1882/1990) takes place through the largely unconscious and automatic or routine performances that indicate consent to one's position vis-à-vis nation and nationality.

Already Imagined Communities

The aura of nationhood always operates within the contexts of power. (Billig, 1995, p. 4)

Nationalism, even at its most banal, needs to be treated cautiously as "there can be no 'us' without a 'them'" (Billig, 1995, p. 78). In the process of creating an 'us'—imagining a community of Canadians—"we" imply a 'them'—a community of those who do not belong to 'us.' Billig (1995) proposes, "In attempting to construct a national, cultural unity, one part – one aspect of the cultural and linguistic mosaic – will become the dominant, metonymic representation of the whole" (p. 87). The practices and behaviour of other (othered) people who have legal membership in the political community will be discursively positioned as marginal to the national community through such representations. An example of such marginal positioning would be the othering of the majority languages spoken in Canada by the construction of some languages as official languages.

If nations are not merely *imagining* communities but *already imagined* communities, then within these communities some imaginations are more privileged than others. Established tropes that are inoffensive to or articulate hegemonic interests become legitimised while alternative and contradictory imaginings of nation and community becoming subsumed or delegitimised.⁸ The social relations between those doing the imagining and the social, geographic, and historic space being imagined have informed these unimaginative imaginings. Imaginings of the nation—discourses that support, perpetuate, or justify the concept of national sovereignty—are taken up, resisted, and transformed by various groups but those with the greatest access to the means to disseminate discourses are most able to perpetuate their particular and interested imaginings of the nation. This is to say, these imaginings themselves are historical constructs. The already imagined community is hegemonic both in the sense that it crowds out other imaginings and in the sense that it is a consensual achievement. If, as Billig (1995) argues, “national identities are rooted within a powerful social structure, which reproduce hegemonic relations of inequity” (p. 175), then descriptions of ‘the Canadian way of life’ achieve consensus for imaginings that support current hegemonic relations. They also limit alternative imaginings of Canada by reaffirming an imagination that has “become enhabited, and, thereby, inhibited” (Billig, 1995, p. 77).

Banal but not Benign

It would be wrong to assume that ‘banal nationalism’ is ‘benign’ because it seems to possess a reassuring normality, or because it appears to lack the violent passions of the extreme right. (Billig, 1995, p. 7)

⁸ Critical approaches to TESOL, particularly Norton’s (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Kamal, 2003), have drawn on Anderson’s (2006) notion of imagined communities with a special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* being dedicated to rethinking the role of nation in language learning in terms of imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Clark and Gieve (2006) imply that students may react to racialising and nationalising discourses by investing in the creation of imagined communities that selectively draw upon positive constructions of race and nation (p. 67). Such a hopeful interpretation of Anderson’s concept necessitates a different term. I would refer to such communities as ‘*imagining* communities’ rather than ‘*imagined* communities’.

As imaginings of community become so repeated as to be naturalised, so do the imaginings of difference. A consequence of this imagining of difference is the threat that it poses to 'us.' There lurks both within and outside 'our' borders the dangerous possibility that these different others will reject 'our' values and imagine 'our' world differently. If 'we' are to be positively, repeatedly, and unimaginatively imagined, then the alternative imaginings threatened by the Other must be disqualified in advance. The threat posed by others to 'our' self-imaginings must be ascribed to their now natural and seemingly irredeemable difference (Billig, 1995, p. 82).

The real danger to community, however, is not from extranationalised others, but from exclusionary ideologies of nation. Billig (1995) identifies this danger:

Unless identity politics can transcend the nation, escaping the bounds of the homeland, the radicalism of the challenge to images and narratives is critically constrained within the assumptions of nationalism. (p. 148)

The hegemonic status of nation as an accepted community of identification is reified in both literature on TESOL and in ESL textbooks. This reification limits one's ability to imagine other notions of community.

While banal nationalism keeps the nation always present at the back of one's mind, even an established nation that finds the hotter forms of nationalism threatening allows itself to wave the flag more vigorously on occasion. Banal nationalism does not completely displace nationalism. When threats arise to the imagined community, and when alternative imaginings of the nation threaten the already imagined community, the flag may be waved more vigorously as a reminder.

Ubiquitous Nationalism

Billig (1995) describes a certain balance between universalism and particularity that is required for established nations to be recognized as legitimate. Such a balance is contradictory but ideologies often contain contradictions or, as Billig suggests drawing upon Bakhtin, “nationalist utterances could be said to comprise both universal (centripetal) elements and particularist (centrifugal) ones” (p. 87). While nations are often constructed as unique, they must also be recognizable as nations: “Nationalism inevitably involves a mixture of the particular and the universal: if ‘our’ nation is to be imagined in all its particularity, it must be imagined as a nation amongst other nations” (p. 83). This is achieved through certain widespread forms of marking nationality: the singing of particular anthems, the production and distribution of particular currency, and the waving of particular flags are universally recognized signs of nationalism.

An important aspect of the ideology of nationalism, then, is its universal applicability. ‘We’ have a national identity, just like everybody else. As members of nations, ‘we’ can speak for the nation but, also, ‘we’ can speak of others who, like ‘us’ are members of national communities and are supposed to share a positive valuation of national ideologies. Billig (1995) writes “nationalists live in an international world, and their ideology is itself an international ideology” (Billig, 1995, p. 80). Were this universality not an aspect of the ideology of nationalism then any particular manifestation of nation might be challenged or contradicted as an illegitimate exercise of power. The ideology of nationalism values nation and promotes it as both the particular ways that ‘we’ are nationals and as a universal trait that ‘others’ also possess, albeit they in their own particular ways. This is an ideology which sees the world as being divided into nations and “involves assumptions about what a nation is: as

such, it is a theory of community, as well as a theory about the world being ‘naturally’ divided into such communities” (Billig, 1995, p. 63). It is a general principle of national ideology that “it is right that ‘we’ possess ‘our’ own state, because peoples (nations) should have their states (nations)” (Billig, 1995, p. 24). To describe ourselves as members of imagined communities justifies and is justified by description of others in terms of ‘their’ national communities.

Discourse

Languages are socially shared symbolic systems that allow subjective, conflicting, and sometimes self-contradictory representations to be made. Within these socially shared symbolic systems frequently appear patternings of meaning that are interpreted and understood with reference to other patternings of meaning. These are called discourses. That these patternings of meaning ‘frequently appear’ is not accidental but, rather, due to their position as social representations that are employed by and constitutive of social groupings. They are, in this way, interrelated to ideology and hegemony (Fairclough, 2003; Foucault, 1980; Jäger, 2001; Wodak, 2001).

Hegemony and Discourse

Some discourses become so frequently presented and represented in and by other patternings that other possible meanings become subsumed by them. Essentialised and naturalised, they foster agreement in part by seeming commonsensical, even innocuously so. Such discourses can be said to be hegemonic. Discourses, then, can be conceived of as “the flow of knowledge—and/or all societal knowledge stored throughout all time” (Jäger, 2001, p. 34, citing Jäger, 1993 and 1999).

Hegemony could be defined as the result of the processes by which subordinate classes come to give consent (Gramsci, 2000, pp. 306-307; Storey, 1996, pp. 9-11). It involves the normalization of consent so that the hegemonic power of dominant groups comes to be seen as permanent, natural, and equitable. This is not to be understood as simply economic determinism or the repressive abuse of power; Turner (1990) describes hegemony as a complex negotiation, never simply imposed or inevitable, but achieved through “the continual winning of consent” (Turner, 1990, p. 67). Such a notion gives room to both structure and agency, avoiding an overly deterministic perspective while still being able to point to structured social inequities.

Discourses play the important role of connecting the individual to the social and institutional—and thus, the achievement of hegemony—in a number of ways: (1) Discourses, which are socially produced, shape our understandings and representations of reality and are, thereby, constitutive of subjectivities; (2) Through the mediation of individual subjects, discourses, which are social and semiotic phenomena, are capable of interacting with and upon the material world and participating in relations of power (Jäger, 2001); (3) Discourses, being institutionalized and regulated, are invoked in the prescription and proscription of individual activity (Jäger, 2001).

Since hegemony involves the winning and maintaining of consent, hegemonic discourses contain incoherencies and contradictions. Furthermore, the imagining of nations and of races involves the investment of socially significant meanings in arbitrary markers of difference resulting in the articulation of different elements under certain conditions (Grossberg, 1996, p. 141, citing Hall). Since these linkages are “not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time” (p. 141, citing Hall) discursive hegemony necessarily

lacks cohesion and coherency making critical discourse analysis a particularly effective form of critique. Critical discourse analysis can point to the seams where these discourses have been patched together.

Ideology in Discourse

Institutions and individuals not only exercise power through discourses; they also legitimate the exercise of power through discourses. Discourses are not only a means of social regulation and control; they also inform understandings and mediate the expression of knowledge. Van Leeuwen (1993) describes the scope of CDA as concerned with both “discourse as the instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality” (Van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). Such constructions are often ideological and serve to legitimate particular social structures and practices. These legitimations of the exercise of power become a major concern in CDA, and in van Dijk’s (2003) research become almost synonymous with the term ‘ideology.’

Ideology, however, according to van Dijk (2000), “remains one of the vaguest and most ‘contested’ concepts of the social sciences” (p. 6). Some CDA theorists (van Dijk, 2000; Wodak, 2001) are careful to differentiate their view of ideology from views that, in contrasting ideology with knowledge, position ideologies as systems of false beliefs against which the researcher’s own politically appropriate or rational and scientific truths can be employed. Rather than opposing ideology to knowledge, Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology as “the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (p. 7). The truth or falsehood of these beliefs does not make them ideological; what makes them ideological is that they act as identity claims. These beliefs are employed as part of a group’s self-definition and are used to construct an ‘us’ and a ‘them.’ Through espousing or speaking from the perspective of

these beliefs, one can perform membership in a group. An *ideology*, in this thesis, is *the set of beliefs imagined to be shared through which a group constitutes itself as a group* (and others as outside of the group).

While van Dijk (2000) may be understood as implying that these beliefs are objective, pre-existing, and coherently expressed by all those who consider themselves members of a group, I would argue that they become *imagined* as representative of the group. The espousal of these beliefs is discursively constructed as expected of those who claim membership in the group. Those who do not invoke these values at appropriate times may be considered marginal to the group identity. These beliefs are then employed in legitimating social action and social structures. Discourses can be produced and adapted to varying ideological ends but performances of certain discourses become performances of subject positions, or, at least, can be read as such.

In this definition, ideologies are not opposed to truth nor are they necessarily dominant. CDA, however, concerns itself with the relation between ideologies of dominant groups and their social reproduction through discourses that legitimate, mask, or naturalise that social dominance rather than with producing critiques of the ideologies of marginalised groups. Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) argue that ideologies “naturalise, essentialise and fixate collectivity boundaries, ‘civilisations’ and power hierarchies” (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006, p. 1). This is accomplished, through the repetition of certain conventions and textual patternings, through repeated representations, so that “dominant structures stabilize conventions and naturalise them, that is, the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured and acquired stable and natural forms: they are taken as ‘given’” (Wodak, 2001, p. 3). This is not to suggest that less dominant groups do not participate in

discourses but rather that *discursive hegemony* is achieved through social dominance and is to some degree in alignment with the interests of dominant social groups (Gramsci, 2000, pp. 306-307).

Chapter 4

Methods of Textbook Analysis

In this chapter, I introduce the method I use to analyze the textbooks and selected CIC publications (CIC, 2003c; CIC, 2006a; CIC, 2006b) that will be identified in Chapter 5. I describe methodological tools from critical discourse analysis that can identify the ways in which texts participate in the construction of national identities. I illustrate these tools with examples from identified textbooks, government-produced textbooks, and other sources.

I use critical discourse analysis to denaturalise the assumptions of the texts. By disturbing these texts, I hope to reopen the dialogical process of interpretation, questioning, connecting, and positioning of the texts within the larger social contexts in which they have been written and read. By examining how these texts construct identities for ‘Canada,’ ‘Canadians,’ and student readers of these texts, I hope to demonstrate the extent to which what may have been socially contested is made to appear essential and inevitable.

CDA as the Method of Choice

I have chosen to conduct a critical discourse analysis of representations of nation-ness and nationality in textbooks without reference to students’ and teachers’ interpretations and performances of these national identities or analysis of how these particular representations are taken up or resisted in classroom discourse. While both avenues are of interest and remain possibilities for future studies, I have attended solely to the representations in the textbooks and selected other publications for a number of reasons.

I have chosen not to collect data through interviews with or observations of those identified as ‘newcomers to Canada’ as I have concerns regarding the ethics of asking ESL

students (and teachers) to confront and examine possibly powerful hegemonic and discriminatory discourses. Through preliminary discussions on my research topic with fellow students and at conference presentations, I have found that discussions regarding these supposedly benign discourses are often quite painful for both students and teachers. This anecdotal evidence is supported by the findings of a recent study on learners in the LINC program with high needs. Howard Barton and Associates (2006, August) reports that LINC instructors estimate that between 21% (at LINC Level 5 or 5/6) and 45% (at Literacy level LINC) were 'high needs students' with one or more of the following needs/issues:

- Psycho-social Need: Depression/Sadness, Lack of Concentration, Memory Deficit
- Learning Disabilities / Dyslexia / Memory Deficit
- Lack of Formal Education / Lack of Study Skills
- Gender Issues
- Experience of Torture, Trauma and War
- Physical Disabilities
- Poverty

(Howard Barton & Associates, 2006, August, p.18)

The report suggests that the immediacy of learners' needs may vary over time and that "high need is not always exhibited as 'high' at all times" (p. 20) but that the needs are often responsive to 'triggers' and that learners' needs, particularly those who have survived torture, war, or organized violence, are "exacerbated when racism or discriminatory treatment is encountered" (p. 20). None of the above is to suggest that all or even most learners in the LINC program are 'high needs.' However, reliance on interviews or data collection from learners risks exacerbating negative experiences or excluding students with high needs whose

perspectives on nationalising projects would be equally relevant to this thesis. This, however, is not a critique of others in the field who have undertaken the challenge of respectfully and sensitively engaging with the ideas and understandings of 'newcomers to Canada', some of whom are considered to be of 'high risk', but an expression of my personal choices and commitments.

I also believe that an analysis of the representations in the identified textbooks and government publications is a sufficient undertaking in and of itself. CDA works within a theoretical framework that posits that it is possible to analyze discourses that are produced by and between multiple texts. Responses from learners or teachers would be other texts needing analysis. Neither ESL students, ESL teachers, nor the present researcher should be treated as a source of privileged or necessarily more 'authentic' information about racial or nationalist discourses as investment in such discourses is often quite complex. I do not claim that I am presenting the only possible reading of these texts. I do claim, however, that my reading is supported by the contents of the texts themselves, clear arguments, and careful analysis. As such, part of my method is to provide the reader with sufficient evidence from the texts for them to be able to judge for themselves whether my claims can be supported by the texts.

CDA and the Construction of National Identities

I use CDA to analyze ESL textbooks and to show how markings and representations of the nation participate in and contribute to hegemonic discourses on Canada and Canadianness. In the previous chapters, I introduced the theoretical understandings that I bring to language and texts. In this section, I introduce aspects of critical discourse analysis that I use in analyzing the assumptions and performances of the texts. Throughout this thesis,

I will be drawing connections between forms of group identity construction, positive self-presentations and negative other-presentations, and forms of legitimation.

Previous Applications of CDA Methods to the Study of Nationalising Discourses

Critical discourse analysis offers an array of methodological tools that can be applied to the study of any particular text. CDA researchers select from this array tools that can challenge texts that reproduce hegemonic or dominant discourses. I am concerned with how social identities, particularly nationalized ones, are constructed through texts and will use the methodological tools of critical discourse analysis that are most appropriate for this task. In this section, I discuss the particular tools that I use and give examples of how these have been applied to the study of nationalism in CDA. I draw particularly upon the work of a number of scholars who have contributed to critical discourse analyses of nationalism in texts including Billig, van Dijk, Wodak, Van Leeuwen, and Fairclough.

Having introduced Billig's (1995) notion of 'banal nationalism' as a key concept previously, in this chapter I discuss methodologically how I will identify when nationalism is being banally flagged. Billig (1995) demonstrated that flaggings of the nation are "neither unusual, nor confined to politics" (p. 109) through an analysis of ten major British daily newspapers on an arbitrarily selected news day, June 28th, 1993. He finds newspapers to engage in constant flaggings of the nation through routine deixis, selection of heroes to represent the nation, markings of national boundaries both on maps and as a frame of reference, and a ubiquitousness of assumptions of nationhood. Banal nationalism appears in representations of social actors, social events, and social spaces. People are banally represented as members or representatives of nations. Events are banally represented as national events. Spaces are both literally and figuratively flagged as national spaces. In this

chapter, I discuss the notion of banal nationalism in relation to each of these types of representation.

While I take a number of analytic techniques from van Dijk, two of van Dijk's major contributions to this thesis are his notions of the discursive construction of group identities and his noting of the importance of the denial of racism to the legitimation of national identities. Van Dijk (1992) examined "everyday conversations, textbooks, news in the press, parliamentary discourse and other forms of public and organizational communication (van Dijk, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1991)" (p. 87) and found that discourses that negatively presented those othered by racialising or nationalist discourses routinely involved denials of racism. These denials of racism legitimated the negative representations by attempting to preempt claims that this "negative talk about minority groups or immigrants may be heard as biased, prejudiced or racist" (p. 115). In other writing (van Dijk, 2002, 2003, 2006), he analyzes the 'ideological' processes through which a group imagines and positively represents itself and, at the same time, imagines others as outside of the group and as having negative qualities. Such processes often work to construct and positively present a group as a nationalized 'we-community' while either implicitly or explicitly constructing and negatively presenting another group. I refer to both positive self-presentations of 'Canadians' and denials of racism in this thesis.

I have also drawn upon work by critical discourse analysts Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), particularly their research on representation of social events and legitimation. I draw upon their analysis of forms of legitimation when analyzing how national identities are presented as normal and expected and their observations of the recontextualisation of social events in stories about immigration. In a study of letters sent by Austrian immigration

authorities rejecting the family reunion applications of immigrant workers in Austria, Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) identified ways in which social practices or events are discursively represented and legitimated. They discuss the ways in which events, when recontextualised, are also transformed. The transformation of these events may involve deletions, substitutions, and additions of information that work towards a construction of the event in ways that allow it to contribute to the representation of a positive shared history, or, in the case of those marginalized by recontextualization, the absence of a shared history. They also discuss the ways discourses can legitimate national exclusions and inclusions through a number of strategies.

Fairclough (2003) offers a number of techniques and tools that can be used to examine the ways in which the interests of powerful actors are represented as an unquestioned and unquestionable social reality. I have borrowed from Fairclough (2003) tools that can be used to represent and position social actors and social events. I am particularly appreciative of his argument that many texts follow a 'logic of appearances' that precludes critical challenges to social conditions. He has also discussed notions of intertextuality and dialogicality that are relevant to this thesis.

Representations of Social Actors

Language provides a number of resources through which social actors may be emphasized or de-emphasized in a text. Texts construct in-groups and out-groups through sometimes fairly explicit and other times subtle means. Likewise, the positive character of a self-presentation may not involve explicitly evaluative language but could occur through more subtle measures such as the grammatical role assigned to certain social actors. In my analysis of identified textbooks and publications, I examine how deixis, naming and

identification of social actors, and frequency and prominence are used to construct and positively present a 'we-community.'

The construction of 'us'.

Van Dijk (2000) has offered a methodological tool that can help a researcher make more salient the ways in which "ideologies" operate through discourses. He offers several questions that discourse analysts can ask in examining a text as it constructs and positions its readers in terms of membership ("Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who can be admitted?"), activities ("What are we doing? What is expected of us?"), aims ("Why are we doing this? What do we want to achieve?"), norms ("What is good or bad, allowed or not in what we do?"), relations (Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society?), and resources ("What do we have that others don't? What don't we have what others do have?") (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 43). Through asking questions such as these, analysts can begin to see how the group has been constructed through discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Some of the more common discursive strategies of interest to research on the co-construction of race and nation are: naming of actors, whether it be through hyphenated identities (Mahtani, 2002) or descriptors such as 'immigrant' (Szuchewycz, 2000, p. 503), assignation of social roles, disclaimers and denials, contrasts between us and them, examples and illustrations of their bad things or our good things, and hedging or vagueness.

Positive self-presentation / negative other-presentation.

In any construction of group identity, the over-arching principle seems to be one of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (self-deprecating humour notwithstanding). Observing that "discourse on immigration and ethnic relations is largely

organized by the binary US-THEM pair of ingroups and outgroups” (p. 84), van Dijk (2000) suggests that this principle can be expanded into four possibilities that can form an “ideological square” (see Figure 1):

- Emphasize positive things about Us.
- Emphasize negative things about Them.
- De-emphasize negative things about Us.
- De-emphasize positive things about Them.

(p. 44)

	Emphasize	De-emphasize
‘Us’	Emphasize <i>positive</i> things about ‘us.’	De-emphasize <i>negative</i> things about ‘us.’
‘Them’	Emphasize <i>negative</i> things about ‘them.’	De-emphasize <i>positive</i> things about ‘them.’

Figure 1: Ideological Square

Van Dijk (2000) notes that as language has various ways to emphasize or de-emphasize meanings, this strategy can be observed in a number of different features of language through various types of analyses. Researchers can identify various features of text that participate in the emphasising or deemphasising of traits ascribed to particular social actors.

Nationalising Social Actors.

Billig (1995) characterises the remembrance or presentation of individual political figures and athletes as embodiments of the nation as a form of banal nationalism. Heroes are used as representatives of the nation; they are its product and, therefore, their accomplishments are ‘our’ accomplishments. They are made to represent ‘us’ to ‘ourselves’ and to other nations through their embodiment of ‘our’ qualities.

The particular individuals selected to be remembered or forgotten says much about the construction of a hegemonic identity for the nation. Billig (1995) argues “the historical tales emerge from the struggles for hegemony” (p. 71). As “national histories are continuously being re-written, and the re-writing reflects current balances of hegemony” (Billig, 1995, p. 71), the accomplishments attributed to these individuals—and through their embodiment of ‘our’ values attributable to ‘us’—must be continually repeated and rearticulated to remain part of ‘our’ shared history. It is through this reselection, repetition, and rearticulation that the current state of hegemony can be made banal, i.e., common, ordinary.

This selective remembrance implies also the selective forgetting of previous generations of heroes: “Memory implies its opposite—forgetfulness. As a community, we forget as much as we remember, and what we choose to forget tells as much about us as what we choose to remember” (Francis, 1997, p. 11). Renan (1882/1990) argues that “forgetting, I would go as far to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (p. 11).

Social actors need not be heroic, however, to participate in the banal nationalism—the everyday imagining of national communities. They need only be identified and identifiable as members of nations. Bannerji (2000) suggests that the labelling of some individuals as “visible minorities, immigrants, newcomers, refugees, aliens, illegals, people of color, multicultural communities, and so on” (p. 65) positions them as ‘other’; once ‘other’ they are less able to project ‘Canada’ (p. 66). Texts can introduce ‘Canadians’ as social actors. By speaking for and of these members of national communities in ways that attribute specific values and understandings to them, texts imagine a national community that is identifiable, knowable, and shared and in which the individual stands for the nation.

Frequency and prominence.

Social actors are included in a text with varying degrees of frequency and prominence (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145; van Dijk, 1995, p. 266). Some social actors may be mentioned more frequently than others and in more prominent positions (titles, lead sentences, conclusions, pictures). These social actors are 'foregrounded.' Other social actors may appear in the text less frequently and in less prominent positions. These social actors are 'backgrounded.' In some cases, social actors we would expect to appear in the text may not appear at all. These social actors are 'excluded.' Prominence and frequency of mention alone, however, do not indicate that a social actor is being positively represented. The text may be one that is emphasizing the perceived shortcomings of a particular group, strategically emphasizing negative things about them.

Racialising and gendering of social actors.

Analysis of representations of nationalised social actors can point to not only banal constructions of nation and national identity but also to the ways in which national identities are gendered and racialised. Some racialised or gendered social actors are nationalized more frequently and explicitly than others. Likewise, the information considered relevant in descriptions of social actors, e.g., ancestry, marital status, appearance, number of children, may vary in ways that racialise or gender the actors. Consequently, 'Canadianness' becomes racialized and gendered.

Grammatical role.

Analysis of grammatical roles that are allotted to social actors in texts can highlight the extent to which social agents have been ascribed active agency (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145; Halliday, 1994; van Dijk, 1995, p. 265). The differential positioning of social actors in these

grammatical roles is ideological if it grants to members of different social groups differing degrees of initiative and importance (van Dijk, 1995, p. 265). Social actors may appear in more active or passive grammatical roles (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145).

Where social actors are mainly activated, their capacity for agentive action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth is accentuated, where they are mainly passivated, what is accentuated is their subjection to processes, them being affected by the actions of others and so forth. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 150)

The frequency with which different social groups are placed in certain grammatical roles also has ideological implications. Van Dijk (1995) suggests that in some texts:

Men may be topical more often than women, whites more often than blacks, and so on, given their ideologically defined importance, agency, responsibility and topicality, at least in neutral or positive roles. (p. 265)

Van Dijk (1995) argues that the following patterns will be found in texts that position social actors along ideological lines. Actors who are being positioned by the texts as members of an in-group will more often appear in texts as agents of positive acts and as patients of negative acts (p. 261). Actors who are being positioned by the texts as members of an out-group will more often appear as agents of negative acts and as patients of positive acts (p. 261).

Pronouns, nouns, and deixis.

The use of pronouns instead of nouns in texts is especially interesting for the study of how texts construct identities (including identities for readers). Deixis is the process through which words or expressions in the text position the speaker and addressee in relation to each other (Billig, 1995, p. 106). Deixis is performed by “little words, chiefly personal pronouns like ‘I,’ ‘our,’ ‘you,’ ‘we,’ but also indicators of time, ‘today,’ ‘now,’ ‘then,’ of place, ‘here,’ ‘there,’ ‘away’ and the demonstratives, ‘this,’ ‘that,’ denote where, when and who forms the deictic centre of the nation (Law, 2001, p. 301). Such words are significant in that they

manage to “centre the addressee within a shared verbal universe” (p. 301) while remaining barely noticeable.

Nationalist discourses in newspapers often construct a ‘we’-community for their readers through the use of inclusive pronouns (Billig, 1995). The use of the pronoun ‘we’ allows the author to position both reader and writer as members of the same larger community. ‘We’ are often engaged in doing good things in these texts, while ‘they’ are more frequently represented in ways that focus on ‘their’ negatives (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145).

Assumption of the universality of national identity.

Billig (1995) speaks of the way in which having a nationality is assumed to be the natural state of affairs:

Rarely, if asked which is their nationality, do they respond ‘I’ve forgotten’, although their answers may not be straightforward ... National identity is not only something which is thought to be natural to possess, but also something natural to remember. (p. 37)

The nation becomes normalized and naturalised, however, through repeated representations of nation. Nation has so successfully achieved the hegemonic status of ‘commonsense’ that the discursive work that texts do when they position social actors as nationals appears to be simply representation of an external reality. It is a *matter of course* that people would be described in terms of names, sex, age, and nationalities. This seems the *natural* thing to do; Anderson (2006) writes: “In the modern world everyone can, should, will ‘have’ a nationality, as he or she ‘has’ a gender” (p. 5).⁹ The use of hyphenated identities, mentions of

⁹ The naturalness of ‘gender’ as a descriptor that Anderson seems to accept can be equally problematic. Butler (2000) argues that gender itself is a discursive achievement, “an ‘act,’ as it were, that is open to splittings, self-parody, self-criticism, and those hyperbolic exhibitions of ‘the natural’ that in their very exaggeration, reveal its fundamentally phantasmatic status” (p. 178). Parody and gender play become, for Butler, a way in which the “phantasmatic status” of these gender constructions becomes revealed. Gender, like nation-ness, is socially

race, first languages, nationality, or other biographical information given about the characters may reveal the ubiquitous presence of race and nation in identifications.

Representations of Social Events

When analyzing social events, critical discourse analysis considers how the events have been recontextualised and transformed and which aspects of events have been included and given prominence.

Recontextualisation and transformation.

All representations of social events involve recontextualisation (Blackledge, 2006; Fairclough, 2003; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999): “In representing a social event, one is incorporating it within the context of another social event, recontextualizing it” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 139). Recontextualisations necessarily involve, therefore, transformations from one context to another, from one media to another, or much broader and ‘less faithful’ reinterpretations of the order and significance of the practices being recontextualised. Even direct quoting of one print text into another involves recontextualisation and, in terms of context, transformation.

These recontextualisations and transformations have ideological implications. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) write: “What exactly gets transformed depends on the interests, goals and values of the context into which the practice is recontextualized” (p. 96). The recontextualisation of an event will involve transforming the non-discursive elements into discursive elements (if they are to be included in the representation) and involves transformations in the discursive elements as well into different media or words: “In the process of recontextualization, social events are not merely repeated. Rather, they are

imagined and is predicated on discursive policing of inclusions and exclusions and processes of essentialisation and naturalisation.

transformed in their new setting, perhaps through the addition of new elements, or through the deletion of others” (Blackledge, 2006, p. 64).

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) summarize “the classical types of transformation” (p. 96). These are:

(1) Deletion—“No representation of any social practice can represent all there is to be represented. The question is, what will be included and what deleted” (p. 96). A common example of this that is of relevance to studies of nationalism is the deletion of agents in passive sentences.

(2) Rearrangement—Elements of events or practices may be arranged in a different order from previous representations or their actual occurrence. They may be arranged in cause and effect relationships to other elements, prioritized, given a chronological ordering not evident in previous recontextualisations. This rearrangement may be “related to the interests, goals and values of the context into which the practice is recontextualized” (p. 97).

(3) Substitution—Discursive representations always involve the substitution of signs for other signs (except perhaps in the case of direct quoting) or for non-discursive elements of a social event or practice. The mode or representation may differ and entail substitution from one medium into another (from print into film); in representing social agents, choices are made regarding how they are to be identified (see above); activities may be represented in concrete or abstract ways (p. 97).

(4) Addition—Recontextualisation will involve unavoidable addition of meanings through the transformation from one sign to another. It also involves adding details that were not ‘in the original’ such as opinions, interpretations, causal links, reactions, legitimations, notes on purposes, etc. (p. 98).

Inclusions and prominence.

Fairclough (2003) and Blackledge (2006) suggest a number of ways that representations could be transformed or filtered in their recontextualisations. Analysts can look for the relative importance given to aspects or details of an event by examining the choices made in its recontextualisation. One set of choices concerns selectivity. The analyst can examine which aspects of the event have been included and which excluded. In some cases, substitution of details from another event may even occur or a previously excluded 'voice' or point of view can be included (Blackledge, 2006, p. 64). Another set of choices can be made concerning prominence. The foregrounding of some details can be achieved through their mention (or lack of mention) in headings, subheadings, or pullout quotes; through their prominent location within the body of the text, e.g., in a conclusion or an abstract; through the use of illustrations; and through a bolder typeface. Van Dijk (1995) writes:

Both importance and relevance may be signalled by various prominence devices, such as headlines and leads in news reports, initial ('topical') position in sentences, a 'Conclusions' category in scholarly articles or close-ups in film and photographs. (p. 264)

Different genres establish importance through different techniques. Henry and Tator (2005) note that in newspaper editorials "One of the most common strategies used in presenting an editorial argument is frontage—that is, placing a key point, idea, or item at the very beginning of an article" (p. 169). Finally, in recontextualising an event, choices are made regarding how to sequence or organize the aspects of the events, e.g., chronologically, by importance, or in cause and effect chains.

A 'logic of appearances'.

Fairclough (2003) notes that many texts contain mostly additions and elaborations and often offer little more than a surface reading of a social phenomenon with little analysis of causes, consequences, and conditions relevant to the phenomenon. Such texts “consist mostly of additive and elaborate relations, rather than causal relations, thus providing an abundance of facts, but a dearth of explanation” (Stibbe, 2004, p. 245). Such texts may present some social condition “as simply given, an unquestionable and inevitable horizon which is itself untouchable by policy and narrowly constrains options, essential rather than congruent, and without time depth” (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 95-96). Texts that claim to present Canadian history or Canadian society may avoid discussion of racialised exclusions through lists of statements about what ‘is’ and avoid discussions or references to how these things came to be. He refers to these texts as having a ‘logic of appearances’ as opposed to an ‘explanatory logic’ (pp. 95-96). Appendix 2 contains a text that displays a ‘logic of appearances’ (CIC, 2003c).

Representations of Social Space

The reproduction of a nation does not occur magically. Banal practices, rather than conscious choice or collective acts of imagination, are required. Just as a language will die rather for want of regular users, so a nation must be put to daily use. (Billig, 1995, p. 95)

Some aspects of banal nationalism have already been mentioned above in conjunction with other features of texts that critical discourse analysts attend to. The ways in which a nation is banally constructed as a space has not been touched upon. I analyze the ways in which flaggings, mappings, and depictions of the nation make the imagined community visible and mark the territorial claims of nation. Flags and images nationalize spaces, legitimate

nationalist claims through positive representations of that national space, and preempt counter-imaginings of that space.

The nation is imagined as a geographic space, extending over a geographical area and applying to all of it equally. For example, in established and legitimated nations such as Canada, maps do not generally represent the nation as contested. This has the effect of naturalising the claims to this territory so that those who imagine themselves as members of the national community do not see a map of the nation as a proposal or an assertion of Canadian nationhood but as a representation of its uncontested borders. Readers learn to reflexively recognize the symbolic meanings in images of landscapes and identify the buildings of cityscapes.

While Anderson (2006) writes that “in the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly and evenly operative over each square centimetre of a legally demarcated territory” (p. 19), this does not mean that spaces do not exist within a nation that are circumscribed as nationally marginal but rather that the social construction of the nation works to delegitimise these spaces and the contestations to nationalist ideology that they might imply or present. ‘Periphractic Space,’ a term that Johal (2007) borrows from Goldberg (1993), refers to those spaces that are symbolically bounded so as to produce and contain a racialised ‘Other’ at the margins of the body politic (p. 180, citing Goldberg, 1993).

Billig (1995) writes “the imagining of a ‘country’ involves the imagining of a country totality beyond immediate experience of place” (Billig, 1995, p. 74). While maps demarcate the space, it is more often the images of landscapes and cityscapes that fill space with value-laden ideas and images of that which belongs to us. Imaginations of the nation as a physical space imbue both landscapes and cityscapes with symbolic meanings. The rivers, mountains,

and lakes are imagined to be imbued with almost mystical significance as the wellsprings of national values.

Maps.

Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) argue “the establishment of spatial meanings – the making of spaces into places – is always implicated in hegemonic configurations of power” (p. 8). However, the ideology of nation depends upon the naturalisation of the claim that geographic spaces are legitimately claimed by one, unchallenged political entity. This repeated inclusion of maps of Canada allows for no contestation as to what belongs to ‘us.’ It is through consistent repetition that such a claim is naturalised. The hegemonic status of one political entity’s claim to a specific geographic space is further legitimised by the presentation of all other spaces as legitimately governed.

Billig (1995) proposes that “in the modern nationalist imagination, one national territory does not shade into another. Nations stop and start abruptly at demarcated borders” (Billig, 1995, p. 74). Maps become a way of representing these nationalist representations. They show the clear lines through which a nation is demarcated without any suggestion of the contested nature of this representation. There are no grey areas on these maps; no undemarcated spaces outside of ubiquitous nationhood. Through such mapping, “space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization is inscribed” (Gupta & Ferguson 1997a, p. 34). The map represents land as it has been nationalized in accordance with the legitimizing consensus of established nations. Regional perspectives or understandings, legal battles for the control of space, and symbolic intrusions of othered imaginings on national spaces are not mapped.

Flaggings of the nation.

Critical discourse analyses of the construction of imagined communities finds even the most ordinary and everyday markings of nation to be relevant. It is through routine markings of nation that “the nation continues to be made habitual, to be inhabited” (Billig, 1995, p.107). Even the seemingly most superficial markings of Canada act contribute to banal nationalism and support nation-ness (Billig, 1995; de Cillia et al., 1999; Flowerdew, 2004; van Dijk, 1992, 1993). Identification of Canada or Canadians, use of symbols and imagery identified as Canadian, statements about Canada, and depictions of landmarks, maps, national symbols, and pictures will be analyzed.

Flags are particularly interesting because of their frequency of inclusion, their potential banality, and their close association with nation-ness. Billig (1995) distinguishes between ‘waved’ and ‘unwaved’ flags. The already imagined community must be reproduced daily through flaggings that go unnoticed and are unremarked and unremarkable. The majority of these flags go ‘unwaved.’ While flags could be saluted, waved in victory, hung upside down, or burnt in protest, the majority of flags are not used to signal anything but “are merely there as symbols, whether on a forecourt or flashed on a television screen; as such they are given hardly a second glance from day to day” (Billig, 1995, p. 40). They are present but unremarked upon, unsaluted, in the corner of the classroom and at the periphery of our thoughts “absorbed into the environment of the established homeland” (Billig, 1995, p. 41) ready to represent the homeland should its legitimacy be brought into question. When the imagined community symbolized by the flag is that of the already imagined community, the flag is unremarkable. These mindless flags provide “banal reminders of nationhood [by] flagging it unflaggingly” (Billig, 1995, p. 41), naturalising and essentialising the ideology of

nation. The observed flag, on the other hand, invites an active imagining that could challenge the already imagined national community.

Nation as beautiful place.

Not merely neutral containers, geography, locale, setting, place – whatever you wish to call them – are complicit in strategies of cultural survival. (Osborne 2001, para. 16)

The marking of a national body involves the discursive marking of the local, geographic, and physical placement of the nation and includes discussion of national monuments, landscape, natural resources, and architecture (de Cillia et al. 1999, p. 160). This includes markings seemingly mundane and banal. Their mundanity and banality, however, allows the nation to be imagined without challenge. Nationhood is written or rewritten into architecture and monuments. The shape of the skyline becomes representative of the city and is used in film and other media to flag both city and nation. Images of landscapes are not natural but, through the selectivity of the artist or photographer, discursive claims about place. This writing upon and framing of the natural world converts geographic space into discursive landscapes. The landscape comes to symbolize the values and beliefs of the people. Osborne (2001) writes:

In this way, the familiar material world becomes loaded with symbolic sites, dates, and events – as well as silences – that provide social continuity, contribute to the collective memory, and establish spatial and temporal reference points for society (Harootunian, 1988; Fogelson, 1989). (para. 4)

Representations of a nationalized cityscape and landscape often participate in the claims made about the nation and its people.

Dialogicality, Legitimation, and the Achievement of Hegemony

Achieving hegemony entails achieving a measure of success in projecting certain particulars as universals. But this is in part a textual achievement, and textual analysis can again enhance research on these issues.

(Fairclough, 2003, pp. 40-41)

Texts work towards the achievement of discursive aspects of hegemony when they contribute to the essentialised and commonsensical presentation of knowledge that is partial and interested. They achieve this by backgrounding contradicting viewpoints, assuming shared knowledge, and working towards the legitimation of certain power relations without triggering the view that their legitimacy is in question. Fairclough (2003) writes: “relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given” (p. 58). Presentations of reality as assumed, unquestioned and unquestionable, ahistorically present and disinterestedly factual mask the struggle and consensus building required to achieve hegemony. A number of features of texts can open or close the text to a degree of dialogicality thereby either allowing competing meanings to surface within the text or restrict the number of viewpoints ‘preferred’ by the text. Various forms of legitimation can work to preempt challenges to the social actions performed by the texts.

Intertextuality and Assumptions

Bakhtin (1981/2000) proposes that texts always contain a degree of dialogicality. This dialogicality, however, can be displayed more or less explicitly. The ways in which a text positions voices in relation to other voices and discourses in relation to other discourses is, according to Fairclough (2003), suggestive of the text’s orientation towards difference and can be seen as part of a power struggle within the text. Fairclough (2003) writes: “When the voice of another is incorporated into a text there are always choices about how to ‘frame’ it, how to contextualise it, in terms of other parts of the text – about relations between report

and authorial account” (p. 53). Voices may be introduced as those of the author or those of others more or less supported by the author. The authorial voice of the text may respond to other voices that are presented more concretely and directly or more abstractly and indirectly. A text could even feign explicit dialogicality by introducing an imaginary interlocutor so that one might dramatically acknowledge difference but rescue sameness (p. 48). The authorial voice could even contain elements of differing or competing discourses (p. 53).

The framing of other voices in a text may reflect the text’s orientation towards dialogicality. The more dialogical options would be to include contradicting voices from differing discourses that challenge or problematise the assumptions of other voices in a text. These voices would be directly quoted or summarized concretely. Less dialogical options would be indirect reporting of other voices, inclusion of other’s voices that supported the contentions of the text, or framing of opposing voices that distanced them from that of the authorial voice. The least dialogical options would be the suppression of difference in the text through bold assertions of the factuality of what is contested knowledge and assumption of shared understandings that are not, in fact, shared (Fairclough, 2003, p. 46).

Orientations to difference.

Fairclough (2003) proposes a number of ‘orientations to difference’ or scenarios that can be identified in texts. These are presented from most heteroglossic—the most openly intertextual—to the most monoglossic—the least intertextual. Texts can demonstrate:

- a) an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in ‘dialogue’ in the richest sense of the term;
- b) an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power;
- c) an attempt to resolve or overcome difference;
- d) a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;

- e) consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms.
(Fairclough, 2003, pp. 41-42)

As these 'orientations to difference' are inexact and overlapping and are concerned with a general read of the text, any claims that a particular text displays a particular orientation to difference will be a matter of interpretation.

The presence of heteroglossia or monoglossia in texts is particularly interesting when looking at how identities are constructed (Coffin, 2002; White, 2001; 2003). Monoglossia in texts works towards the construction of identities as stable, coherent, and knowable while heteroglossia in texts would work towards the introduction of competition and contestation in the creation of identities.

Feigned dialogicality.

In several places in this thesis, chapter 8 in particular, I observe that a text appears to open itself up to some degree of dialogicality by introducing different voices, but does so in such a way that these voices say little or are used to support the assumptions of the text. I refer to this strategy of introducing other voices that do not result in a more open orientation to difference as *feigned dialogicality*.

Reporting of others' voices.

Intertextuality is the "presence of actual elements of other texts within a text" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 39) with the most obvious examples being the use of quotations but more broadly the introduction of real or invented 'voices' or texts into the text. It is the opening up of one text to the possibility of others. Reporting is a form of intertextuality that offers a number of options in terms of explicitness and faithfulness to the 'original' text. The most obvious and explicit form of intertextuality is quotation in the form of direct speech:

‘I’ve become a Canadian citizen and feel proud, happy and lucky.’—Channa Som, survivor, Cambodian ‘killing fields.’ (CIC, 2003c, p. 44)

Indirect reporting of speech is a less explicit form of intertextuality with greater opportunities for interpretation:

In 1535, two Aboriginal youths used the Huron-Iroquois word “kanata,” which means “village” or “settlement,” to tell Jacques Cartier the way to Stadacona (site of present day Québec City). (CIC, 2006a, p. 13)

Free indirect reporting is used mainly in literary language and has aspects of direct and indirect speech. Fairclough (2003) gives the example:

Mary gazed out of the window. *He would be there by now.* She smiled to herself. (p. 49)

Finally, narrative reports of speech act indicate that a speech act occurred but without much detail as to what the content of the speech act was. “He guessed” would be a ‘narrative report of a speech act’ whereas “He guessed there were 100 jelly beans” would be an indirect report.

Modality.

Modality indicates contingency and negotiability, thereby acknowledging that other possibilities exist and that other points of view are more or less valid. Modality “signals that meaning is contingent and subject to negotiation” (Coffin 2002, p. 510) and “serves to introduce explicit negotiability into a proposition and hence, unlike the positive declarative, does not assume or simulate solidarity between writer and reader” (p. 510). It introduces the author’s voice into the text by positioning the author in relation to the truth or falsehood of what is being said. It presents “the speaker’s judgement of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he is saying” (Halliday 1994, p. 75). Modality is important to constructions of identity as it works to establish relations in the text—relations between

author, reader, and world that assume shared knowledge or competing claims to knowledge of that world: “What you commit yourself to is a significant part of what you are – so modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 166). Such modalities express intersubjectivity since declarations of degrees of “‘necessity’ and ‘probability’ may depend on the ‘definition of the situation’ by a specific group” (van Dijk 1995, p. 258).

An assertion on the other hand, suppresses potential diversity, suggesting instead certainty and nonnegotiability. Sentences such as “Canadians like to use the telephone for communicating” (CIC, 2003c, p. 7) do not imply a great deal of dialogicality as they encourage:

a reader to assume that the proposition is unproblematic and that it enjoys broad consensus. Thus, even though a writer’s and reader’s worldview may not be a shared one, the grammatical structure implicitly encourages alignment rather than directly opening up the proposition for negotiation. (Coffin 2002, p. 511)

Such declarations can be seen as commitments on the part of the author, exhortations as to what is true.

Modality is used to express intersubjective stances within the text. Bare assertions are the least dialogical option in the sense that they acknowledge no room for contestation (Coffin, 2002; Fairclough, 2003; White, 2001; White, 2003). The declarative sentence, the bare assertion, unmarked by modal verbs, unattributed to others, unhesitantly produced dismisses other possibilities before they are even expressed; it does not even entertain other possibilities before rejecting them. These appear with surprising regularity in the identified textbooks and work to fix an identity for Canadians and Canada in ways that will receive particular attention in Chapter 7 of this thesis. If a modal verb were introduced into the claim that “Canadians appreciate their rights and freedoms” (CIC, 2003c, p. 7), it would effectively

open up the text to dialogicality by acknowledging that the meaning is conditional, with some modal verbs ('might') expressing less commitment than others ('must').¹⁰

Furthermore, attributions made upon behalf of 'Canadians' reflect a textual voice that assumes the ability to speak and think for others, in effect, to project 'Canada': "The power of making statements on behalf of others, or indeed on behalf of 'all of us' ... is a power which has an uneven social distribution, and is important for identification" (p. 171). This textual voice that can speak of and for Canadians is a privileged and central one.

While modal verbs such as 'might,' 'must,' 'may,' or 'should' are explicit markers of modality, there are a number of resources through which modality can be marked. Fairclough (2003) lists a number of resources that can be used to mark modality in a text including mental process clauses (such as 'I think,' 'I don't know'), many adverbs (such as 'certainly,' 'obviously,' 'increasingly,' 'usually'), hedges (such as 'kind of,' 'sort of'), and some adjectives (such as 'required' or 'inevitable'). As with modal verbs, different adverbs or hedging techniques could express differing levels of commitment.

Although there is no one-to-one correspondence between the lexicogrammatical features and the expression of intersubjectivity, some general statements can be made. Hedging in a text enables writers "to distance themselves from responsibility for their statements" (Henry & Tator 2005, p. 169). The textual voice 'entertains' the propositions that they may later endorse or reject more implicitly or explicitly. The mental process clause 'I know' and 'I suspect' position the author in differing degrees of certainty with regards to the

¹⁰ Even markers of high modality such as modal verbs 'must' or modal adverbials 'definitely' open up the text to more contestation as they signal more explicitly the possibility of challenges to the assertion (White 2001). Consequently, the statement "Canadians believe in the spirit of community" (CIC, 2003c, p. i) would be considered to foreground less dialogicality than 'Certainly, Canadians believe in the spirit of community'. White (2002) cites Halliday (1994): 'you only say you are certain when you are not' (p. 94).

text but in either case such a feature “gives a subjective marking to the modality, i.e. explicitly marks the commitment of the person who is speaking” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 169).

Numbers games.

Details that give a sense of ‘number’ serve to increase or decrease the sense of importance of a particular event. Numbers games add to the texts a certain authoritative weight—a sense that a social action happens frequently or rarely or that many social agents believe or act in certain ways. The ‘numbers game’ can be played by specifying the exact number, thereby adding a sense of authoritativeness to a statement reducing its ‘orientation to difference.’ Hyperbole or exaggeration can be used to increase the sense of immediacy and extremity, e.g., “wave after wave of immigrants.” Finally, minimalisation can be used to reduce the sense of importance or severity, e.g., “the occasional woman.”

Legitimations and Denial

Legitimations and denials play an important role in the construction and perpetuation of a positive self-presentation of group identity in the face of possible critiques. Critiques of racist nationalism and racialised nationhood have meant that liberal democracies have needed to be strategic in legitimizing their nationhood. They have had to legitimise or deny colonial histories, current social exclusions or citizenship restrictions, and established social inequities. As “a liberal democracy with a colonial heart” (Bannerji 2000, p. 75), positive imaginings of Canadian nationhood depend upon acceptance of legitimations or strategies of denial.

Legitimation.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) discuss in detail four main strategies of legitimation: *authorization*, which involves reference to personal or impersonal authorities;

rationalization, which appeals to both the utility of a certain action, common-sensical nature of this behaviour, or the futility of resistance; *moral evaluation*, which specifies or implies the morality of actions or behaviours; and *mythopoesis*, which involves the use of stories to justify or legitimise actions.

Each of these forms of evaluation appears in the identified textbooks (as will be noted, for example, in the discussions of immigration). Two forms of legitimation through ‘authorization’ are particularly noticeable in texts on citizenship. *Legal authorization* is repeatedly invoked through reference to Canadian laws. *Conformity authorization* is repeatedly invoked through reference to what ‘most Canadians’ do. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) show how conformity authorization was used to legitimate restrictions placed on new immigrants to Austria that were not placed on established citizens. Conformity authorization legitimates discourses through references to group norms:

‘Conformity authorization’ rests on the principle that something is legitimate when ‘everybody does it’, or ‘everybody says so’. This is typically expressed through a numerative element in the relevant nominal group (‘The majority of immigrants . . .’, ‘most immigrants . . .’). (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999, p. 105)

They suggest that it is brought into play when social norms cannot be enforced legally due to legal protections of individual rights that prevent certain values from being prescribed by law. It also serves to legitimate certain expectations that could be seen as unfair or controversial. According to Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999):

Conformity legitimation occupies an uneasy space in legal discourse because the autonomy and independence of the legal system has often been defended on the grounds that it can help protect absolute values against ‘thoughtless, blinded, intimidated or overpowered majorities’ (Wieacker, quoted in Habermas, 1992: 561). (p. 105)

‘Conformity authorization,’ in these texts, is invoked in assertions about the behaviour of ‘many Canadians,’ ‘most Canadians,’ or, quite often, simply ‘Canadians.’

Moral evaluation appears quite often through assertions that Canadians value fairness, tolerance, respect, diversity, cooperation, equal opportunity, civil responsibility, and environmental responsibility (CIC, 2003c, p. 7). These values are of interest here because they not only construct an identity for an imagined community of Canadians but also legitimise restrictions on and positionings of ‘newcomers.’ Rationalization and mythopoesis appear in texts on immigration and will be noted when they are involved in the construction of identities.

Denials of racism.

Some critical discourse analysts have suggested that due to the social stigma regarding overt expression of racial prejudice (Van Dijk, 1992) and national pride (Condor, 2000), discourses on race or nationalism are most marked by their denial. New forms of racism are “more nuanced and hidden, less self-assertive, more worried about appearing so” (Goldberg, 2002, p. 88) but are “preserved anew in the vocal dismissal of the bald and extreme in the name of the polite and subtle” (p. 88).¹¹ Critical discourse analysis is a particularly well-suited method for making subtle and hidden traces of racism in a text more salient. One way in which this has been done in CDA is through the noting of various strategies used to deny racism, which may mark places in which the story of the nation is actively being edited. Such editing often acts to achieve a positive self-presentation and “even the most blatantly racist discourse in our data routinely features denials or at least mitigations of racism” (van Dijk, 1992, p. 89).

¹¹ This should not, Stoler (2002) cautions, be taken as meaning that past forms of racism “once existed in more overt and pristine form” (p. 371) (see also Montgomery, 2005a, p. 333).

Some types of denial that occur in identified textbooks are individualization of racism, localizing of racism, representation of racism as a property of others, denials of racist intentions, euphemistic reframing of racism, distancing from racism, and the naming of mitigating circumstances. Individualization is a denial of racism in which racism is cast as a property of individual members of the group while the group itself is presented as not racist. Racism may be localized as belonging to a specific place but not to the country as a whole. Racism may be denied through transfer moves in which the others' racism is discussed but emphasis is put on relative lack of racism in Canada in comparison to 'other countries.' A denial of racist intentions may involve an acknowledgement that an incident or problem occurs but a denial that the intention of the social actors is racist. Euphemistic reframing of racism may involve the avoidance of the term 'racism' in favour of a less specific term such as 'discrimination' or 'stereotyping.' Such reframing of racism may also involve the use of passive sentences that leave unnamed social agents involved. Texts may discursively distance a social group from racism by representing racism as something that happened in the past. Mitigating circumstances may be brought in to explain an action so that it is not perceived as clearly racist but possibly also a result of other causes. Through strategies like these, racism is denied or acknowledged to a limited extent but even then posited as a past event that is better now, something that happens elsewhere, and an individual belief rather than a systemic problem (van Dijk, 1992; 2003; Wodak, 2006).

Summary

Researchers conducting critical discourse analyses have identified various ways in which (national) identities are constructed and nationhood is marked in texts. While I am

interested in all such markings, I am particularly interested in markings that participate in hegemonic understandings of Canada and Canadianness. I use critical discourse analysis to examine whether and how representations of social actors construct communities of both readers and others being written about. Critical discourse analysts have found that texts construct 'we' communities, 'they' communities, and, I will argue, in these texts 'you' communities. Some social actors, often the 'we' community, are represented positively, while other communities are represented negatively or less positively. Some individuals are represented by the texts as being representatives of the nation. They stand for and in the place of the nation. Other social actors are racialised and gendered rather than nationalized. Representations of social events in texts involve the selection, transformation, and prominence of certain events to construct a story of the nation. Events that have been socially contested can be represented as natural and inevitable—just occurring—through a 'logic of appearances.' Representations of social space feature frequently banal but ubiquitous markings of the nation. The nation is marked and imagined through images of flags, representations of the nation on maps, and through landscapes and cityscapes.

Critical discourse analysts have also attended to the ways in which national identities are justified through various discursive strategies that legitimate certain understandings of the nation, while downplaying others. I analyze the extent to which texts introduce or exclude various points of view and opinions, i.e., their intertextuality. Both denials of racism and strategies of legitimation are important ways in which texts maintain and perpetuate national identities in the face of possible oppositional understandings or counter-imaginings.

Chapter 5

Textbook Identification and Overview

In this chapter, I discuss how I identified ESL textbooks that are used in the LINC program in Ontario and discuss some comments offered by ESL teachers in the LINC program on the rationale that informs their choice of textbooks. This section includes a brief overview of the 24 textbooks that will be collectively referred to as ‘identified textbooks’ throughout this thesis and, that, along with selected Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) publications (CIC, 2003c, 2006a, 2006b), are the source of all texts analyzed.

To qualify for the LINC program, students should be ‘newcomers to Canada,’ which are defined as “permanent residents and those whom Canada intends to land” (CIC, 2003b, p. 28). I have selected the LINC program as I am interested in examining discourses that are introduced to ESL students who are positioned as newcomers and how ESL textbooks participate in that positioning in relationship to an imagined Canadian identity.

In order to ensure that texts selected are indeed used in LINC classrooms, I conducted a survey of LINC teachers in Ontario. Through this survey, I gathered the names of textbooks in use and selected 24 textbooks from this list. I have included the twelve most commonly used textbooks in the LINC program in Ontario according to my survey respondents and include twelve less commonly used textbooks in order to see what variety of discursive construction strategies might be identifiable. I am also analysing three commonly used publications from CIC. I asked respondents to indicate whether they were involved in selecting textbooks for their institution and which LINC program rationale they took into consideration while selecting textbooks.

Identifying and Contacting Service Providers

Using published lists (CIC, 2003a; CIC, 2003b) and Internet searches, I gathered addresses of LINC service providers, disregarding LINC assessment centres, which assess applicants but often do not offer courses. Once these service providers were identified, I attempted to determine whether or not these educational institutions, community organizations, and businesses were offering LINC courses at present and whether addresses were still valid through a search of their websites.

While my initial intention had been to survey LINC instructors throughout Canada, I limited myself to a thorough canvassing of LINC Service Providers in Ontario rather than attempting to make claims to general results for all of Canada for three reasons: (a) several provinces are responsible for their own program development and delivery with possibly different rationale, (b) based on my response rate for Ontario, I believed that a relatively low number of responses would be obtained from LINC service providers outside of Ontario, and (c) program delivery varies between provinces.

In British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec, provincial governments are “responsible for the development and delivery of settlement and integration programs in their own province” (Service Canada, 2007). LINC courses in Quebec are available in French only (ibid.). For this reason, language training programs in these provinces were not included in the survey. While the agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Province of British Columbia carries an expectation of access to 'reasonably comparable' settlement services across Canada (CIC, 2004a), differences do exist in both program delivery and specified rationale.

In total, 129 addresses of possible LINC providers were identified for Ontario. Using the same technique that generated 129 possibly valid addresses for Ontario, only 27 addresses were confirmed for the remaining provinces and territories (other than BC and Manitoba) with most of those being in Alberta. After sending out the first fifty survey packages and receiving only six responses, I estimated that low response rates would make claims to be including provinces other than Ontario misleading.

Aspects of program delivery between provinces that deliver services under the auspices of the LINC program vary. In Ontario, for example, the LINC program has been expanded to include levels 4 and 5 (CIC, 2003b). Also, in Ontario, LINC instructors are expected to have their qualifications certified by TESL Ontario (CIC, 2003b).

I sent survey questionnaires (see Appendix 3) to LINC service providers in Ontario with the request that these be forwarded to LINC ESL instructors. Each of the 129 identified addresses was sent one envelope containing two survey packages. Each survey package contained a letter of introduction, a survey questionnaire, English and French versions of the consent form (needed in case a follow-up interview was deemed necessary for clarification purposes), and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Nine of these were returned unopened, some being marked as 'return to sender' or 'program no longer offered' written on the envelopes. Thirty-three survey forms were returned completed. Thirty-three responses to 240 survey packages sent out (two in each of 120 envelopes that were not returned unopened) is a response rate of 13.75%.

Identification of Textbooks

I chose to use a survey to identify textbooks, rather than simply selecting textbooks from those suggested for use in the LINC program (see, for example, CIC, 2003b), in order to ascertain that the texts I analyzed were in actual use in LINC classrooms and not merely recommended for use. While I could have also used telephone interviews to identify textbooks in use, I chose to use a mailout survey to minimize the intrusiveness of data collection while contacting a wide range of service providers.

Survey respondents were asked to list any ESL textbooks they are currently using or have used in LINC classes in the past five years to the best of their recollection (question 5). From the 33 survey questionnaires returned, I compiled a list of textbooks and noted the number of mentions of each book.

A number of problems presented themselves in generating a list of textbooks from these textbook mentions. Respondents sometimes mentioned a series of textbooks that has various levels without specifying whether all the books in the series were used or only some. In other cases, textbook titles were incorrect or possibly unclear, in which case I used my best judgment to determine which textbook was being indicated. For example, when a respondent indicated that they used ‘the *Canadian Concepts* series,’ I took this to be a ‘possible mention’ of all levels of the six level series.

A total of 568 textbook mentions were logged. Despite involving a certain amount of guesswork, I was able to identify 182 different textbooks. Exactly 120 textbooks were mentioned by only one respondent but some textbooks were mentioned (or possibly mentioned) by up to 20 respondents. Of the 62 textbooks mentioned by more than 1

respondent, 38 were published for a Canadian audience. The remainder were either British (3) or American (21).

A small number of textbooks accounted for the majority of mentions by respondents (see Table 1). The *Canadian Concepts* series (Berish & Thibadeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b), *Ontario Reader* (Zuern, 2003, 2005, 2007), and the 'Azar Grammar Series' with its red, black, and blue levels (Azar, 1999, 2003; Azar & Hagen, 2006). These three series alone account for one third of the textbook mentions.

Twelve books were selected due to widespread use (eight or more definite responses). These 12 textbooks were selected regardless of whether they were published in Canada or specified a Canadian audience:

- *Canadian Concepts 1* through 6 (Berish & Thibadeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b);
- *Ontario Reader 2003*, *Ontario Reader 2005*, and *Ontario Reader 2007* (Zuern, 2003, 2005, 2007);
- The 'Azar Grammar Series,' including *Basic English Grammar* (Red) (Azar & Hagen, 2006), *Fundamentals of English Grammar* (Black) (Azar, 2003), and *Understanding and Using English Grammar* (Blue) (Azar, 1999).

As the twelve most widely used textbooks represented less than 34% of the total number of textbook mentions, I felt it necessary to randomly sample from the remaining 170 textbooks mentioned as well. Furthermore, I was interested in determining whether the discourses identifiable in the most widely used textbooks also appeared in the less widely used textbooks mentioned. From the textbooks clearly identified by fewer than eight respondents, I randomly selected twelve textbooks.

Six books were selected randomly from those identified by more than one but fewer than eight respondents:

- *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (Bates, 1991);
- *Being Canadian* (Cameron & Derwing, 2004);
- *Canadian Snapshots: Raising the Issues* (Kingwell, Bonkowski, Stephenson, & Holmes, 2005);
- *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (Carver, Fotinos, & Cooper, 1993);
- *Listen to the Loon* (White, 1997a);
- *Side by Side 1* (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001).

Six books were selected randomly from those identified by only one respondent:

- *Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell* (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1999);
- *Canada Coast to Coast* (Acosta, 1995);
- *Look Again Pictures* (Olsen, 1984);
- *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* (Molinsky & Bliss, 1994);
- *The Good Grammar Book* (Swan & Walter, 2001);
- *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian* (Shapiro & Adelson-Goldstein, 1999).

While some of these textbooks were not produced in Canada and many make few claims about ‘Canada’ and ‘Canadianness,’ they were included as they may make claims about ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ that are of interest to the study. Hereinafter, ‘identified textbooks’ refers to the publications listed above. Table 1 shows the identified textbooks and number of mentions.

Identified Textbooks	Definite mentions	Possible mentions
Selected Top 12		
<i>Canadian Concepts 1</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a)	9	11
<i>Canadian Concepts 2</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997b)	9	11
<i>Canadian Concepts 3</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997c)	9	11
<i>Canadian Concepts 4</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997d)	9	11
<i>Canadian Concepts 5</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1998a)	9	11
<i>Canadian Concepts 6</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1998b)	8	11
<i>Ontario Reader 2003</i> (Zuern, 2003)	8	4
<i>Ontario Reader 2005</i> (Zuern, 2005)	8	4
<i>Ontario Reader 2007</i> (Zuern, 2007)	11	4
<i>Basic English Grammar</i> (Azar & Hagen, 2006)	9	2
<i>Fundamentals of English Grammar</i> (Azar, 2003)	11	1
<i>Understanding & Using English Grammar</i> (Azar, 1999)	10	1
Selected Randomly from Remaining Textbooks		
<i>Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories</i> (Bates, 1991)	3	2
<i>Being Canadian</i> (Cameron & Derwing, 2004)	4	
<i>Canadian Snapshots: Raising the Issues</i> (Kingwell et al., 2005)	2	
<i>A Canadian Conversation: Book 1</i> (Carver et al., 1993)	3	
<i>Listen to the Loon</i> (White, 1997a)	4	
<i>Side by Side 1</i> (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001)	5	5
<i>Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell</i> (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1999)	1	
<i>Canada Coast to Coast</i> (Acosta, 1995)	1	
<i>Look Again Pictures</i> (Olsen, 1984)	1	
<i>The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian</i> (Shapiro & Adelson-Goldstein, 1999)	1	
<i>The Good Grammar Book</i> (Swan & Walter, 2001)	1	
<i>Word by Word Picture Dictionary</i> (Molinsky & Bliss, 1994)	1	

Table 1: Identified Textbooks

As frequent references are made to the above identified textbooks, I have varied from APA style for in-text citations in order to increase readability. Citations of these twenty-four identified textbooks consist of the name of the book in italics and the year of publication.

Survey respondents were also asked to select publications from Citizenship and Immigration Canada that they have used from a list drawn, in part, from CIC (2002) and CIC (2003b). The three most popular publications were printed booklets intended for permanent residents of Canada (CIC 2003c; CIC 2006b) or people applying for Canadian citizenship (CIC 2006a). *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (CIC, 2006b) was used by 19

respondents. *Welcome to Canada: What You Should Know* (CIC, 2003c) was used by 12 respondents. *A Look at Canada* (CIC, 2006a) was used by 21 respondents. Four fifths of the survey respondents using at least one of these texts making them the most widely used publications of those identified. This justifies the emphasis on the performances in these texts in Chapter 8 of this thesis and the ongoing attention to the continuities between the discourses in these publications and other identified textbooks in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

While my primary intention is not to determine which textbooks are the most widely used textbooks in either Ontario or Canada but to determine the ways in which Canadianness and Canadian identity are imagined within some widely used ESL textbooks, I believe that the texts I have identified through my survey as widely used by my survey respondents are widely used both within Canada and within Ontario.

The majority of the texts identified by my survey are recommended as classroom resources for the LINC program. CIC (2003b) contains a list of “classroom resources” for the LINC program that lists around 100 textbooks, approximately one third of which were produced in Canada, and 25 brochures, most published by government agencies (pp. 91-102). This list of recommended texts mentioned the majority of my identified textbooks including: *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (Carver, Fotinos, & Cooper, 1993), *Amazing Canadian Newspaper Stories* (Bates, 1991); *Being Canadian* (Cameron & Derwing, 1996); *Canada Coast to Coast* (Acosta, 1995); *Canadian Concepts 1* through 6 (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b); *Ontario Reader 1997-2001* (Zuern 1997; 1999; 2001), which are earlier volumes of the textbooks surveyed here (Zuern, 2003, 2005, 2007); *Side by Side 1* (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001); *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian* (Shapiro & Adelson-Goldstein, 1999); *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* (Molinsky & Bliss,

1994); and all three of the CIC publications analyzed (CIC, 2003c, 2006a, 2006b) albeit earlier editions.

My sample of identified textbooks is also consistent with those identified by Thomson and Derwing's (2004) survey. Several were on their list of the most popular textbooks according to the 46 teachers and 17 administrators who responded to Thomson & Derwing's (2004) survey of service providers in Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta. Their list of "most popular materials" includes eighteen textbooks or other publications (including all volumes in a series of books). Between their list of eighteen publications and the twenty-four identified textbooks and three CIC publications I analyze, we have in common eleven publications including: *A Look at Canada* (CIC, 2006a) albeit an earlier edition; *Being Canadian* (Cameron & Derwing, 1996); *Fundamentals of English Grammar* (Azar, 1992, cited in Thomson & Derwing, 2004, p. 25) an earlier edition of *Fundamentals of English Grammar* than the one identified by my survey (Azar, 2003); *Canada Coast to Coast* (Acosta, 1995); *Canadian Concepts 1* through 6 (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b); and *Side by Side 1* (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001). While my list of identified textbooks includes *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (Bates, 1991), their most popular materials included *Amazing 2: Canadian Newspaper Stories* (Bates, 1997, cited in Thomson & Derwing, 2004, p. 25). Both their survey and mine identified the *Canadian Concepts Series* as the most widely used text amongst survey respondents (Thomson & Derwing, 2004, p. 24).

Furthermore, the discourses identified in these texts draw upon and articulate with widespread discourses on national identity. As many of these texts drew upon other media, most notably newspapers and government documents, the discourses on national identity in

the textbooks selected resemble those found in newspapers, television news programs, political discourse, and, very likely, other ESL textbooks. Research in the area of critical discourse analysis on other textbooks or discourse types has identified very similar strategies and discursive representations as those I have found here (Billig, 1995; Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1992, 2002, 2003, 2006; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999).

Overview of Identified Textbooks

In this section, I will briefly describe the identified textbooks in terms of their content and activities. I will also pay particular attention to the claims made, if any, regarding the role the texts play in social and cultural integration or as an introduction to Canada.

Canadian Concepts

Canadian Concepts is a multilevel series of textbooks that integrates listening, reading, writing, and speaking exercises within thematic units. Grammar explanation appears within the thematic units but usually follows cloze listening and dialogue practice exercises in which the grammatical structure appears. Levels 1 and 2 of *Canadian Concepts* (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a, 1997b) rely more heavily on routine expressions in short dialogues, listening cloze activities, high frequency vocabulary, and reading passages around 100 words in length at most. Both levels 1 and 2 are said to provide practice with “basic functional language” with level 1 being intended for students at a “post-literacy” stage and level 2 intended for students at a “false-beginner stage”¹² (*Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997, p. ix; *Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. xi). At higher levels, longer texts from authentic sources begin to feature lower frequency vocabulary on topics of a more academic nature including

¹² “False beginner” refers to students who “can’t really use any English but actually know quite a lot which can be quickly activated” (Harmer, 2007, p. 17).

“more controversial, opinion-based themes and activities” (*Canadian Concepts* 6, 1998, p. ix) that challenge students to “deal with more abstract, thought-provoking material” (p. ix).

The introductions to texts in this series make several claims regarding their role in social and cultural integration of newcomers. *Canadian Concepts* describes itself as having a “Canadian focus designed to help students feel at home and integrate into the community” (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. ix) and a focus on “interesting and practical topics that prepare students for life in Canada” (*Canadian Concepts* 4, 1997, p. ix). The most widely used series of textbooks identified by survey respondents working in LINC programs in Ontario has an explicit nationalising goal that is in line with the most influential rationale for textbook selection (see below). Every book in the series has ‘*Canadian Capsules*,’ which are one or two sentence long cultural notes. Teachers and students are expected to “enjoy browsing through the Canadian Capsules that provide valuable background information on Canada” (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. x).

The *Canadian Concepts* series is the most widely used set of textbooks identified by survey respondents with each level of the series receiving eight or nine definite mentions and eleven possible mentions. Possible mentions included those survey respondents who indicated that they used ‘the *Canadian Concept* series’ without specifying which levels they used. It is used in all types of LINC service providers for which survey respondents worked, i.e., businesses, not-for-profit groups, non-governmental organizations, community groups, educational institutions, and individuals.

Ontario Reader

The *Ontario Reader* series are published every other year and feature stories adapted from newspapers, mostly through *Torstar Syndication Services*, which draws material from

Toronto Star and other newspapers, and stories adapted from other sources such as Statistics Canada or websites (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, 2005, 2007). The articles are rated in terms of three levels of reading difficulty and have been adapted to be “within levels two to five of the Canadian Language Benchmarks” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. v; see also Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002). The articles are followed by comprehension questions, grammar drills, and related vocabulary exercises. A teacher’s guide at the back of each volume encourages teachers to develop their own pre-reading, reading, and follow-up activities.

Ontario Reader (2003) describes itself as “a collection of stories about life in Ontario and Canada” (p. v) that “help learners improve their language skills and learn about life in Ontario and Canada” (p. v). The articles selected are on topics related to “Canadian culture, government, history, people, places, news events, and settlement information” (p. v). Discursive analysis of the articles within can identify a number of ways in which the texts work to construct a Canadian identity, particularly a view of immigration policies as benevolent and benign.

Ontario Reader is the second most widely used set of identified textbooks. Only the three most frequently mentioned years were included here but early volumes are also in use. Volumes 2003, 2005, and 2007 were the most frequently cited with eight definite mentions for 2003 and 2005 and eleven definite mentions for 2007. The four possible mentions includes those respondents who said they used *Ontario Reader* without specifying the year. *Ontario Reader* is used in all types of LINC service providers for which survey respondents worked. All four survey respondents who worked for businesses used *Ontario Reader*.

The 'Azar Grammar Series'

'The Azar Grammar Series' (*Basic English Grammar*, 2006; *Fundamentals of English Grammar*, 2003, *Understanding and Using English Grammar*, 1999) is a well-known series of grammar reference and activity books produced in the United States but used in many countries. The series does not claim to have a Canadian or nationalising intent. The textbooks are organized by grammatical structure with each section containing a myriad of examples on ever-changing topics that are used to display the relevant grammatical structure. While the decontextualised example sentences of this kind of grammar text do not lend themselves to extensive discursive analysis as they rarely exhibit any sustained discourse, the textbooks do participate in banal nationalism, albeit a vague and banal nationalism with only occasional reference to Canada or Canadianness. While 'The Azar Series' will be cited in discussions of banal nationalism in this research, it will be cited less because it contains few constructions that are of relevance to sections of this research discussing the less banal construction of imagined communities.¹³

The '*Azar Grammar Series*' was the third most popular series of textbooks with each level of the series receiving between nine and eleven definite mentions and one or two possible mentions. Out of the twelve survey respondents who worked for school boards, all but four of them reported using the '*Azar Grammar Series*.' Of the four who did not report using the '*Azar Grammar Series*,' three used other grammar reference texts.

¹³ The lack of context to many of these sentences offers little sustained discourse that would show how the texts affirm ideologies and position readers. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Canagarajah (1993) has argued that considering grammar texts to be value-free ignores their possible use. In the classroom, these texts position the teacher as authoritative and the student reader as lacking. Furthermore, such texts usually ignore the extent to which English grammar varies around the world, thus valuing one possibly nationalised standard.

Being Canadian

Being Canadian (Cameron & Derwing, 2004) is a reader intended for “students in LINC or other ESL programs where Canadian content is covered” (p. vii). Using a content-based approach, this reader focuses on “contemporary Canadian issues as well as geography, history, government, and rights and responsibilities” (p. vii). One of the authors has argued elsewhere (Thomson & Derwing, 2004) for content-based as opposed to form-focused material as content-based materials can enhance cultural knowledge. Content-based teaching methodology recognizes the value of paying attention to the forms that create problems for learners but within the context provided by the content. Thomson and Derwing (2004) therefore argue that a content-based text could ensure that language instruction is relevant and is, thus, appropriate for the LINC program: “the choice of Canadian content in Canadian adult ESL programs can enhance cultural knowledge while at the same time providing continuity for the duration of the course” (p. 19). The readings, benchmarked at Canadian Language Benchmarks 3 to 5 (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002), are organized in chapters on topics including ‘What Does Canada Look Like?’, ‘Canada’s First Peoples,’ and ‘Our English and French Heritage’ (*Being Canadian*, 2004, pp. xi-xii). Readings are preceded by pre-reading questions that introduce the topic and are followed by comprehension and discussion questions. The texts also contain activities that involve students in discussion and interaction with guest speakers and other Canadians. These activities are “designed to reinforce the knowledge gained in the reading passage” (p. ix). The text describes itself as having “Canadian content” (p. vii), focusing on “contemporary Canadian issues” (p. vii), and points teachers towards “Canadiana pictures” (p. ix). It also claims to be unique in offering

“inclusion of sensitive issues and immigrants’ viewpoints” including “both the positive and the negative aspects of an issue” (p. vii).

Being Canadian was randomly selected for inclusion in this survey from the list of less commonly used textbooks. Four survey respondents mentioned using *Being Canadian*. Three out of four of these survey respondents reported working for not-for-profit groups. One of these three worked for a business as well. The fourth survey respondent who mentioned using *Being Canadian* worked for a school board.

Listen to the Loon

Listen to the Loon (White 1997a) assures teachers that “intermediate and advanced students will enjoy the challenge of developing their listening proficiency while learning about Canada” (p. vii). The text is organized as a series of chapters titled after Canadian provinces and territories. Chapter one, titled ‘British Columbia,’ features a text on ‘Canada’s Rain Forests’; Chapter two, titled ‘Alberta,’ features texts on ‘Banff National Park’ and ‘Canadian Dinosaurs.’ The book continues to travel west to east, through the provinces and then jumps back to the Yukon in the northwest, followed by Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. The final chapter, titled ‘Canada,’ “describes the country as a whole” (p. vii). Four survey respondents, two from school boards and two from not-for-profit groups, mentioned using *Listen to the Loon*.

Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories

Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories—“a book about Canada and Canadians” (Bates, 1991, p. xiv)—is a mid-beginner to low-intermediate reading and language instruction text that boasts “Canadian facts and provincial maps highlighting various locales from across the country” (p. ix). It attempts to teach “basic facts about Canadian geography”

(p. x) by including stories from many different provinces and territories. It depicts a friendly farmer in a field of wheat in Saskatchewan (p. 1) to introduce a story about a Saskatchewan farmer who mowed a marriage proposal into a wheat field (p. 6); Vancouver is represented by a story about an “amazing” dog who answers phones for his owner who is in a wheelchair (pp. 18-19); the North West Territories are represented by a story about Atima Hadlari, an Inuit father who took adult upgrading courses so that he could get a job with the Federal government (pp. 82-84). These stories are said to “feature ordinary Canadians, and teach culture in a natural context” (p. x) in order to foster the knowledge necessary for citizenship and insight into culture as “our students want to learn about Canada” (p. x).

Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories was randomly selected from the less frequently used textbooks. It received three definite mentions and two possible mentions. All definite users of this text reported working for school boards.

Canadian Snapshots: Raising Issues

Canadian Snapshots: Raising Issues (Kingwell, Bonkowski, Stephenson, & Holmes, 2005) is the second level of a two-level “multimedia educational package” (p. v) that integrates audio, video, and Internet resources into the textbook series. The series draws video, audio, interactive, and written texts from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC News Online, CTV Television Inc., Canadian Press, and Torstar Syndication Services amongst other sources so that learners can read and “listen to real-world language drawn from Canadian sources” (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005, p. v). This volume in the series is designed to correspond to the Canadian Language Benchmarks Stage 2, Level 6 (low intermediate) and adopts a task-based philosophy (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005, p. v; see also

Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002). *Canadian Snapshots: Raising the Issues* was used by two survey respondents.

A Canadian Conversation Book, Book 1

This revision of 'A Conversation Book: English in Everyday Life' (Carver, Fotinos, & Cooper, 1985) is intended to add "Canadian terms and information" (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993, p. ix) and "Canadian vocabulary and references" (p. x) to a textbook produced and published in the United States. In many places, this apparently involves merely changes in spellings of words such as "chequebook" (p. 20) and inclusion of vocabulary such as "postal code" (p. 2). The banal nationalism produced in this book is of particular interest to this thesis. Beyond the banal flaggings of the nation, the book repeatedly asks students to compare their native country to Canada at the most everyday and superficial levels. Three survey respondents mentioned using *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*.

Side by Side 1

Side by Side 1 (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001) is an American-made textbook used internationally. The textbook's most common activity involves the students in practicing short dialogues with routine expressions. Students are expected to change the dialogue by substituting vocabulary and ideas indicated by cartoon illustrations. *Side by Side 1*, the level considered here, is intended for beginners.

Side by Side does not claim to have any intention of introducing a particular national culture. While references were made to American cities, there were few references to Canada. The text participates in banal nationalism to some degree through flagging and mapping of nation and having students identify themselves as nationals.

Side by Side 1 received five definite mentions and five possible mentions. The respondents who mentioned *Side by Side 1* worked for a wide range of service providers.

The Good Grammar Book

Swan and Walter (2001) is a grammar practice book produced in Britain with examples and illustrations drawn from many different countries. The textbook does not claim to have any intention to teach culture or introduce students to a particular national identity. As with the Azar series, the textbook uses decontextualised sentences intended to illustrate particular grammar points. The text contains few examples of banal nationalism and is of only marginal interest to this thesis. *The Good Grammar Book* was randomly selected from those texts only mentioned by one respondent.

Word by Word Picture Dictionary

Molinsky and Bliss (1994) is a picture dictionary that organizes words in thematic units and is intended to be used as part of a vocabulary development program (p. v). The text was published in the United States and the examples of banal nationalism tend to draw upon American symbols. The banal nationalism remains of interest regardless of the nation being flagged by this text. *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* was randomly selected from those texts only mentioned by one respondent.

The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian

The foreword to the Canadian edition makes no claims to a nationalising focus other than that implied by the edition title. *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian* (1999) participates in banal nationalism through repeated flagging of the nation. Other constructions of national identity could be inferred from examination of what activities are foregrounded in units on recreation (e.g., hockey on p. 158), representations of community (e.g., the equal

weight given to churches, synagogues, or mosques on pp. 88-89), or examinations of gendered representations of occupations (p. 137). *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian* was randomly selected from those texts only mentioned by one respondent.

Canada Coast to Coast

Acosta (1995) is a reading and discussion text aimed at upper-beginner to low-intermediate students that “provides an opportunity to learn about Canada and the diversity of Canada’s peoples” (p. vi). Adapting newspaper articles, the textbook “includes one story about each of Canada’s provinces and territories” (p. vii). As with *Listen to the Loon* (1997), the chapters feature different provinces and territories moving from west to east, so that the organization of the chapters in the book refers to the nationalised Canadian geography. Each province and territory is represented in turn through a short article, associated images, and some comprehension or discussion questions. Besides the positive self-presentation of Canada as multicultural, the text is also of interest for its banal flaggings of the nation through flags (p. 3; pp. 16-17), maps (pp. 4-5), currency (p. 49), and the deixis through which a community of ‘we’ is presented (p. 53). *Canada Coast to Coast* was randomly selected from those texts only mentioned by one respondent.

Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell

Berish and Thibaudeau (1999) is a reader intended for high beginning and intermediate students. The articles are based upon newspapers and magazines. Each unit includes comprehension and vocabulary exercises based on readings and further discussion. The text contains few examples of banal nationalism but tends to draw upon events that take place in North America. The ‘amazing’ stories are of overturned Brinks trucks (p. 7), children who rescue family members (p. 17; p. 21), and 1000 pound pumpkins (p. 33).

Representations are made of what ‘people’ do that tend to assume a certain cultural understanding of ‘people.’ For example, the claim that “people started to grow big pumpkins more than 100 years ago” (p. 33) may assume a certain context; it does not, however, nationalize this context. This text contains little relevance to this study and will be seldom mentioned. *Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell* was randomly selected from those texts only mentioned by one respondent.

Look Again Pictures: For Language and Skills Development

Look Again Pictures (Olsen, 1984) contains photocopiable pairs of similar pictures with small differences between them. The intention is that students will attempt to identify the differences through discussing the pictures. The text contains photocopiable handouts that students are expected to compare and contrast. Suggestions for activities that fully exploit these photocopiable handouts are intended for teachers and teacher trainees to read. The accompanying instructions for teachers contains occasional references to the United States. They give, for example, the hypothetical example of Juan who has “six months’ experience as a dishwasher in the U.S.” (p. 13) and mention that information on minimum wage might be obtainable from the U.S. Department of Labour (p. 13). The text contains relatively few examples of nationalism, banal or otherwise, and will only be occasionally mentioned in this thesis. *Look Again Pictures: For Language and Skills Development* was randomly selected from those texts mentioned by only one respondent.

Respondents’ Teaching Contexts and Involvement in Textbook Selection

In order to verify that respondents were knowledgeable about which texts were used in LINC courses, respondents were asked about their experience teaching with LINC.

Respondents were asked if they are or have been an instructor in the LINC program (Question 1) (see Table 2):

- 32 of the respondents have worked as instructors in the LINC program;
- 1 respondent worked as a program consultant (his or her responses were still included in the data).

Respondents were asked to identify the type of LINC service provider they taught through (more than one response was often given) (Question 2):

- 19 respondents indicated that they worked in a not-for-profit group;
- 12 respondents indicated that they worked for a school board or in a program supervised by a school board;
- 5 respondents indicated that they worked in a community group;
- 4 respondents indicated that they worked in a business;
- 3 respondents indicated that they worked in a non-governmental organization;
- 1 respondent indicated that they worked for a public degree granting university or college;
- 1 respondent indicated that they worked as an individual;
- 1 respondent indicated that they worked for a resource centre.

Respondents were asked how many classes they were currently teaching (Question 3):

- 27 respondents were teaching 1-2 LINC courses;
- 4 respondents were currently teaching 3-4 LINC courses;
- 2 were not currently teaching in the LINC program.

Respondents were asked to approximate how many LINC courses they have taught in the past five years (Question 4):

- 1 respondent (a program consultant for a school board's Continuing Education Services division) had not taught LINC courses in the past five years;
- 11 respondents had taught less than five LINC courses in the past five years;
- 13 respondents had taught 5-10 LINC courses in the past five years;
- 1 had taught 11-20 LINC courses in the past five years;
- 7 had taught more than 20 LINC courses in the past five years.

Based upon these responses, I feel confident that the survey respondents are working in the LINC program in Ontario and can identify ESL textbooks that have been used in some LINC classes within Ontario in the last five years.

Respondents' Teaching Contexts and Experience			
Are you or have you been an instructor in the LINC program?			
Yes:	32	No:	1 (program consultant)
Which type of LINC service provider have you taught through (please check all that apply):			
Businesses:			4
Not-for-profit groups:			19
Non-governmental organization:			3
Community groups:			5
Educational institutions – Public community colleges:			0
Educational institutions – vocational schools:			0
Educational institutions – public degree-granting universities and colleges:			1
Educational institutions – school boards & their elementary and secondary institutions:			12
Educational institutions – Other (please specify):			0
How many LINC courses are you currently teaching?			
Zero:	One or two:	Three or four:	More than five:
2	27	4	0
Approximately how many LINC courses have you taught in the past 5 years?			
Zero to four	Five to ten:	Eleven to twenty:	More than twenty:
12	13	1	7

Table 2: Respondents' Teaching Contexts

Respondents' Textbook Selection and Priorities

Respondents were asked if they were involved in the selection of textbooks to be used in their classes (Question 7) (see Table 3):

- 30 instructors indicated that they were involved in textbook selection;
- 2 instructors indicated they were not involved in textbook selection;
- The program consultant noted that he or she selects textbooks in consultation with the instructors.

That almost all respondents were involved in textbook selection to some degree increases my confidence that the respondents are knowledgeable about textbooks used in the LINC

program. It also provides a foundation for a follow-up question on the rationale for textbook selection.

Respondents' Involvement in Textbook Selection							
In your capacity as an instructor in the LINC program, were you involved in selection of which textbooks would be used in your classes?							
Yes			No			Other (please explain)	
30			2			0 (program consultant)	
If yes, how did the following LINC program rationale influence your textbook selection (rank from 1 to 5 with 1 being "Very influential" and 5 being "Not at all important"):							
	Very Influential	1	2	3	4	5	Not influential at all
Social/cultural integration:	Very Influential	17	7	5	1	0	Not influential at all
Economic integration:	Very Influential	4	7	13	5	1	Not influential at all
Orientation to the Canadian way of life	Very Influential	18	8	2	2	0	Not influential at all

Table 3: Respondents' Involvement in Textbook Selection

LINC instructors who responded to this survey are usually involved in textbook selection. While various other criteria such as price and availability have been mentioned by instructors as factors influencing their decision-making, they have also indicated that 'social/cultural integration' and 'orientation to the Canadian way of life' are very influential factors in their textbook selection. This suggests to me that the nationalising claims made by the textbooks are of interest to the survey respondents. How and whether they draw student readers attention to these claims, critique them, or support them is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Several respondents gave additional information regarding whether they were involved in textbook selection (Question 7). Two respondents commented on the lack of money available:

There are resources in the building – I choose which books to use. I'd like to use more up to date materials, but am told there no \$\$\$\$ – *Respondent 14, not-for-profit groups / continuing education, non-credit*

Sometimes for newer material. We have budgetary limits, and continue to use older material that our centre has had for years. – *Respondent 17, not-for-profit group*

Respondents also indicated that instructors choose their textbooks from the (limited) resources available:

The office for which I work supplies teachers with a variety of resources. I select texts from those resources – *Respondent 24, community group and educational institution*

Other comments implied that instructors have only limited input on the textbooks they use:

To some extent: we are asked to make suggestions – *Respondent 22, public degree granting university or college*

Not at first, but as the years have gone by I have been able to purchase materials that I feel are appropriate – *Respondent 15, school board*

Neither of the two respondents who were not involved in textbook selection gave further comment on this question. While part of the purpose of this question was to determine the respondents' ability to suggest which LINC rationale influenced their textbook selection, it is important to note that textbook choice is somewhat constrained by financial considerations and textbook availability. The textbooks identified above may not represent the instructors' first or best choice.

If respondents were involved in textbook selection, they were asked how LINC program rationale influenced their textbook selection (Question 7a). They were asked to rank

three program rationale—social/cultural integration, economic integration, and orientation to the Canadian way of life (CIC, 2004c)—from 1 to 5 with 1 being very influential and 5 being not important at all. Thirty respondents did so. ‘Orientation to the Canadian way of life’ was ranked as the most important rationale for textbook selection with an average ranking of 1.6. ‘Social/cultural integration’ was the second most influential LINC program rationale with an average ranking of 1.7. ‘Economic integration’ lagged far behind as a LINC program rationale influencing textbook selection with a ranking of 2.7 (see Table 3). The LINC program rationale that is of most relevance to this thesis—‘orientation to the Canadian way of life’—influenced the instructors’ textbook selection and, to the extent that these textbooks were freely chosen, represents the instructors’ attempt to be responsive to that rationale.

Based upon these responses, I believe that: the majority of survey respondents are involved in the textbook selection process and are able to comment on the rationale that influenced their choice of textbooks; the rationale deemed most important was that of orienting newcomers to ‘the Canadian way of life’ with the rationale of facilitating ‘social/cultural integration’ being second most influential and ‘economic integration’ being the least influential rationale; and that while a wide variety of materials are used in the LINC program, survey respondents have indicated a desire for greater choice, knowledge of, and variety of materials.

Respondents’ Use of CIC Publications

Survey respondents were asked if they had ever used certain materials produced by CIC (CIC, 2003c; CIC, 2006a; CIC, 2006b), and, if so, how they used these resources (question 6). The number of respondents who indicated that they used each of the following

government-produced materials is shown in Table 4. A critical discourse analysis of the most widely used publications (CIC, 2003c; CIC, 2006a; CIC, 2006b) appears in Chapter 8.

Respondents' Use of CIC Publications		
	Resource	# of respondents
Booklets	<i>A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada</i> (print) (CIC, 2006b)	19
	<i>Welcome to Canada: What You Should Know</i> (print) (CIC, 2003c)	12
	<i>A Look at Canada</i> (print) (CIC, 2006a)	21
Fact Sheets	<i>Employment</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	8
	<i>Housing</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	7
	<i>Education</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	6
	<i>Rights and Responsibilities</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	5
	<i>Health and Income Security</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	6
	<i>Budgeting</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	5
	<i>Government in Canada</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	7
	<i>Citizenship</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	7
	<i>Sponsorship</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	3
	<i>The Documents You Should Bring with You When You Immigrate</i> (cited in CIC, 2002)	4
Videos	<i>Canada: Day to Day</i> (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1992);	5
	<i>Working in Canada: A Newcomer's Introduction</i> (cited in CIC, 2002, March);	10
	<i>Education in Canada: A Newcomer's Introduction</i> (cited in CIC, 2002, March).	6

TABLE 4: Respondents' Use of CIC Publications

In response to the question of how they used these resources, several respondents indicated they were not aware of these resources:

I am not aware of these resources and where they can be obtained –
Respondent 28, school board

No – but would be very interested in doing so. How can I find information about these resources? – *Respondent 24, community group/educational institution*

I have not had the opportunity to see these videos – *Respondent 11, school board*

Although the survey indicates that most respondents are involved in textbook selection and that a wide variety of materials are used in the LINC program, these survey respondents have indicated that they would be interested in having an even greater variety of resources.

Some of those who did use these resources indicated they used them to teach about Canadian culture:

I use them to familiarize students with Canadian culture, life, geography, history and levels of government – *Respondent 31, school board*

class: presentation re Canadian culture – *Respondent 23, business, not-for-profit, community group, individual*

in the past, I've used a look at Canada when doing a unit on Canada – *Respondent 15, school board*

Others indicated that these were used in preparation for citizenship exams:

as reading resources to scan and find specific information to answer citizenship questions – in both print and online format – *Respondent 27, not-for-profit groups, school board*

To prepare for citizenship exam and as part of curriculum – *Respondent 5, not-for-profit group*

Such responses suggest to me that the discourses related to Canadian identity that I discuss in Chapters 6 through 8 may be taken up in the classroom. Furthermore, these responses indicate that the material selected is used in conjunction with the LINC program rationale of preparing students for social/cultural integration and orientation towards 'the Canadian way of life.' That such texts may be used in the classroom, however, does not imply that they are used passively or without adaptation. Several respondents discussed how they used the resources:

(1) Tape info to wall & partner has to tell other partner. Other partner writes info in order on paper. (2) Conversation. (3) Fill in the blank sheets. – *Respondent 19, not-for-profit group*

view and discuss – *Respondent 26, school board*

watch, questions, answers, role-play – *Respondent 18, school board*

Reading / Speaking – *Respondent 17, school board*

That student readers interact with the material and with each other allows for possibly oppositional readings of these materials.¹⁴

Teachers sometimes adapt or selectively draw upon these publications. Many of the respondents indicated that they use these materials selectively as resources or as they applied to themes being covered:

I've used them more as a teacher's resource (for reference) but have used the visuals (pictures) in the classroom. – *Respondent 9, business*

I use it to compile statistics for use in classes. I also condense the information that is relevant to my students – *Respondent 8, business*

Preparation for a lesson plan (vocabulary, pronunciation, syllable division, sentence formation, presenting the topic/discussion etc) – *Respondent 7, school board*

Again, the discourses in these materials may be challenged, contested, or transformed prior to their introduction to students.

Two respondents commented on how these materials were received by students, stating that they were “very useful and the students enjoy them” (*Respondent 4, not-for-profit group and community group*) and that they were “quite useful” (*Respondent 25, not-for-profit group*).

¹⁴ A study of the classroom interaction is beyond the scope of the present research, but it should be noted that identification of particularly hegemonic discourses in these publications should not be seen to imply uncritical introduction or acceptance of those discourses.

Summary and Discussion

The purpose of the survey discussed above was to identify textbooks and CIC publications used in LINC programs in Ontario, to ensure that survey respondents were teaching in the LINC program and able to make this identification, and to determine the extent to which the government rationale for the LINC program played a part in textbook selection.

The textbooks I have identified are used in LINC classes in Ontario. Many of these texts are also used in LINC programs outside of Ontario according to Thomson and Derwing (2004) or are recommended for use in LINC programs Canada-wide (CIC, 2003b). While the *Azar Grammar Series* was mostly used by respondents working in school boards, the other widely identified textbooks—*Ontario Reader* and the *Canadian Concepts Series*—were used in several different types of service provider.

The majority of the survey respondents (21) had taught more than five LINC courses in the last five years. Survey respondents worked in a variety of service providers with not-for-profit groups (19) and school boards (12) being most widely represented but others worked in community groups (5), businesses (4), and non-governmental organizations (3), and universities or colleges (1). I feel confident that these survey respondents are able to identify textbooks used in a wide variety of LINC programs.

When survey respondents were asked to identify which of three government rationale for the LINC program influenced their textbook choice, *orientation to a Canadian way of life* and *social/cultural integration* were most influential with *economic integration* being least influential. Given that the most influential rationale for textbook selection was to orient

newcomers to a *Canadian way of life*, I believe that learners are introduced to the discourses in texts regarding Canadian identity.

Chapter 6

Imagining Canada: 'Our Consensual Hallucination',¹⁵

Nations are reproduced through every day performances of banal nationalism, which includes the use of symbols and habits of language that refer to nation and identify oneself as a national. In this chapter, I will discuss the 'flagging' of the nation in identified textbooks. I will refer to those seemingly banal and constant ways in which the identified textbooks mark nation through performances of banal nationalism making nation-ness ubiquitous and commonplace. These performances draw upon a repertoire of symbols that have been marked as 'national' regardless of whether they are particular to or coextensive with any nation. Such performances are ideological in that they mark group identities and make claims about membership of the group, if not the character of the group. In marking an in-group, these claims also imply an out-group.

Flagging the Nation

The majority of the identified textbooks¹⁶ (fourteen out of twenty-four) claim to provide factual or helpful information about Canada (*Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995; *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997 through *Canadian Concepts 6*, 1998; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997; *Ontario Reader* 2003, 2005, 2007). Those identified

¹⁵ Francis (1997) borrows the term 'consensual hallucination' from cyberpunk author William Gibson to describe imagined communities arguing that "Canadians depend on this habit of 'consensual hallucination' more than any other people" (p. 10).

¹⁶ I use the term 'identified textbook' or 'identified textbooks' to refer to the textbooks identified by my survey in their entirety. 'Texts,' in this thesis, refers to the texts contained within the 'identified textbooks' or selected CIC publications, including articles drawn from newspapers and government websites, original reading passages, dialogues, discussion topics, and short 'culture' notes.

textbooks that do not are often American or written for an international audience (*Basic English Grammar*, 2006; *Fundamentals of English Grammar*, 2003; *Understanding & Using English Grammar*, 1999; *Side by Side 1*, 2001; *Amazing Stories to Tell and Retell*, 1999; *The Good Grammar Book*, 2001; *Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994). The Canadian textbooks that do not make these claims, still draw upon Canadian sources and use Canadian symbols (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999). They claim to contain “Canadian terms and information” (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993, p. ix); “Canadian vocabulary and references” (p. x); Canadian content with information about Canadian culture, controversies, government, geography, history, people, places, rights and responsibilities, and politics (*Being Canadian*, 2004; *Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. v); and stories about life in Canada (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. v). They claim to be “about Canada and Canadians” (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991, p. xiv) and to feature “ordinary Canadians” (p. x). They draw much of their material from Canadian sources, particularly newspapers but also television and radio (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *Ontario Reader*, 2003, 2005, 2007). Their Canadianness sometimes seeps into the layout of the book with the chapters becoming provinces (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997). They do these things because “our students want to learn about Canada” (p. x) so as to facilitate their cultural integration and prepare for life in Canada. Or, they may make no such claims but still participate in banal imaginings of nation and an ideology of ubiquitous nationalism (*Understanding and Using English Grammar*, 1999; *Fundamentals of English Grammar*, 2003; *Basic English Grammar*, 2006). Identified textbooks often participate in both banal flaggings of the nation and imaginings of community.

The flags that I refer to here include both the literal sort, i.e., national flags, and other ‘flaggings’ of the nation: the images, routine deixis, and discursive markings that ensure the nation is constantly marked and yet unremarkable. Through these banal flaggings, identified textbooks introduce student readers to Canada as an imagined community, an already imagined community. These flaggings naturalise Canada presenting it as uncontested and identifiable. Student readers are taught to remember Canada through its flags and through other images that are taught as symbols of Canada.

Flagging the Nation in ‘A Look at Canada’

One of the publications most widely used by my survey respondents, the government-produced *A Look at Canada* (CIC, 2006a), identifies in text and images the symbols that are to ‘flag’ Canada. The national flag of Canada is displayed on the cover and throughout the publication. The flag on the top of a narrow outside column (pp. 3, 4, 7, 12, 29-32, 38-47) is occasionally substituted for other images. Appearing in the place of the flag in the side column are pictures of a bright sun poking through a stand of mighty coniferous trees (CIC, 2006a, p. 10), a fishing village (p. 18), a woman in a thick fur trimmed parka (p. 14), a canoe on the shore of a placid lake (p. 20), and a totem pole (p. 25). These images replace the flag in the upper outside corner of these pages, in effect, becoming alternative flags for Canada. Images of architecture also become nationalized and representative of the nation: the Parliament buildings in “the capital of Canada” (p. 12), the skyline of “Toronto, Canada’s largest city” (p. 22), and the skyline of Vancouver “the third largest city in Canada” (p. 26) mark the nation in space. Images of people present a face for Canada, becoming stand-ins for the flag: women with children (p. 10; p. 11); racially diverse groups at citizenship ceremonies (p. 7) or in workplaces (p. 8); and what appear to be aboriginal people in traditional dress (p.

14; p. 15; p. 23). Through their inclusion in a text entitled *A Look at Canada*, these individuals become as much flags of Canada as are the maple leaf and the Toronto skyline.

A Look at Canada (CIC, 2006a) not only flags the nation with symbols both banal and exotic; it also teaches the reader through both text and images to read these symbols as stand-ins for the flag. In some cases, the symbolism of images is explained. A coin is accompanied by the text “The beaver is one of the symbols of Canada. It appears on the five-cent coin” (p. 13). The head of the Queen is presented beside a caption that explains “Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is the Queen of Canada and Canada’s Head of State” (p. 13). A young boy in a photo remains unnamed but described as “traditionally dressed Aboriginal youth at Calgary Stampede” (p. 23). The nation is marked not only in terms of “the local, geographic and physical dimension, metaphorically speaking, on the ‘national body,’ i.e. on the national territory with its boundaries, its natural resources and its landscapes” (de Cillia et al. 1999, p. 160) but also with the bodies of people as “living *partes pro toto* for a specific nation ... conceivable as parts of a ‘national body’” (p. 160) almost all unnamed except for the Head of State.

Flagging the Nation in Identified Textbooks

Identified textbooks participate in similarly banal flaggings of the nation through the representation of flags, maps, currency, landscapes, cityscapes, and other symbols. While these symbols often appear banally, they also have a pedagogical purpose; identified textbooks teach students to read these images as symbols for Canada and to participate in the process through which the symbolism can become everyday and banal.

The maple leaf.

The textbooks repeatedly ‘flag’ Canada through the display of the maple leaf. Of the twenty-four identified textbooks, all but three of them contain images of flags marking nation-ness in general or of maple leaves or the Maple Leaf marking Canadianness in specific. *Look Again Pictures* (Olsen, 1984), *Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell* (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1999), and *The Good Grammar Book* (Swan & Walter, 2001) do not contain any national flags. All of the CIC publications analyzed contain Canadian flags.

The flag is waved, explained, planted, and saluted within identified textbooks and accompanying images. In some identified textbooks, the maple leaf is identified as a symbol of Canada¹⁷ (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991, p. 75; *Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 132; *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999, p. 115). The flag may be held high by Mounties outside of the Parliament buildings (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993, p. 58; *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999, p. 114; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995, pp. 16-17) or waved by “Emis Leskovci, 10, [celebrating] his arrival in Canada from Kosovo” (*Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 61). The Mountie is also a flag for Canada; Francis (1997) writes: “Canadians are the only people in the world who recognize a police force as their proudest national symbol” (p. 29).

Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories (1991) tells the story of Sharon Wood “the first Canadian woman to climb Everest” (p. 71) and depicts her and a colleague planting a Canadian flag on the summit (p. 70). Student readers are reminded that pride is the appropriate feeling to accompany the raising of the flag: “She and Dwayne felt proud as they placed the Canadian flag on top of the world” (p. 71). Through the flag, the heroic Canadian

¹⁷ *Being Canadian* (2004) also introduces the Fleur-de-Lys flag as “a symbol of Quebec” (p. 132) in a section titled ‘Canadian Symbols’. While not in as prominent a position as the Canadian flag on the same page, the Fleur-de-Lys’s appearance hints at alternative claims to nation not often apparent in these texts.

is able to represent an imagined community “on top of the world” (p. 71). *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991) follows that story with a ‘reading practice’ that teaches the flag and its significance:

Canada became a country on July 1, 1867, but Canadians didn’t get their own flag until 1965, almost one hundred years later. You may want to know why. The reason is that many Canadians remembered Britain as their homeland and wanted to fly the British flag called the Union Jack.

After the First and Second World Wars, Canadians felt more independent and wanted their own flag. The only problem was that some people wanted a flag with a small Union Jack on it, and others wanted a truly Canadian Flag. The government looked at thousands of different flags and finally decided on the red and white flag we have today. The maple leaf, in the centre, is a symbol of Canada. Canadians think of their country whenever they see it. (p. 75)

The text marks the nation in time giving dates of origin and stages of its coming into being and establishes the nation as an entity in its own right. It marks the nation as a community of members that desired their nation-ness. It speaks of some people and things as ‘truly Canadian,’ implying that there are other people and things that are not so Canadian. These texts also teach the flag to student readers, teaching its appearance, its origins, and the appropriate thoughts Canadians should have when it is planted on mountaintops or gazed upon.

In contrast to the assertion in *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991) that “Canadians think of their country whenever they see [the maple leaf]” (p. 75), Billig (1995) might argue that if Canadians do so, they do so mindlessly (p. 38). Flags, being so familiar and numerous, ensure that nation is remembered but not ‘mindfully’ so. Nation becomes always present, always marked, but seldom consciously attended to.

In these texts, as in our daily lives, flags are not always waved or saluted. The flag itself or the maple leaf is often displayed within the identified textbooks as a graphic. The

maple leaf appears in identified textbooks as a recurring graphic. A photograph of four Canadian flags snapping in the breeze introduces *Canada Coast to Coast* (Acosta, 1995, p. 3). Falling maple leaves decorate the cover of *Being Canadian* (2004) and are used occasionally as a background inside. In the *Canadian Concepts Series* (Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b), falling maple leaves accentuate the Canadianness of the numerous 'Canadian Capsules' which are short notes intended to "provide background information about Canada" (*Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997, p. x). Similarly, *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) contains 'Culture Notes' which are flagged with graphic of a maple leaf and a globe. The maple leaf here is as much decoration as symbol of nation.

The flag is also incorporated into other illustrations. In identified textbooks' illustrations of daily life, the flag, for the most part, hangs limply in the background. Flags hang in the corner in depictions of classrooms,¹⁸ auditoriums, courtrooms, army bases;¹⁹ they are plastered on the walls of immigration offices and provide a backdrop for citizenship ceremonies;²⁰ they wave in the breeze outside of City Hall, universities, and especially schools.²¹ Schools, these banal flaggings seem to suggest, are a place in which students learn to stop noticing the ubiquitous flag in the corner. They can be seen on stamps, post offices, Canada Post mailboxes, and on pictures of social insurance cards.²² The flag hangs unsaluted in the background of the public lives of the characters present in these identified textbooks.

¹⁸ In *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 20, p. 33).

¹⁹ In *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 32, p. 99) and *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993, p. 35).

²⁰ In *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 59) and *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 24, p. 114).

²¹ In *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 4, p. 5, p. 27, p. 89, p. 112), *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 26, p. 89, p. 104; 1997b, p. 71) and *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993, p. 35).

²² *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 102) and *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 96).

Canadian symbols.

Being Canadian (2004), similarly, teaches the reader to read certain symbols as flags of Canada. A two page spread identifies images and text showing the Canadian flag, maple leaves, the beaver, the Fleur-de-Lys flag, the RCMP, the Parliament buildings, the poppy, loonies and toonies, aboriginal art, an Inuit artist, and the Canadian Coat of Arms as “Canadian Symbols.” Accompanying captions identify and in some cases explain the symbols. Through the identification of these symbols as “Canadian Symbols” *Being Canadian* (2004) positions these symbols as alternative flags of Canada.

Currency also ‘flags’ the nation. The symbols, leaders, and name of the country are displayed on coins in several identified textbooks.²³ Again, identified textbooks take on the role of ‘teaching’ the flag: To help students to become proficient at handling these coins, the textbooks ask students to add up the coins depicted. They explain the values and names of the coins:

The Canadian dollar coin is called a loonie because it has a picture of a loon on it. A loon is a large water bird that lives in Canada. It has bright red eyes and a strange cry. (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 76)

The dollar coin is called a loonie because the first time the coin was produced, it had a picture of a loon on one side. The loon is a bird that is found in most parts of Canada. (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 133)

A loon is on Canada’s dollar coin. This water bird lives near lakes in many parts of the country. (*Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995, p. 48)

People sometimes call dollars ‘bucks’. (*Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997, p. 113)

Listen to the Loon (1997) describes the loon as “one of the most appealing birds” (p. 34) as well as the “most familiar to everyone from the back of our one-dollar coin and twenty-dollar

²³ *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995, pp. 48-49); *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 20); *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 91; 1997b, pp. 127-130; 1997b, p. 140; 1997c, p. 74); *Being Canadian* (2004, p. 133); *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* (1994, pp. 66-67).

bill” (p. 34). Through the presentation of these images as ‘symbols of Canada,’ identified texts banally *flag* the nation (this thesis, pp. 77-78).

‘Home and native land.’

Billig describes national anthems as “a universal sign of particularity” (Billig, 1995, p. 86). Anthems act to represent the nation as a nation, participating in the established and recognized patterns by which nations represent themselves to each other (p. 86). Flags, currency, and anthems are recognized symbols of a particular nation-ness; they “not only fit a common pattern, but it is part of their symbolism that they are seen to do so. They flag the nation as a nation among nations, as flags themselves do” (p. 86). The repetition of the national anthem in daily life at the end of a television broadcast day or before a hockey game is a banal affirmation of nation and the ideology on nationalism.

Several identified textbooks contain the words to the Canadian National Anthem.²⁴ It is one of the first texts student readers encounter in *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991), coming after the introduction (p. xiv), two maps of Canada (pp. xvi-xviii), and a questionnaire for students on the provinces, capital, and basic geography of Canada (p. xiv). *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993) includes the anthem at the back of the book (p. 165) along with the lyrics for “The Royal Anthem ‘God Save the Queen’” (p. 165), and “Jingle Bells” (p. 166).

The anthem does not only appear in these textbooks however, it is also *taught*. Student readers of *Being Canadian* (2004) are invited to sing the Canadian national anthem together: “As a class, sing *O Canada!*” (p. 42). This text is presented as something that might be learnt in preparation for ceremonies marking the awarding of citizenship:

²⁴ *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991, pp. xx); *Being Canadian* (2004, p. 42); *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993, pp. 165-166); *Ontario Reader* (2007, p. 43).

Canadians sing the national anthem (see lyrics to *O Canada!* at the side) at hockey games, rodeos, baseball games, and other sporting events. They also sing it at citizenship ceremonies and on Canada Day. As a class, sing *O Canada!*

Being Canadian (2004) invites students to share “the national anthem of your first country” (p. 42) reaffirming the universality of nationhood. *Ontario Reader* (2007) presents the anthem beside an article on becoming a Canadian citizen, the pedagogical purpose of learning the anthem thereby being made clear (p. 43). *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991) invites student readers to “Sing Canada’s National Anthem” (p. xx) and later, on the same page, to “sing your country’s national anthem to the class” (p. xx), which is either redundant or reminds student readers that Canada is not ‘your’ country—an example of the routine deixis through which little words say a lot (Billig, 1995, p. 106; this thesis, pp. 69-70). While hearing the national anthem at the end of the broadcast day may be a form of banal nationalism, specific teaching of the national anthem is hardly banal.

If the repeated performance of particular national anthems makes them banal, divergence from these performances become moments of contestation and negotiation of nation. The appearance of ‘The Royal Anthem’ in *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993) and its lack of inclusion in other identified textbooks suggests the extent to which competing understandings of Canada exist. While both French and English versions of the lyrics appear in *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993), only the English versions appear in *Being Canadian* (2004) and *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991). *Being Canadian* (2004), continuing in its commitment to include discussion of ‘sensitive issues,’ mentions debate over the lyrics of ‘O Canada’:

Some people feel that the third line in *O Canada*—“True patriot love in all thy sons command”—should be “True patriot love in all of us command” to reflect all Canadians. Other people think that the word “sons” refers to

soldiers who have given their lives for Canada. They believe it would be disrespectful to change the words. What do you think?

— *Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 42

With the choice offered between two differing lyrics for the national anthem, student readers are given the opportunity to critique particular constructions of nation while nationality itself remains uncritiqued. Within the banal nationalism of the text that assures us that Canadians sing the national anthem, the authors make room for the imaginings of gendered nation-ness to be mildly challenged, opening the door to the possibility of future reimaginings. These reimaginings, however, remain within the terrain of valuations of nation. The debate “is conducted within parameters that take nationhood for granted as the natural context of the universe” (Billig, 1995, p. 87).

International & nation-less flaggings.

Flags are so central that they appear even in identified textbooks that attempt to avoid banal nationalism. *Side by Side 1* (2001) describes daily life in a city called ‘Centerville,’ the location of which is not specified. In the background of a busy city street limply hangs a red flag with a yellow circle outlined in blue in the center. *The Good Grammar Book* (2001) seems to intentionally avoid banal nationalism; When mentioning the names of nations, it more often than not mentions cities as well (pp. 2-3). In one place, it seems to deliberately avoid offense by referring to the invented countries of Moronia, Fantasia, Kayland, and Beeland rather than established nations (p. 220). The text shows few maps (p. 260). These texts avoid any particular imagined communities’ nation-ness, but only by imagining new nations.

In one identified textbook produced outside of Canada (*Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994), American flags ‘hang in the background’ appearing outside of a school

(p.77) and on stamps (p. 75); flags of 14 different countries decorate a page on countries, nationalities, and languages (p. 12). Banal representations that draw upon American imagery could be easily substituted for banal representations that draw upon Canadian imagery were the text to be reproduced as a Canadian version. References to Social Security numbers (p. 1), American coins (p. 66), American spellings (p. 67), and American flags in the corners of classrooms (p. 10), outside of schools (p. 77) and on stamps (p. 75) could easily be substituted for Canadian equivalents in a Canadian edition of the text.

These identified textbooks, perhaps because they are intended for an international audience, flag the nation relatively infrequently, but cannot seem to represent daily life without participating in some banal nationalism. Nationalism—the idea of and belief in nations—survives even when specific nation-ness is avoided. Identified publications that do not contribute many specific claims as to a Canadian identity, continue to contribute to the orientation of student readers to ‘a Canadian way of life’ in that they contribute to the idea that people have and should have national identities. These markings of imagined nation-ness present nation as a universal phenomenon.

Mapping the Nation

Identified ESL texts also participate in this banal marking of the nation in physical space through repeated depictions of nationalized boundaries, architecture, and landscapes. Through nationalising the weather, the natural world, the cities and towns, they convert all space into nationalized space. Of the twenty-four identified textbooks, twelve contain maps of Canada or world maps. Two of three CIC publications (CIC 2006a, 2006b) contain maps of Canada.

Maps

Maps are a recurrent image; identified textbooks repeatedly depict maps of Canada,²⁵ maps of North America,²⁶ maps of the world,²⁷ and maps and globes in classrooms.²⁸ Identified textbooks contain maps to teach students the names of nations,²⁹ maps to teach the regions of Canada,³⁰ maps to teach the time zones of Canada,³¹ maps to teach the order in which provinces and territories joined Canada,³² maps to teach about travel within Canada,³³ and maps that appear to remind students of the values of the imagined community.³⁴ Teachers are encouraged to bring maps with them into the classroom, including:

a large world map, a large map of Canada, a map of your province or territory, an atlas, several maps of your city, and pictures from various regions of Canada to supplement the readings. (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 1)

Canadian Concepts 1 (1997) contains a graphic in which the geographic outline of Canada is bordered by faces representing a racially diverse population (p. 37). This representation of racial diversity draws a connection between Canada, the geographic space it claims, and the value of multiculturalism through which Canadian nation-ness is legitimated.

²⁵ In *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995, pp. 4-5, p. 7, p. 53, p. 55, p. 60), *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991, p. xvi, p. xviii), *Canadian Concepts* (1997, p. 5); *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997, p. 106), *Being Canadian* (2004, p. 3), *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993, p. 159), and *Ontario Reader* (2007, p. 83).

²⁶ In *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* (1994, pp. 4-6), *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 17, p. 122), and *The Good Grammar Book* (2001, p. 260).

²⁷ In *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991, p. 53), *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 5), *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993, p. 159), *Word by Word Picture Dictionary* (1994, pp. 7), and *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 124-125).

²⁸ *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 4), *Canadian Concepts 2* (1997, pp. 10-11), and *Side by Side 1* (2001, pp. 8-9).

²⁹ *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 63).

³⁰ *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 98-101).

³¹ *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 83); *Ontario Reader* (2007, p. 81).

³² *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995, pp. 4-5).

³³ In *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995, p. 53, p. 55), *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 83), *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997, p. 117), *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 17), and *Ontario Reader* (2007, p. 81).

³⁴ While *Side by Side* (2001), a textbook produced in America but used in many countries around the world, features globes and maps in which the Western hemisphere are clearly visible, the identified textbooks produced in Canada contain fewer world maps than maps of Canada.

The marking of nations on maps, attempts to turn geographic space into nationalized place, a political and ideological claim which, through its repetition and ubiquitousness becomes naturalised and seemingly uncontested (this thesis, p. 76). Other than the presentation of internal political subunits of the nation, nations are presented as relatively undifferentiated within and clearly separate from other nations.³⁵

Beautiful Places: Landscapes and Cityscapes

Imaginations of the nation as a physical space impart both landscapes and cityscapes with symbolic meanings (this thesis, p. 78). The rivers, mountains, and lakes are imagined to be imbued with almost mystical significance as the wellsprings of national values. Francis (1997) notes that the mythologizing of the wilderness has been a consistent theme in Canadian self-definition: “Our wilderness, on the other hand, is our own. It is a unique landscape which imparts to us a unique set of characteristics” (p. 150). The images in the text depict a harmony of humanity and nature, urban living and rural recreation adjacent to one another. Through the invention of this uniqueness, the natural wilderness becomes ‘our’ special place. Each place becomes “that special place which is more than just a place, more than a mere geophysical area” (Billig, 1995, p. 175). It becomes part of a mythology of Canada: “the urban middle class which, no longer having to struggle with the wilderness on a daily basis, has elevated it to the level of romantic myth” (Francis 1997, p. 151).

Places represented need not be specific and identifiable by name to be flags for Canada. Canada is flagged by images of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa through their

³⁵ While most maps appearing in these texts present Canada as a blank white space of undifferentiated nation, *Canadian Snapshots: Raising the Issues* (2005) uses shades of grey to show the areas of Canada with the greatest population density in Canada (p. 66). While nation is still uncontested, it becomes less flat, less even.

symbolic position as the seat of the federal government³⁶ and by the CN Tower as an identifiable landmark of the Toronto skyline.³⁷ Canada is no less flagged, however, by images of a canola grain elevator in Holland, Manitoba (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, cover). Canadian cities are represented through repeated images of urban beauty often in harmony with nature: the snow-covered roofs and decorated streets of Rue St. Louis, Quebec City (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, cover); the red-bricked Gooderham Building on Front St. in Toronto with its copper roofs contrasted against the background of concrete and blue glassed towers of Front St. (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, cover); the skyline of False Creek with mountains behind and sailboats and green space in front (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, cover); bicyclists riding down wide streets in Victoria, BC “one of the warmest cities in Canada” where, student readers are told, “there are flowers almost all year round” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 7). Canada and the myth of the wilderness are also ‘flagged’ in identified textbooks through images of wide open rural spaces—a winding road in Prince Edward Island, the Rocky Mountains, a quiet lake in Banff (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 108); the Rocky mountains in winter, farms dotted across the prairie landscape, the countryside in Quebec, remote and rocky Newfoundland, and Baffin Island (*Being Canadian*, 2004, pp. 7-10).

Student readers of these texts are asked to participate in the process through which the natural world and the urban centers become landscapes and cityscapes and, more importantly, become *Canadian* landscapes and *Canadian* cities. In *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997), students are taught the names of Canadian provinces and territories and their capital cities (p. 104). They choose adjectives from a list (“new, old, big, small, exciting, busy,

³⁶ *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997, p. 108); *Being Canadian* (2004, p. 132, p. 133); *The Oxford Picture Dictionary (Canadian)* (1999, p. 114).

³⁷ *Ontario Reader* (2005, p. 65, p. 69); *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997, p. 26)

beautiful, romantic, ...”) to describe Canadian places (“Ottawa, Niagara Falls, Prince Edward Island, Montreal, Banff, Toronto, Vancouver” (p. 108). They are asked to read descriptions of places and match them with the name of the place so that ‘Vancouver’ will become matched to the description: “This attractive city is a mixture of old and new. It has North America’s second largest Chinatown (after San Francisco), and is a centre for cultural activities such as theatre, dance, and opera ...” (p. 109). They are taught that “the CN Tower is the world’s tallest building” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 65) and that “It is famous around the world” (p. 65). In *Ontario Reader* (2005), Banff is described as the “crown jewel of Canada’s national parks” (p. 75) and “Canada’s oldest and most famous national park” (p. 75). The identifying and characterizing of specific spaces informs student readers but it also informs them about Canada specifically. Canada and Canadian places becomes something that should be understood. The Canadianness of these places makes them relevant.

Summary and Discussion: Imagining Nation

Both identified textbooks and CIC publications participate in what Billig (1995) termed ‘banal nationalism.’ They remind readers of national identity by flagging nation repeatedly but quite often they do so in ways that do not call attention to the flag or what is being flagged. Flags, both literally and figuratively, hang in the backgrounds and, as backgrounds they become familiar, commonplace, unsaluted but not entirely out of mind.

Sometimes these flags are waved more proudly. In these moments, identified textbooks and CIC publications go beyond the banal flagging of the nation that Billig (1995) notes in newspapers and other media. Readers are taught that Canadians wave the flag and celebrate Canada and feel proud and possessive about the flag at times while the repetition of

the imagery allows it to become automatic, everyday, and unattended to. 'We' are reminded of 'our' nation in ways that keep it at the back of 'our' minds, the corner of 'our' classrooms, the margins of 'our' textbooks. The student reader is invited by the identified textbooks to imagine a Canadian 'we,' which may, tentatively, include them if they also wave the Canadian flag, recognize specific symbols, and sing the national anthem at hockey games and rodeos.

The flagging of a nation on coins does not begin as banal, but any debate about the whether polar bears and loons represent Canada—are appropriate flags of Canadian nationness—diminishes in intensity as the coins enter circulation. References to 'loonies' and 'toonies' become automatic—members of an imagined community become fluent with the symbols and vocabulary of the nation. While "naming the unit of currency can be a highly symbolic and controversial business" (Billig, 1995, p. 41), over time the coins, their symbolism, and the flagging of the nation that they do become forgotten and unremarkable. As with the acquisition of language, a combination of instruction, comprehension, and automatisisation of the symbolic is necessary before one can become fluent in any particular variation of the language of nationalism. The repetition of the imagery in these texts may foster automatisisation but it also has an instructional element.

Images of landscapes and cityscapes, buildings and monuments, and maps of the world and nation also participate in the marking of the nation. They point to the geographic space that is imagined as belonging to the imagined community and draw upon the geographic space to shape imaginings of the community. These images signify the space that 'belongs to us' with the framing of this space becoming a discursive claim made about 'Canadians': its beauty becomes 'our' beauty; its vastness and uniqueness becomes a part of

‘our’ national character; the moments and individuals who are made into monuments become ‘our’ story (Francis 1997; Osborne, 2001). Representations of that which is ‘ours’ become ideological claims as to who ‘we’ are.

Both maps and images represent Canada as a nation with any regional differences contained within the scope of nation. That maps do so is obvious: Canada extends “flatly and evenly” over the entirety of the demarcated area while other political regions remain encapsulated by the nation, stopping at the national borders. Identified textbooks often use images or chapter headings to represent the different regions of Canada, representing them as *regions of Canada*. The different characterizations of regional identities are brought together under the larger superordinate construction of national space. The ideology of nation is reproduced not only in establishing difference between nations and national identities but also by coordinating the differences within. The ideology of nation structures regional understandings as subordinate to national ones.

The lack of grey areas within the represented borders of the nation suggest that ‘our’ community extends evenly over every inch of the territory demarcated (Anderson, 2006, p. 19). The flatness of this representation of geographic space masks its depth. The extent to which the ideology of nation structures space with some spaces being less representative of the nation is not visible within these images. Discourses that might disqualify or marginally include the representations of nation emanating from periphractic spaces within the nation (Johal, 2007, citing Goldberg 1993) do not interrupt the mapping of the nation.

The ideology of nation is further legitimated by the lack of grey areas between the represented borders of one nation and another. Just as all area within the demarcated borders is flatly and evenly Canadian, all land areas outside of the borders are nationally other. With

one dark line depicting the border between two nations, the entire world becomes nationalized. There is no undemarcated space left outside of ubiquitous nationhood. Nation becomes the uncontested universal ideology thus allowing identified textbooks to ask uncritically that student readers declare their nationalities and represent their nations of origin (as will be discussed in the next chapter).

‘Canadian’ landscapes and cityscapes that appear in identified textbooks are the beautiful spaces one might see in travel advertisements. Identified textbooks and CIC publications participate in a promotional culture (Wernick, 1991) that promotes Canada as a mythic wilderness bordering on some of the best cities in the world. Urban and rural spaces abut without friction, each giving shape to the other. Lacking images of economic deprivation or environmental degradation, ‘our’ urban spaces are benign. The vast, open landscapes of the ‘Canadian environment’ are made to say something about ‘our’ claim to this land. ‘Canadians’ belong here. While texts urge changes in individual behaviour to avoid environmental degradation, a concern for the environment and a sense of responsibility for it are referenced in many places. Canadians are imagined as stewards of this vast and beautiful land, solidifying their claim to it. Furthermore, the processes of colonization are downplayed through the imagination of large empty spaces. These images of open space interrupted, tamed, only by a winding highway, not only empty the continent of its previous inhabitants, they take the place of a myth of origin.

This flagging of nation in texts taught to those declared to be newcomers to a nation is not surprising or unexpected. With the ubiquitousness of the concept of nation, the teaching of specific nation-ness is both powerful and interested knowledge. The constant flagging of the nation, however, is not accompanied by a recognition of its contestedness and

interestedness. As such, banal nationalism participates in the naturalising of the idea of nation and of the established imaginings of Canadian-ness.

Student readers are taught to read the maple leaf, the loon, and the anthem as representing Canada and Canadian values. They are being taught that the world is divided into discrete nations, each with particular instances of the universal nation-ness. They are taught to value nation and taught to imagine some people—those people who understand, read, and reproduce these performances of nation—as members of that nation. They are taught that if they wish to become members of that nation, they should also understand, read, and reproduce these performances.

Chapter 7

Imagining Canadians: Nationalising Knowledge and Behaviour

In this chapter, I move from discussions of banal imaginings of 'Canada' to banal imaginings of 'Canadians.' Identified textbooks and CIC publications, through representations of the everyday life of 'most Canadians' and through the representation of some Canadians as 'Great Canadians,' imagine a community of Canadians with certain essential characteristics. These banal imaginings of Canadians will later be seen to serve as the basis for expectations regarding the behaviours of 'newcomers to Canada' and legitimations of 'a Canadian way of life.'

Images of 'Our' Communion

"[Nation] is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

In the section that follows, I will consider the ways in which student readers are invited to participate in this ideology of ubiquitous nationalism, to read texts that construct a community of Canadians, and to practice stereotyping as a common response to those texts. In constructing a Canadian identity, identified textbooks do more than describe how Canadians behave. They describe how Canadians think and what they know, value, and believe. As with descriptions of behaviour, these knowledges, beliefs, and values are often attributed to an abstract social agent ('Canadians') or an imagined community ('Canada').

Ubiquitous Nationalism

The banal symbols of 'our' particularity are also banal symbols of 'our' universality. (Billig, 1995, p. 86)

The nation is made banal, in part, through its use as a constant frame of reference through which other topics will be discussed. Texts introduce ‘Canadian’ achievements, ‘Canadian’ trivia, ‘Canadian’ places, ‘Canadian’ weather, ‘Canadian’ attitudes towards animals, and ‘Canadian’ eating habits. ‘Canada’ and ‘Canadian’ are clearly positioned as those things that are worth discussing or, in the case of the picture dictionary, worth depicting. In 16 out of 24 of the textbooks, representations of Canada are repeatedly given prominence (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995; *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Canadian Concepts Series*, Berish & Thibaudeau, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1998a, 1998b; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993; *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997; *Ontario Reader*, 2003, 2005, 2007). This includes all of the textbooks produced for ‘newcomers to Canada’. These frequent framings of topics in terms of nation contribute to the ubiquitousness of nationalism. The nation is everywhere and connects to everything.

The frame of reference becomes so ubiquitous that *Canadian* need not be added to mark it as such. Billig (1995) observes in the routine deixis of newspapers that the article ‘the’ when speaking of ‘the weather’ or ‘the people’ sets nation as a frame of reference. In this paper, except where otherwise noted, I have focused mostly on those places where Canada and Canadian were specifically referenced so as to avoid reading nation into identified textbooks that one could argue were not, in fact, imagining national communities.

When the texts discuss nations other than Canada, they still participate in banal nationalism. Nations become the topic of discussion. In the decontextualised structure drills of ‘The Azar Series’ of grammar texts, students are given an opportunity to contribute to utterances that accept and perform nation: “Canada is a country” (*Basic English Grammar*,

2006, p. 2); “Egypt is a country. Indonesia is a country” (p. 5); “My name is Carlos. *I am or I’m from Mexico*” (p. 51); “Tom is in Canada. _____ is studying at a university” (p. 165). Nation is everywhere, even when ‘our’ particular nation is not (Billig, 1995). Nation becomes something which it is natural to remember and social actors are repeatedly identified as members of national groups (this thesis, pp. 66-68).

In asking students to compare their native country’s holidays, shopping practices, height and weight, age of marriage, education levels, environmental concerns, business practices, and conversational patterns with those of Canada and Canadians (*Being Canadian*, 2004; *Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997; *Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993), these texts are reminding students of nation and participating within the parameters of the ideology of nationalism that sees nationalism as ubiquitous and natural. In asserting the universality of nation and, paradoxically, the particularity of nation-ness, these texts also assert and remind the student reader that there is a community of Canadians to which they do not belong and their membership in which is properly determined by certain banally nationalized everyday performances.

Students are expected and taught to remember their nationalities. Nationalities become an important way of identifying oneself and others. Describing people in terms of their nationality is, in fact, often one of the first things students are taught to do in many of these identified textbooks (*Understanding and Using English Grammar*, 1999, p. 1; *Basic English Grammar*, 2006, p. 1; *Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994, p. 12; *Side by Side 1*, 2001, p. 4; *The Good Grammar Book*, pp. 2-3). Student readers are asked to say which country they are from and to name both their nationality and their nation (*Understanding and Using English Grammar*, 1999, p. 1; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, p. 2, p. 32).

If student readers are not permitted to forget their nation, nor are they encouraged to remember an identity other than those of established nations. When students are asked to introduce themselves and discuss where they are from, national identities are offered before regional identities in the examples (*Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994, p. 12; *Side by Side 1*, 2001, p. 4; *The Good Grammar Book*, pp. 2-3) or offered exclusively (*Basic English Grammar*, 2006, p. 1; *Understanding and Using English Grammar*, 1999, p. 1). One is not from 'Basque' or the 'Basque region of Spain' but from 'Spain'; students are not from the 'Tibetan Autonomous Region,' but from 'China.' Cities, however, do appear as possibilities (*Side by Side 1*, 2001, p. 13). Perhaps, regional identities compete with national identities and are avoided while cities have a place *within* the nation. Students are encouraged to identify with not only 'nations' but with the established nations of the world.³⁸

Having a nationality is enough, it seems, to make a person interesting:

The students in my English class are very interesting. Henry is Chinese. He's from Shanghai. Linda is Puerto Rican. She's from San Juan. Mr. and Mrs. Kim are Korean. They're from Seoul. (*Side by Side 1*, 2001, p. 13)

Student readers are taught to spell the names of nations, to match them with characters in the book, and to survey the class and identify the nations represented (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, pp. 6-9); to write descriptions of themselves including where they are from (*The Good Grammar Book*, p. 3); and to tell each other where they are from, their nationality, and what languages they speak (*Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994, p. 12).

Canadian Concepts 2 (1997) contains a picture of students and a teacher standing in front of a chalk board (p. 55). Beneath the picture are numbered blurbs describing people

³⁸ A preference for framing discussions in terms of established regions appears in the theoretical literature as well. Beckett and MacPherson (2005), in a response to Nunan (2003), have noted that some research in TESOL that researches the diffusion of English in other 'nations' ignores the views of representatives of minority communities and underrepresents the impact of language policies on indigenous minority languages.

from the picture. By matching the description of the people to the picture, students should be able to fill the names in the blanks:

- (1) She is a woman. She has short blond hair and blue eyes. She is medium height. She is 28 years old. She is Canadian. She is _____.
 - (2) She has long black hair. She is not tall. She is short. She is from China. She is 31 years old. She is _____.
 - (3) He is tall and thin. He has black hair and brown eyes. He has a beard and a moustache. He is from Haiti. He is 25 years old. He is _____.
- (Canadian Concepts 2, 1997, p. 55).*

In such texts, nationality is treated like biological sex, age, and name. Textbook exercises expect students to have a sex, to be of a certain age, to know their names, and to remember their nationality (*Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997, pp. 63-76). What is more, images in the text depicting these characters make nationality visible to the naked eye, blurring the line between constructions of national identities and racialisations (this thesis, pp. 68-70).

Who 'We' Are

Routine deixis (this thesis, p. 69), through which the nation is unobtrusively flagged, position both reader and audience in relation to each other, to time, and to place. Identified textbooks participate in banal nationalism through routine deixis in which 'we' hold values and participate in certain behaviour appropriate to 'our' culture. Titles of chapters or headlines of articles on occasion display this routine deixis: "Food we eat" (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, pp. 77-92); "The Food We Eat" (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, pp. 55-72); "Canada: Who Are the People?" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, pp. 1-16); "The Animals We Live With" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, pp. 46-60); and "Our English and French Heritage" (*Being Canadian*, 2004, pp. 27-36). Within these chapters are descriptions of Canada and Canadians, some of which express stereotypical notions of a Canadian identity (as discussed below). However, the deixis of the identified textbooks does not always create a 'we'

community. In identified textbooks, 'we' is used to point towards a community of 'Canadians' that does not always include 'you,' the intended reader. Chapter headings such as "Where Does Your Money Go?" (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, pp. 111-122), "Your Money" (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, pp. 73-88), and "In Your Neighbourhood" (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, pp. 41-54) express a 'you' community. These chapters also discuss normal behaviour that 'you' are expected to adopt.

Practicing Stereotypes

Identified textbooks frequently ask students to make generalizations about national behaviour. Student readers are often asked to compare Canadian culture—as it is presented in the text—with cultures they are familiar with. *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993) believe that due to frequent confrontations with "cultural differences and communication problems" (p. ix), students "frequently have a heightened awareness of their own values and of differences between their own cultural assumptions and expectations and those of the new culture" (p. ix). Throughout the text, students are asked to compare and contrast bedrooms (p. 39), bathrooms (p. 40), kitchens (p. 43), supermarkets (p. 75), and department stores (p. 80) in their native country with bedrooms, bathrooms, kitchens, supermarkets, and department stores "in Canada." They are asked to compare how people eat meals in "your native country. Is it the same as in Canada?" (p. 42).

Student readers of *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997) are asked to compare shopping in Canada with shopping in other countries (p. 90). In a discussion of international dining etiquette, *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) asks student readers to match the country with the culture in a way that nationalizes behaviour:

- (3) In which country is punctuality very important? (a) Indonesia, (b) Venezuela, (c) Sweden; ...

- (6) If you visit someone's house in Canada, you should: (a) leave right after the meal, (b) stay until after the hosts start yawning, (c) stay and chat for a while;

(p. 25)

These texts ask student readers to participate in the nationalising of behaviour and understandings, noting possible differences between 'Canadians' and people from 'your country of origin.'

Canadians as believers in gender equality.

One of these suggested possible areas of difference between Canadians and student readers' imagined communities pertains to housecleaning. *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993) presents six images of male and female couples engaged in housecleaning: men dry dishes, vacuum, mop, clean windows, clean the stove, and fold laundry while women wash dishes, polish furniture, sweep the floor, make the bed, clean the refrigerator, and iron pants (p. 47). The text below these images invites student readers to enter into a discussion about gendered roles in housekeeping:

Who does the housecleaning in your home?; 2. In your native country, do men help with the housecleaning?; 3. Should men ever help with the housecleaning? Why or why not? 4. In some countries, housewives wash the sidewalks and steps outside their houses every day. In Canada, they do not. Are there any differences like this between housecleaning in your native country and Canada? (p. 47)

This combination of texts and images can be read as reaffirming that differences exist between nationalized cultures, implying that gender roles in some cultures are more equal than others, and nationalising specific housecleaning practices. The texts do not ask "should women ever help with housecleaning? Why or why not?" (p. 47). Indeed, the texts expect that "housewives" and not "househusbands" are the ones who "wash the sidewalks and steps

outside their houses every day” (p. 47). Housecleaning is normalized as an activity that women participate in but whether or not men should participate in it is opened to discussion.

While the relatively equal gender roles depicted in the images are not specifically marked as Canadian, the pattern throughout the textbook would set these as the expected, i.e. Canadian, behaviour. In other texts in *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993), the images have depicted the ‘Canadian’ norms and the text beneath has asked student readers to contrast ‘their’ nationalized behaviour with that of ‘Canadians’ (p. 39, p. 40, p. 43, p. 75, and p. 80). The students are being asked to articulate their conformance to or difference from this implied Canadian norm of relative gender equality.

CIC publications much more explicitly construct Canada as a place in which legal, economic, and social equality for women exists as “women, men, children and seniors are all equally respected in Canada” (CIC, 2003c, p. 7). They also construct Canadians as committed to and believers in equality for women downplaying the extent to which discrimination or domestic violence exists in Canada: “In Canada, women have the same legal status, rights and opportunities as men. Most Canadian men respect women as equals — socially, in the workplace and in the home” (CIC, 2006b, p. 38). They still allow, however, that the readers of these texts may need support for dealing with domestic violence possibly through immigrant-serving organizations.

The average Canadian.

Elsewhere, *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) asks student readers to compare and contrast themselves with and elaborate on the description of “the ‘average Canadian,’” (p. 7) who has been described in an article (pp. 5-6). The nine paragraph article ‘*The Average Canadian*’ begins with the caution that:

No one is really an average Canadian, of course. Canada is a vast country with many regional customs and an increasingly diverse ethnic [sic] population. Nevertheless, there are some generalities that apply to a greater or lesser extent to most of us and most of our neighbours. It is interesting to see the general patterns that make up our society today. (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. 5)

It goes on to describe the height and weight, lifestyle, household responsibilities, marital choices, diet, educational attainment, and political engagement of “the average Canadian adult” (pp. 5-6). *The Average Canadian* “sleeps an average of 8 hours per night” (p. 5), eats “a typical breakfast of toast or cereal and coffee” before work (p. 5), marries at either 25 (for women) or 27 (for men) (p. 5), has two children (p. 5), attaches “some importance to the idea of exercising and staying physically fit” (p. 6), avoids “fatty foods” (p. 6), is “better educated than [Canadians] were in the past” (p. 6), feels “a sense of civic responsibility” (p. 6). Average Canadians, it seems, procreate, produce, and participate in and for their communities.

Student readers are then asked to compare themselves to ‘the average Canadian’:

1. How close are you to the ‘average Canadian’?
2. In what ways are you different?
3. How do you feel about the interests that most Canadians share: ‘raising children, having a job and access to education’? Are these your biggest concerns?
4. Can you think of any other concerns many Canadians share?

(*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. 7)

The expectation that student readers will compare themselves to a ‘Canadian’ norm does several things: it naturalises the imagined community of Canadians, positions the student reader as possibly unlike these ‘average Canadians,’ and quite explicitly points to these ‘average Canadians’ as a norm to which one could be compared.

That average Canadianness is a national achievement undermined by multiculturalism is implied by the conclusion that “with 250 000 newcomers entering Canada every year,

immigrants and first-generation Canadians now outnumber Canadians whose families have been here for generations” (p. 6). National identity and averageness will survive that immigration pattern, however, as “whatever their origins, however, Canadians share the same basic concerns: having a decent job, access to education, and raising children in a happy and healthy environment” (p. 6).

Nationalising health.

The following quote is drawn from a longer reading in *Canadian Concepts 5* in which they discuss how health is thought of in various national cultures:

Poor health is seen by the French as a breakdown in the integrity of the body’s terrain (literally, ‘landscape’ or ‘field’), perhaps a metaphorical way of describing natural resistance ... The German belief in nature as healer leads to a reliance on alternative healing methods such as homeopathy and herbal medicine. (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, pp. 92-93)

This text, like many others in identified textbooks and government publications intended for ‘newcomers to Canada’ assigns a way of ‘seeing’ to an imagined national community, i.e., ‘the French.’ Claiming that there is a ‘German belief,’ it conjures up a national community of ‘Germans’ who share that belief. Assigning specific knowledges or understandings to all those who are considered members of a nation imagines a nation, fixes an essential character of these nations—their particular nation-ness, underestimates the diversity of opinion within this imagined community, and overestimates the uniqueness of these understandings to the community.

In other places, culture is not located at the national level but it is still assigned a geographic location. Student readers of *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997) are asked to:

Choose the questions people usually ask in North America when they first meet.

- (1) How old are you, Mrs. Brown?
- (2) Did you watch the hockey game Saturday?
- (3) What do you do, Ted?

- (4) How many children do you have?
- (5) How much money do you make?
- (6) Why aren't you married yet?

(pp. 7-8)

Elsewhere, students are asked "How are pets in North America treated differently from animals in other parts of the world?" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 58).

The tendency to assign beliefs, values, and behaviours, particularly those perceived as positive, to nation or place is a recurring one and worthy of critical attention. Identified textbooks frequently assign behaviours, beliefs and understandings to nation or nationalized social actors. Such representations usually accentuate the differences between cultures and understate the differences within, thus producing a nationalising of behaviour and an imagined community of nationals against which the behaviour of 'others' can be contrasted and in-line with which 'people' could be urged to conform setting the stage for legitimization through conformity authorization (this thesis, pp. 85-87).

Canadians Celebrate

National holidays, national anthems, and gatherings at national monuments are moments when the nation is remembered in even the most established of nations. Although *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) assures us that "Canadians are proud of their country but most would not describe themselves as patriotic flag-wavers" (p. 6), room is made for vigorous flag waving within texts full of more flaccid flags. Identified textbooks teaching the calendar mark Canada Day on July 1st (*The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999, p. 19). *Canadian Concepts 1* (1997) reminds readers that "1867 is the year of Canadian Confederation. July 1 is Canada's birthday" (p. 50). *Being Canadian* (2004) asks readers if they know when Canada became a country, what holidays Canadians celebrate, what they did on July 1st, and how their community celebrates Canada Day (p. 39). Teachers are

encouraged to bring a recording of ‘O Canada!’ in for this unit (p. 39). Explanations of the importance of *Canada Day* follow on the next page in a reading on how Canada became a country (p. 40).

Descriptions of Canada Day also describe behaviour of ‘Canadians’ on these days. The claim “Canadians celebrate Canada’s birthday every year on July 1st” is accompanied by an illustration of a ‘Mountie’ (Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer) on horseback carrying a flag in front of Parliament hill (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993, p. 58). Student readers are told that “Canadians mark this special day [Victoria Day] with picnics, parades and fireworks” (p. 59); the text is accompanied by a portrait of Queen Victoria with fireworks in the background.

Canadians celebrate.

A Canadian Conversation: Book 1 (1993) introduces “Canadian holidays” with pictures and text that explain how specific holidays are celebrated:

Thanksgiving: Canadians celebrate the harvest on the second Monday in October. The traditional family Thanksgiving dinner includes turkey, cranberry sauce, vegetables (squash, corn, potatoes) and pumpkin or apple pie. It is a beautiful time of the year when all the leaves change colour. (p. 58)

The accompanying illustration shows a loving family gathered around a table. Two boys are reaching for food on the table while a girl sits smiling with hands neatly on either side of an empty plate. A mature woman is carrying a large turkey to set near the ‘head of the table’ where an older man sits. A young man sits to the older man’s right while a young woman sits to his left with an arm draped lovingly around one of the impatient boys. The men wear shirts with neckties; the boys wear T-shirts; the women and girl wear blouses with jewelry. Below, student readers are invited to compare “the traditional Thanksgiving” with a “traditional harvest celebration in *your* country” (p. 58, emphasis mine).

Being Canadian (2004) shows a similar scene. A photo with the caption “Canadians celebrating a holiday” (p. 42) depicts a man, a boy, and an older woman seated at a table full of dishes, lit candles, and displays of flowers. One woman is bringing food to the table with a girl standing beside her. Another man stands, leaning over the table to slice meat. The men wear dress shirts, neckties, and suit jackets while the women wear cardigans and jewelry.

The depictions of how Canadians celebrate holidays participates in a gendering of national behaviour in which women do the bulk of the housework and cooking associated with the holidays while the men enjoy a sumptuous feast and cut the bird. As evidenced by the eagerness of the boys and the patience of the girls, the behaviour of the children is gendered with boys active and girls passive. The women nurture the family by bringing the food to the table, while the men cut the roast.

The images in these texts resemble one presented in Weedon (1997), which she captions “Patriarchy at its most seductive” (p. 15). In both of these images from identified texts and in those Weedon describes as being dominant in advertisements and magazines, the family is depicted as made up of mothers, fathers, and children possibly from more than one generation; protected by a strong father and nurtured by a loving mother; and living amidst reassuring emotional and material security (pp. 15-17). As with other families or family trees depicted in identified textbooks (*Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994, pp. 2-3), families seem to consist of male and female couples with children. Such representations are not only gendered but heteronormative, normalizing heterosexuality through its repeated, unmarked, representation (Nelson, 1999, p. 376). This gendering is also performed uncritically; while astute teachers could invite student readers to look more critically at these images and discuss the gendered performance presented, the texts themselves do not.

National holidays and 'other holidays'.

Nationalising presentations and explanations of Canadian holidays can be juxtaposed to the categorizing of some other holidays as “multicultural” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 79). A reading titled ‘Multicultural Holidays’ lists a number of holidays celebrated by “Canadians of different cultures and religions” (p. 79). The list includes Chinese, Sikh, Orthodox Christian, Christian, Wiccan, Baha’i, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Aboriginal, Québécois, Muslim, Jewish, and Afro-American holidays. These holidays are not national holidays but “multicultural holidays” celebrated by *multicultural* Canadians.

Being Canadian (2004) lists several ‘National Holidays’ in Canada. These holidays—days on which “most government offices, banks, and schools are closed” (p. 41)—are listed and students write the dates and purpose beside the celebration. The list includes “Canada Day, Christmas, Thanksgiving, Good Friday, Remembrance Day, New Year’s Day, Victoria Day, Labour Day, Boxing Day, Easter” (p. 41). The text goes on to note that:

People celebrate other holidays in Canada. Compare the national days of all the countries represented in your class. Do your classmates celebrate these days now that they live in Canada? How are these national days celebrated?
(p. 41)

In asking student readers to identify ‘other holidays’ from other imagined communities and tell whether “your classmates celebrate these days now that they live in Canada?” (p. 41), the texts invite student readers to stand as representatives of other countries while participating in the imagining of a community of Canadians. The student readers are asked to speak for and as ‘people’ from countries whose holidays may be celebrated ‘in Canada’ but are not necessarily ‘Canadian’ holidays. Through this selective naming of social actors (this thesis, pp. 66-68), some activities become less nationalized than others. That ‘people in Canada’

celebrate some holidays while 'Canadians' celebrate others positions student readers as multicultural others, marginal in relation to a Canadian identity.

Disappearance of religion.

In a study of ESL textbooks, Ndura (2004) found that they "consistently omit any information pertaining to religion and to the important role it plays in people's lives" (p. 147). Identified textbooks in this study: contain mentions of 'multicultural holidays' (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 79), some of which are religious in origin; depict churches, synagogues, and mosques in a small town (*The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999, pp. 88-89); and allow that there might be religious elements that coincide with the national status of some holidays (*A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993, p. 61). Christmas receives a page of its own: "In Canada, Christmas is both a religious holiday for Christians and a national holiday for everyone. In your native country, is there any holiday that is both a religious and a national holiday?" (p. 61). Accompanying illustrations show a woman and children decorating a tree, a girl happily opening a giftbox revealing a sweater, a man and woman shopping, a woman and girl baking, a woman writing Christmas cards, and a nativity scene.

However, compared to constructions of national communities, there was almost no acknowledgement that religious beliefs are relevant to people's self-understandings or that religious beliefs might be commemorated and celebrated. Ndura (2004) concluded that "there seems to be a concerted effort to avoid discussing religion and its influence on people's attitudes and behaviours" (p. 147). I would go further and say that there seems to be a concerted effort to promote identification with nation and avoid acknowledgement of other forms of group identification.

Being Canadian (2004) does not mention the religious origins of holidays such as Christmas, Good Friday, or Easter but does ask students to explain the purpose of these holidays. In *Being Canadian* (2004) students are given the opportunity to describe the purpose of these national holidays and to discuss national days of “all the countries represented in your class” (p. 41). *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993) notes that some holidays are both national and religious days but there is no discussion in the text of the religious purposes, aspects, or origins of these holidays. Easter and Christmas are marked with Easter bunnies and Christmas trees but no churches are visible (pp. 58-61). While students are asked to discuss certain ‘national’ days, religious holidays are not specifically described as religious but, rather, national. The focus on nation effectively occludes other possible reasons for celebrating holidays including religious or political affiliations. The framing of these social events recontextualizes them (this thesis, pp. 71-73) in terms of national identities not religious ones.

When Bad Things Happen (in Canada) to Good (Canadian) People

In some places within the identified textbooks, the recurring pattern of nationalising of behaviour ceases. Not all behaviour is national or treated as an aspect of a national culture. This banal nationalising of behaviours (as Canadian) is so predominant that the lack of national attribution to certain behaviours is conspicuous. The pattern of banal nationalism is interrupted by the occasional reference to a geographic region other than nation but, more significantly, nation is conspicuously absent in descriptions of the social agents responsible for behaviour when the behaviour being discussed is not presented as positive (this thesis, pp. 65-66).

While many of the maple leaf clad '*Canadian Capsules*' in the *Canadian Concepts* series attribute certain behaviour to 'Canadians,' negative behaviour is less nationalized. Stating that "teen smoking in Canada has gone up in the '90s" (*Canadian Concepts* 6, 1998, p. 61) assigns less agency to 'Canadians' than would the statement 'Canadian teens are smoking more.' Likewise, noting that "car thieves in Canada have an easy time" stealing cars (p. 83) does not nationalize car thieves as much as the sentence 'Canadian car thieves have an easy time' would. '*Canadian Capsules*' discussing more or less positive behaviour, on the other hand, do tend to nationalize the agent:

In general, Canadians are careful with their money. They save more money than Americans do. (*Canadian Concepts* 3, 1997, p. 84)

In a recent poll of 1800 Canadians, 84 percent of those interviewed said they considered understanding their inner selves more important than money or success. (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. 8)

Many Canadians think of themselves as tolerant, peace-loving, and less violent than their American neighbours. (p. 21)³⁹

The truth or falsehood of these identity claims aside, through their inclusion in the textbook they are part of a construction of a positive identity for Canadians.

In a unit on crime, on the other hand, behaviour is individualized rather than nationalized and minimized:

In a recent survey, over 60 percent of *Canadians* said neither they nor a close family member had been a victim of crime. About 13 percent said they personally had been a victim of crime. (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. 63, emphasis mine)

People commit crimes for many reasons. For example, a person who doesn't have enough to eat might steal food, while a drug addict might steal money to pay for narcotics. (*Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998, p. 72, emphasis mine)

³⁹ This is not the only place where identified textbooks construct a positive identity for Canadians through comparison with Americans as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

While crime is mentioned on occasion in identified textbooks, it is not heavily nationalized (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 63; *Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, p. 117). In a departure from the nationalising rhythm of much of the *Canadian Concepts* series, throughout an entire chapter on crime, crimes are attributed to ‘people’ not ‘Canadians.’ ‘Canadians’ may be victims of crimes but they do not commit them (*Canadian Concepts 5*, pp. 61-75). ‘People’ commit crimes; ‘Canadians’ do not.

Positive behaviour tends to be attributed to Canadians, while negative behaviour tends to happen ‘in Canada.’ ‘Canadians’ do and think good things; bad things are done ‘in Canada.’ Assigning agency to ‘people’ instead of ‘Canadians’ in the case of behaviours or values that could be seen as negative is a subtle discursive strategy that is repeated across a number of texts. Consider these attributions of behaviour in a two-paragraph reading titled ‘*Leisure Life in Canada*’ (*Being Canadian*, 2004, pp. 81-82):

	Canadians:	People:
First Paragraph	• enjoy the outdoors • watch more than three hours of TV a day	• like to swim, fish, garden, bicycle, and walk • go camping and hiking for a few days in a provincial or national park • skate, toboggan, or ski • play hockey • watch hockey on TV • spend a lot of time in front of a computer screen either playing video games or surfing the Net.
Second Paragraph		• buy lottery tickets • dream of what they can do with the money • go to casinos or bingo halls and play to win • lose more money than they make but have a good time • become addicted to gambling • develop serious family problems because of their addiction
Captions	• enjoy the outdoors in the summer • enjoy skating in winter	

Table 5: Canadians vs. People

The first paragraph discusses the positive behaviours of ‘Canadians’ and ‘people,’ which includes enjoyment of the outdoors. While watching three hours of TV a day may be seen as negative behaviour, it is not presented as having negative consequences in the text. ‘Canadians,’ however, are not mentioned at all in the second paragraph, which discusses gambling. All behaviours related to gambling are attributed to ‘people.’ This repeated attribution of positive behaviours to ‘Canadians’ and negative behaviours to ‘people’ allows for the construction of a positive self-presentation of ‘Canadians’ (this thesis, pp. 65-68). As a normalizing and nationalising text, it extends to student readers the possibility of becoming Canadian through their performance of particular nationalized behaviour.

Heavy Weather: What Canadians Know

Presentations of weather as ‘Canadian’ weather and as something that shapes ‘our’ identity as ‘Canadians’ differentiating ‘us’ from others who lack experience with this nationalised climate demonstrate how representations of Canada, banal though they may be, provide a foundation upon which claims are then made about Canadians. Identified textbooks represent weather as a property of nation, characteristic of the nation, and existing within national boundaries. These banal representations through which ‘four seasons’ become ‘four seasons in Canada’ (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, pp. 55-63), and ‘winter’ becomes ‘winter in Canada’ (*Canadian Concepts 6*, 1998, p. 11), nationalize that which is neither coextensive with the nation nor delimited by it. Emerging from these representations of nationalised weather, however, are texts that describe the weather as an experience through which individuals come to be members of a national community. The cold becomes something that Canadians know about, understand, and have a relationship with. The weather becomes

something that Canadians like to talk about and through which ‘we’ come to know each other, distinguishing ‘Canadians’ from ‘newcomers to Canada.’

Weather is nationalized in identified textbooks. Student readers are asked to “Describe the four seasons in Canada” (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, pp. 55-63). They are reminded that Canada has cold winters (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 13). Students are also reminded of the regional differences in the weather and are asked to answer the questions: “(6) What is the weather like in most of Canada in the winter? (7) How is the climate of Vancouver different?” (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 50). As Billig (1995) observes in newspapers, discussions of ‘the weather’ imply a nation and expect familiarity with the boundaries of that nation (pp. 116-117) and participate in the making of an imagined community.

Three identified textbooks go beyond imagining a Canada through discussions of the weather. They also imagine Canadians through discussions of the special *relationship* that Canadians have formed with this nationalized weather and discussions of how Canadians handle the seasons, particularly the cold weather (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, pp. 55-63; *Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 13; *Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 25). *Canadian Concepts 4* (1997) mentions the effect of weather on the activities, clothing, and home construction techniques in Canada (pp. 57-59). For *Being Canadian* (2004), the weather becomes a part of Canadian national identity: “Canadians like to talk about the weather” as it is “the easiest way to start a conversation” (p. 13). Student readers are asked to compare this Canadian enjoyment of weather related conversation with conversation starters in “your first country” (p. 13). Newcomers to Canada “are often shocked by the weather” not understanding “why people

plug in their cars, wear several layers of clothes, and use a lot of energy to heat their houses” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 13).

Not only do “Canadians love to brag about the weather in their communities” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 73) but apparently “extreme weather is part of Canada’s national identity” (*Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 73) and “Canadians are used to severe winter weather” (*Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 25). *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997) describes road conditions on icy days in winter but note that “Canadians have learned to cope with bad weather conditions. Streets are cleaned very quickly after a snow storm, and most of the time people get to work or school with few problems” (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 116). Elsewhere, in a chapter titled ‘Being Canadian: Slices of Life,’ *Canadian Concepts 6* (1998) begin with the assertion that “while snow is certainly part of the experience of living in Canada, it doesn’t tell the whole story” (p. 11). The chapter that follows contains images of snowmen (p. 11), people shovelling snow (p. 11), ice covered streets (p. 12), more people shovelling snow (p. 14), a short story by Richard Lapalme about an ice storm in Quebec 1961 (pp. 12-13), and an article that notes that the Inuit people who live in Canada’s arctic [have] many words to describe snow and almost as many to describe ice” (p. 21).

Such identifications of Canada and Canadians with the snow and cold participate in what Francis (1997) describes as the ‘Cult of the North,’ a mythologisation of the Canadian identity in which Canadians are framed as northern: “Thinking of ourselves as northern gives us a unique place in North America” (Francis 1997, p. 153). A “powerful symbolic attachment” is formed with the north and the wilderness (Osborne, 2001), which “imparts an element of freedom to Canadian life, even for those who never go there” (Francis 1997, p. 153). The Canadian cold becomes an indicator of Canadian nation-ness, a claim about ‘our’

national strength and adaptability. It becomes an assertion of a unique Canadian identity turning the weather into a flag of nationhood and an attribution of specific (positive) understandings to an abstract social actors (this thesis, p. 65).

“Canadians Love Hockey”

A corollary of the northern myth is the myth of hockey. Like nothing else, hockey allows us to celebrate our northernness. To virtually everyone who has ever written about the game, hockey expresses something basic about Canada. It is ‘Our Game,’ the ‘Home Game,’ ‘the game of our lives,’ our ‘national religion,’ our ‘national theatre,’ the ‘Canadian metaphor’. (Francis, 1997, p. 167)

Hockey is repeatedly given prominence or flagged as Canadian in identified textbooks (*Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995, p. 63; *Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 136-138, 142 and 144-145; *Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, p. 42-48; *Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 81, p. 134; *Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 11; *Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 7). In units devoted to sports related vocabulary, pictures of adults or children playing hockey are placed in the most prominent positions (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 43; *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999, p. 158). Student readers are told important facts about hockey: that “Canada has seven teams in the National Hockey League (NHL)” (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 144); that “Everyone likes to talk about the latest hockey game” (p. 145); that “Canadians love hockey. We feel it’s our game. We invented it.” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 11); that “Every spring, Canadians watch hockey nearly every night to see who the best team in the NHL is” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 134). Other winter sports such as snowshoeing and skiing are also mentioned and to a lesser degree flagged as Canadian (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 136-138; *Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, p. 42-48). Student readers are told that “Close to 200 000 Canadians are members of the Children Figure Skating Association. Seventy-five percent of members are children who take skating lessons” (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, p. 48). Hockey

and other snow sports are described as things that Canadians enjoy.⁴⁰ The repeated flaggings of hockey as Canadian and the mentions of other winter sports echoes the ‘myth of hockey,’ which Francis (1997) considers a “corollary of the northern myth.”

Many other sports are more marginally Canadian. While hockey is flagged as “our game,” some sports are only marginally or recently Canadian; interest in cricket is attributed to “the enthusiasm of young immigrants” and contrasted with “more typical Canadian sports like ice hockey” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 7). That the game is being played at high schools in Toronto is said to be a reflection of changing demographics with references made to “waves of immigrants from cricket-loving nations” and cricket players feeling “a connection to their homeland” through the game. Certain social events (i.e., the playing of hockey) become attributed to an abstract group of nationalized social actors (i.e., ‘Canadians’), while the playing of cricket is recontextualized as extranational (this thesis, pp. 71-73).

The Food ‘We’ Eat

Some behaviour, such as learning Chinese (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991, p. 98) or playing cricket (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 7), are presented as happening in Canada but are marked as unusual or exotic and less typically Canadian than ice hockey and or learning French or English. The question is not whether certain behaviours are less common or popular in Canada than others but how these texts construct a Canadian identity as the aggregate of these various more popular activities. The marking of certain behaviours as Canadian undermines other claims in identified textbooks regarding Canada’s multiculturalism.

⁴⁰ *Word by Word* (1994), a text that banally flags the United States when it flags any nation at all, features hockey less prominently than texts that claim a Canadian focus; hockey is the fifth sport depicted in a page titled ‘team sports’ (p. 104) and on another page titled ‘team sports equipment’ (p. 105); it is not depicted at all on a page titled ‘winter sports and recreation’ (p. 106).

Within discussions of Canadian behaviour throughout identified textbooks, references are made to diversity within Canada. These references often proclaim Canada's multiculturalism and diversity while at the same time constructing some practices as being untraditionally Canadian. In discussions of Canadian diversity, the stress is put on how certain practices are a result of immigration, changing demographics, or globalisation. Comparisons are made between the 'Canadian' or 'traditionally Canadian' way of doing things and behaviours that are attributed to these culturally othered newcomers to Canada. The nationalising of behaviours, both by representations of cultural diversity and cultural sameness, often occurs in identified textbooks' discussions of food. Within the various discussions of dietary habits attributed to nationalized social actors can be found texts constructing Canada as unique, privileging some foods as Canadian, while marginally including others.

In an identified text that has offered little to the discussion so far, the following sentence appears: "Spiro recently moved to Canada from Greece. He *is accustomed to* eating Greek food. He *isn't accustomed to* eating Canadian food" (*Fundamentals of English Grammar*, 2003, p. 303). This banal nationalism in a grammar drill does more than help student readers to become accustomed to using 'be accustomed to.' It reminds them that food, like most other aspects of culture, is to be understood as a property of nation. It suggests that there is such a thing as 'Canadian food' and that whatever that might be it is not 'Greek food.' This distinction, between 'Canadian foods' and nationally other foods is repeated throughout identified textbooks.

The article 'What Canadians Eat' (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 59) describes what the "average Canadian consumed in 2001." The following foods were nationalized in the texts:

coffee, beer, wine, milk, cereal products, beef, potatoes, cheese, butter, bananas (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 59). *Canadian Concepts 3* (1997) invites student readers to try a 'vocabulary quiz.' The quiz, however, tests more than just knowledge of vocabulary, it tests students' ability to identify a 'Canadian' cultural perspective. Students are asked to select the 'best answers' for the following multiple choice items:

- (1) For breakfast, Canadians often eat: (a) soup, (b) cake, (c) eggs
- (2) Canadians call their evening meal: (a) lunch, (b) brunch, (c) supper
- (3) In the morning, many Canadians drink: (a) tea, (b) coffee, (c) water
- (4) In Canada, orange juice is a popular drink: (a) with breakfast, (b) after dinner, (c) before bed
- (5) Toast is a kind of: (a) bread, (b) cereal, (c) fruit
- (6) Which of these is a popular main course in Canada? (a) rice, (b) corn, (c) chicken.

(p. 55)

Canadians even seem to have national styles of pizza decoration; *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) ask student readers "What are some toppings Canadians like to put on pizza?" (p. 30). Such texts continually construct a diet that is both national and, for reasons unexplained, worth knowing about.

The presentation of some foods as 'Canadian' not only constructs a national identity, it also sometimes subtly and sometimes obviously positions other foods as 'not Canadian.' When bread and coffee are flagged as Canadian, one is left to deduce which foods and drinks are being positioned either as '*not Canadian*' or, at the very least, not positioned as *Canadian*. If the correct answer is that Canadians often eat eggs for breakfast, then soup and cake must be the wrong answers (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 55). If many Canadians drink coffee in the morning, then they are not being noticed to drink tea or water. If chicken is a popular main course in Canada, then rice and corn are not.

Coffee is repeatedly noted as Canadian (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 59; *Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 60) but it is sometimes Ethiopian, Turkish, Viennese, and multicultural (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 19). Student readers are asked if they know that “Each year, Canadians drink an average of 93.7 litres of coffee per person” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 19). In a chapter titled ‘The Food We Eat,’ coffee is said to be “our favourite drink” (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 60). Coffee, which “most Canadians” drink filtered (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 19) becomes a “multicultural beverage,” however, when it is accompanied by a “traditional Ethiopian coffee ceremony,” “the Turkish tradition of reading your fortune from the coffee grinds at the bottom of the cup,” “authentic Viennese coffee” served with pastries, or “really strong” like the “authentic Vietnamese coffee” at the Pho Hung restaurant (p. 19).

Throughout many of the identified textbooks, discussions of unhealthy eating habits remain relatively unflagged. While positive behaviour is often nationalized, negative behaviours often remain less nationalized. *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) contains one of the few texts to mention increasing obesity and the dangers of a sedentary lifestyle on people’s health. Rather than presenting the Canadian diet and lifestyle as healthy and worth emulating, student readers are invited to take a quiz about physical exercise and healthy lifestyles. The text asks them to predict the portion of the Canadian population that is inactive and the cost of this inactivity on the national health care system. A reading exercise allows them to check their answers revealing that “About 63 percent of Canadians are not active enough to achieve the health benefits they need from physical activity” (p. 115). *Canadian Concepts 4* (1997), having elsewhere discussed the amount of coffee Canadians drink offers this mild critique “too much coffee can make people nervous and difficult to get along with” (p. 31).

Marginalising Inclusions

The presentation of 'Canadian' food is curtailed, to some degree, by the recognition that many dishes commonly eaten within Canada are also eaten elsewhere, are regional dishes, or are not common enough to be characterised as Canadian. Identified textbooks phrase this, however, in terms of a Canadian value of multiculturalism. *Being Canadian* (2004) asks student readers "What kind of food do you think is typically Canadian?" (p. 134). A subsequent reading suggests that "many immigrants to Canada think that all Canadians eat the kinds of food found at shopping malls and in food courts" (p. 135) while, in fact, there are few foods that are "truly Canadian dishes" and that "the cooking styles in Canada have come from all over the world" (p. 135). They suggest that "regions of Canada are well known for some of the food they produce" (p. 135) and name a number of regional dishes including salmon and crab on the West Coast, lobster and Cod on the East Coast, and beef from Alberta. They include a recipe for 'Saskatoon Berry Pie,' which they do not nationalize but, rather, associate the food with the prairies. Some other foods in identified textbooks have been described in terms of region rather than nation. Musky, fresh water pickerel, and trout are associated with Northern Ontario (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 67) and icewines are associated with the Niagara region in Ontario (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 69).

The acknowledgement that foods eaten in Canada come from all over the world does little to displace the marking of some foods as more Canadian than others. While bread, chicken, and coffee have been nationalized other foods eaten in Canada have been included but in a way that marginalises them as belonging to others. Salmon, regionalized in *Being Canadian* (2004), is described in *Ontario Reader* (2003) as a food that "has been an important food for B.C.'s First Nations people" (p. 21) and is followed by a reading that

discusses First Nations people's languages, lifestyles, and "deep respect for the land and its wildlife" (p. 21). *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) proposes a 'community contact' task in which students "do a survey of new or unusual foods" in a local grocery store. The accompanying illustrations are of sesame oil, mediterranean bouquet oil, tofu, coconut milk, chilli garlic sauce, hoisin sauce, ginger, hot peppers, Chinese lettuce, a mushroom, and what appear to be jujube (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 147). In 'A World of Breakfasts' (*Ontario Reader*, 2003), a traditional Canadian breakfast of "probably, bacon and eggs with home fries and toast" (p. 61) or "pancakes with maple syrup, or corn flakes with milk" (p. 61) is contrasted to the choices attributed to a "multicultural society," such as fava bean stew "Ethiopian and Eritrean food," peanut porridge "Caribbean food," congee ("for many Chinese newcomers, congee is their choice for breakfast" (p. 61)), and dodo and moins-moins at a "Nigerian restaurant." While "traditionally, farmers raised goat for its milk and fibre," the rising popularity of goat meat is explained with reference to a "diverse population," and a "rising demand created by immigration from goat-loving countries" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 63).

As with many such texts, a contrast is set up between traditional and multicultural, which falsely assumes a monocultural past. A text that discusses the eating habits of 'Canadians' discusses the "bewildering variety of spices" resulting from the "strong ethnic influence both from our immigrant populations and from well-travelled cooks" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, pp. 20-21) and describes a "strong move toward the old-style loaves our great-great-grandmothers baked on their home turf, back in Europe, Asia or the Middle East" (p. 21). *Listen to the Loon* (1997) introduces student readers to "traditional recipes [that] were brought to an ESL class by immigrants to Canada" (p. 28) including Russian piroshkis, soor from Somalia, sprice from Ethiopia, and fried beans from Honduras. Student readers are

encouraged to talk about how these recipes might be “similar to, or different from, recipes in *your* culture” (p. 28, emphasis mine). Some foods are traditionally Canadian while other foods are new, unusual, multicultural, diverse, loved by, important to, and eclectic, ethnically influenced, Caribbean, Chinese, Nigerian, or traditional to othered people from other imagined communities.

This marginalising inclusion of foods that constructs a dichotomy between Canadian foods and ethnic foods eaten in Canada is of interest in a number of ways. Firstly, it continues to participate in a banal nationalism through which certain foods become flagged as national or flags of the nation. Such claims represent a community as more cohesive than it is through descriptions of what many and most members of the group are believed to do. Secondly, recognition of diverse eating habits within Canada is often taken as a sign of Canada’s multiculturalism. Identified textbooks characterise Canada and Canadians as diverse, multicultural, well-traveled, and welcoming and at the same time as they describe certain foods as traditional, unusual, exotic, and new to Canada, possibly making the fundamental mistake described by Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) of conceptualizing “different kinds of non- or supralocal identities (diasporic, refugee, migrant, national, and so forth) as spatial and temporal extensions of a prior, natural identity rooted in locality and community” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997b, p. 7). Thirdly, these texts in celebrating Canada’s multiculturalism downplay the extent to which eating habits have been the target of previous immigrant education programs (Iacovetta, 2004, 2006).

National Heroes

It has often been observed that English Canada has not produced many heroes, by which I mean outstanding public figures from the past who we all agree represent the best of us. (Francis 1997, p. 112)

The claiming of individuals as representative or embodiments of the nation is a form of banal nationalism. As discussed in Chapter 3, the claiming of their accomplishments as ‘our’ accomplishments imagines an ‘us’ (this thesis, p. 65), which student readers must become a part of in order to become represented by these heroes. The particular valuations made of these individuals is not only banal but is also constructive of a community in ways that are arguably less banal. Analyzing the social actors selected to be national heroes, how they are named, and the qualities attributed to them suggest particular ways in which the nation is being imagined.

I found representation of some social actors as ‘national heroes’ or ‘great Canadians’ in the majority of the Canadian textbooks (*Canadian Concepts 6*, 1998b; *Ontario Reader*, 2003; *Ontario Reader*, 2005; *Ontario Reader*, 2007; *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997a; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995). Of those textbooks produced for a Canadian audience that did not contain such representations, five were other volumes in the *Canadian Concepts* series (1 through 5) and the other was *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1* (1993), a Canadian version of an earlier textbook (Carver, Fotinos, & Cooper, 1985). I did not find representations of ‘great Canadians’—or for that matter many instances of banal nationalism—in *Side by Side 1* (2001), *Look Again Pictures* (1994), *Amazing Stories to Tell & Retell* (1999), the *Azar Grammar series*, *The Good Grammar Book* (2001), or in the two picture dictionaries (*The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999; *Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994).

Francis (1997) suggests that historically Canada has had difficulty in selecting national heroes and implies this may be in part due to the tenuous nature of 'our' imagined community:

Heroes are supposed to be a force for unity; in Canada, a country with a weak national culture, strong regional grievances, and an ethnically diverse population, they are more often than not flashpoints for disunity. (Francis 1997, p. 112)

In terms of occupation, Canadians, imagined as good and just but self-effacing rather than aggressively nationalistic, struggles to imagine heroes that are not tainted by a virulent masculinity, regional inclinations, a tendency towards self-aggrandizement, or a colonial legacy. Athletes, he notes, are too easily tainted by doping scandals and accused of being overpaid. Soldiers, in general, may be honoured, but particular soldiers embody a warlike visage that Canada does not imagine as belonging to 'us':

But if not soldiers, who will be our heroes? Explorers are out of business. Politicians, with the possible exception of Mr. Trudeau, are in bad odour, as are business people. Scientists have always been popular but their achievements do not often interest a large number of people. (Francis 1997, p. 127)

The 'great Canadians' that Canada has produced are, he observes, usually male and English- or French- speaking (pp. 118-119).

The difficulty Francis (1997) observes in producing heroes for English Canada is passed on to the students in several identified textbooks. *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) invites students to participate in a role-playing activity, in which they will "choose the most deserving individual for the Outstanding Canadian Award" (pp. 151-159). This extended creative task asks students to look over a list of famous Canadians, listen to a eulogy of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, engage in an information gap style interview in which they ask and answer questions about Roberta Lynn Bondar and Joseph-Armand Bombardier, select an

outstanding Canadian to research and present on, write about who should be selected as the 'outstanding Canadian,' and finally select the "MOST Outstanding Canadian" (pp. 151-159). *Being Canadian* (2004) invites students to use *The Canadian Encyclopedia* to research "one of the following names" (pp. 30-31) and find out why the person was "important in Canadian history" (p. 31), to read about Terry Fox and discuss why they think that "Canadians see Terry Fox as a hero" (p. 122), to see how many names they recognize from a list of some "famous Canadians" (p. 126), and to write about a famous person from "your country of origin" (p. 126). In *Canadian Concepts 6* (1998), student readers are told that "Canada boasts many talented people" and invites them to "talk about the ones you know" (p. 16) and then match these famous people with short descriptions of them such as "a woman who blends country music with blues and pop, and frequently dresses like a man" (p. 17). The banal nationalism of national heroes is being taught to student readers through these texts. If Canadians are expected to recognize the better parts of themselves in these national heroes, then student readers are being taught to read these heroes as Canadian and to become Canadian by recognizing themselves through these heroes.

Identified ESL textbooks do put forth a number of people as being 'great Canadians,' sometimes explicitly labelling them so. From identified textbooks, I have selected texts that describe specific individuals or a specific group of people who are presented as (1) living in Canada or being Canadian, (2) being accomplished, (3) having positive attributes, and (4) being popular (loved, famous, well-known, etc.) or officially recognized for his or her accomplishments. In short, I am including people who might be considered to be constructed discursively as "outstanding public figures from the past who we all agree represent the best of us" (Francis 1997, p. 112). Therefore, Bernard Voyer (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 1-2), a

“Canadian adventurer from Quebec [who] has skied to the North and South Poles” and received the *Order of Canada* for his accomplishments is included in my discussion of ‘great Canadians’ but Avtar Singh Kooner (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 3-4) who won the *Lotto Super 7* later on the same day as his car was stolen is not included as he was not being represented as either particularly well-known or accomplished. As descriptions of the accomplishments of sports teams or bands gave little information about individual members of these teams or bands, I have not included them in discussions of genderings or racialisations of Canadian heroes. That some sports, cricket for example, are extranationalised while others, such as hockey, are nationalized will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis. There is some subjectivity and interpretation in my definition and selection of which individuals are being constructed as ‘Canadian heroes’ but I have attempted to select these heroes as systematically as possible in order to reduce any self-serving bias.

In the imagining of national heroes, texts routinely refer to heroes as belonging to the nation. Alexandre Despatie is a “*Canadian diving star*” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 13-14, emphasis mine); Sir Sandford Fleming is “*Canada’s inventor of standard time*” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 81-82, emphasis mine) and Bernard Voyer is “the *Canadian* adventurer from Quebec [who] has skied to the North and South Poles” because he “likes a challenge” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 1-2, emphasis mine). These ‘heroes’ are said to represent us: Olympic athlete Perdita Felicien (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 11-12) “represented one of *Canada’s* hopes for gold in the 2004 Olympics” and when she stumbled “felt she had let *Canadians* down” (p. 11, emphases mine).

Many texts described Canadian heroes in terms of personality characteristics, which are implied as belonging to the national group. This implication is particularly salient in a

text preceding a list of Canadian inventors: “Canadians are inventive people. Here are some of Canada’s most famous inventions and inventors” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 75-76). These ‘Canadian’ inventions become evidence of the inventiveness of ‘Canadians.’ The list mentions 17 inventors (all men) and their inventions, including, amongst others, the inventors of basketball, *Canada Dry Ginger Ale*, and the snowmobile. Other times, the inference that ‘we’ can be proud of the heroes characteristics—that these ‘heroes’ somehow embody and represent ‘our’ better imagined selves—can be read from the close association of the hero with their construction as ‘Canadian’: A description of basketball player Steve Nash (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 3-4) reads “people say Steve Nash is a ‘nice guy.’ He is generous and modest. He is also the most famous Canadian ever to play professional basketball” (p. 3). Is the generosity, niceness, and modesty attributed to Steve Nash because of or despite his Canadianness and fame?

The Canadian heroes and the characteristics attributed to them include the generosity, determination, and compassion of Dave Irvine-Halliday a “Canadian inventor [who] brings light to the remote parts of the world” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 75); the courage and generosity of Jay Cochrane (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 9-10), the “Canadian daredevil” who not only does amazing stunts but has also raised money to help children. Despite possibly never having walked a tightrope or brought light to dark places, all ‘Canadians’ can imagine themselves and be imagined as members of the same national community and, therefore, sharing a connection with determined activists and athletes, brilliant inventors, and talented entertainers. These texts construct a positive self-presentation of Canada through the banal nationalism of presenting these specific social actors as representatives of nation (this thesis, pp. 66-68).

Canadians and Women Canadians: Gendered Greatness

At 62%, the majority of 'heroes' in identified textbooks were men. The difference between representations of men and women heroes does not end, however, in the numbers presented. Certain fields were more widely represented amongst 'great Canadian' men than 'great Canadian' women. Furthermore, descriptions gender these 'great Canadians' through their descriptions; men and women 'great Canadians' were presented differently in terms of their familial responsibilities and the gender of those who recognized them (this thesis, p. 68). By selecting pairs or groups of 'great Canadians' within similar fields of interest and looking at how they have been positioned differently in regards to race and gender, I show how 'great Canadians' have been racialised and gendered.

One way in which 'great Canadians' contributions have been gendered is in the selection of a social agent that these 'great Canadians' are said to represent or be appreciated by. In *Ontario Reader* (2007), Steve Nash "Canada's basketball MVP" is described as a "famous Canadian" and "the most famous Canadian ever to play professional basketball" (p. 3). Hockey player Cassie Campbell, on the other hand, is "one of Canada's most popular *female* athletes" and "a hero and a role model *to thousands of young Canadian girls* who love to play hockey" (pp. 5-6, emphasis mine). While Nash is 'Canadian,' Campbell is a *female athlete*. While Nash is a hero to 'Canadians,' Campbell is a role model to *Canadian girls*. Nash's fame and popularity is nationalized while Campbell's popularity is gendered and nationalized. Through such selective markings of gender, masculinity becomes the unmarked category and becomes more closely linked with 'Canadian.' Men become 'Canadian' and get to represent 'Canada.' Women represent 'Canada' but as women or as representatives of part of the nation not the nation as a whole.

Another way in which the representation of women as heroes differs from that of the representation of men is how they are presented in terms of their familial responsibilities. Nellie McClung is described in *Ontario Reader* (2003) as “one of the most famous women in Canadian history” (p. 19). She is characterised as being a questioning, successful, and determined woman who “slowly, but steadily, ... saw her efforts bring change and greater equality for women” (p. 19). Tommy Douglas is described in *Ontario Reader* (2005) as having been voted the “greatest Canadian” (p. 47). He is characterised as being dedicated to social causes and a social reformer. While readers are told that “marriage and five children did not stop McClung” (p. 19) no mention is made of whether Douglas married or had children. McClung is a wife and mother. Douglas is the “father of Canadian medicare.” Gendering of women represents them as normally having familial responsibilities and their success as being constrained or limited by them. Men on the other hand become ‘fathers of the nation’ not fathers of actual children and become more closely tied to national identity – more Canadian.

The difference is even more striking in ‘Family Firm’ an article describing “one of Canada’s great entrepreneurs” Frank Stronach and his daughter Belinda Stronach (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 25-26). The portion of the article describing Frank Stronach mentions his ambition, his emigration from Austria, his early struggle to establish himself, his personal characteristics, and his eventual success. Belinda Stronach is likewise characterised as independent and successful; she, however, is also described as a wife and mother:

Besides being one of the most powerful women in Canada, Belinda Stronach is also a mother of two young children. Her husband is Johann Olav Koss, an Olympic speed-skating champion from Norway. (p. 25)

Belinda Stronach's family is so irrelevant to the rest of the article (and yet so necessary to the process of gendering) that it is brought in tangentially through the conjunction 'besides.' While Frank Stronach is identified as a 'father,' Frank Stronach's wife, if he has one, is never mentioned nor is there any discussion of if or how fatherhood affected Frank Stronach's career. Men are accomplished. Women are accomplished *women*.

Authors and artists were quite prevalent amongst the 47 (38%) female 'great Canadians' mentioned. Of these 47 female 'great Canadians,' ten were musicians, singers, or dancers;⁴¹ six were authors;⁴² two were artists;⁴³ and three were athletes.⁴⁴ Cartoonist Lynn Johnston is recognized, as is supermodel Linda Evangelista.⁴⁵ The five Dionne Quintuplets swell the ranks of women represented in identified textbooks; described as "Canadian media darlings," the text says little about their character or accomplishments and much more about the public fascination with them (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 37-38). In these arenas, women are almost as prevalent as men or more so. Indeed, no male supermodels were considered to have achieved the status of 'great Canadian.'

In other arenas, women numbered far fewer than men. Female politicians are less common than male politicians. Identified textbooks mention women's rights advocates Nellie McClung (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 19-20) and Emily Murphy (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 123), politicians Belinda Stronach (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 25-26) and Nina Grewal

⁴¹ Nelly Furtado (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 7-8), Shania Twain (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 33-34), Susan Aglukark, Melissa Etheridge, Karen Kain, Alanis Morissette, Alannah Myles, k.d. lang, and Mary Pickford (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 16).

⁴² *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) include authors Alice Munro, Margaret Atwood, and Margaret Laurence on a list of Canadian 'cultural icons' (p. 16); *Being Canadian* (2004) mentions Pauline Johnson ("a popular Métis author") (pp. 123-124) and Susanna Moodie (p. 31).

⁴³ Emily Carr (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 16) and Kenojuak (*Listen to the Loon*, 1997, p. 53; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995, p. 45).

⁴⁴ "Hockey star" Cassie Campbell (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 5-6), "Canadian track and field star" Perdita Felicien (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 11-12), and mountain climber Sharon Wood (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991, p. 71).

⁴⁵ In *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998, p. 16).

(*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 43-44), Governor Generals Madame Jeanne Sauvé, “first woman Governor General of Canadian” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 124), and Michaelle Jean, “the third woman and the first black person to hold this influential position” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 65-66), and Queen Elizabeth (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 15-16). Few famous women historical figures are mentioned. The women’s rights advocates mentioned above join Laura Secord and Susanna Moodie (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 31) as some of the few women noted as ‘famous historical figures’ that appear in these textbooks.

As with the women classified as ‘Great Canadians,’ texts mentioned creative men.⁴⁶ Male athletes, particularly hockey players, were also mentioned.⁴⁷ Articles described Rick Hansen as a “Canadian hero” (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991, p. 146) and Terry Fox (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 121-122) as “a hero to all Canadians for his **courage** and strength” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 122, emphasis in original).

Politicians were popular, particularly deceased ones. Alexander Mackenzie was listed as “important in Canadian history” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 31); Sir. John A. Macdonald was mentioned (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 40); and Pierre Elliott Trudeau was described as “Canada’s most famous Prime Minister” and “a strong supporter of national unity and multiculturalism” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 124) and was eulogized in the audio portion of *Canadian Snapshots* (2005). Tommy Douglas was lauded as the “greatest Canadian” for his

⁴⁶ Male musicians, singers, and songwriters included jazz pianist Oscar Peterson and “Native composer and conductor and a humanitarian” John Kim Bell (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 123); singer-songwriter Bruce Cockburn, singer-songwriter and poet Leonard Cohen, and choreographer James Kudelka (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 16). Likewise, authors were popular choices. *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) included several authors on their list of Canadian “cultural icons” including Dennis Lee, Michael Ondaatje, Mordecai Richler, Irving Layton, Roberston Davies, and Stephen Leacock (p. 16). Also mentioned are actors Donald Sutherland, Michael J. Fox, William Shatner, and Dan Aykroyd (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 16); daredevil Jay Cochrane (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 9-10); artists Paul Kane (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 31) and Jackson Beardy (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998: p. 16).

⁴⁷ Besides Rick Hansen and Terry Fox, athletes mentioned included Steve Nash (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 3-4), Alexandre Despatie (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 13-14), Bernard Voyer (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 1-2), and Jordin Tootoo (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 29), and Wayne Gretzky (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 124).

commitment to social change and medicare (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 47-48). (Living politicians did not fair nearly as well: Paul Martin was described less than glowingly in an article titled “*Prime Minister Paul Martin hangs on to power*” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 41-42).) Politicians, when marked as ‘great Canadians’ (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 47-48), stand for ‘Canada’ and represent ‘Canada’ with their accomplishments being the nation itself and the admiration of ‘Canadians’ for them being a part of ‘Canadian’ nation-ness.

While few female explorers, scientists, or inventors were mentioned, half of the men classifiable as ‘great Canadians’ were ‘well-known’ for their accomplishments in these areas.⁴⁸ *Ontario Reader* (2003) lists offers a list of “inventive Canadians.”⁴⁹ A more in-depth article discusses Dave Irvine-Halliday a “Canadian inventor [who] brings light to remote parts of the world” through lighting systems that take very little electricity (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 75-76). *Being Canadian* (2004) mentions “famous Canadians” Marc Garneau scientist, engineer, and “the first Canadian astronaut to go into space” (p. 124) and Dr. Frederick Banting co-discoverer of insulin (p. 123).

⁴⁸ *Being Canadian* (2004) mentions fur-traders and explorers Anthony Henday, Captain George Vancouver, Captain James Cook, David Thompson, Radisson and Groseilliers, Henry Kelsey, Sieur de la Verendrye, and Simon Fraser, as well as missionary Father Lacombe and colonial administrator Jean Talon (p. 31) and surgeon Dr. Norman Bethune (pp. 123-124).

⁴⁹ *Ontario Reader*’s (2003) list includes: Reginald A. Fessenden, inventor of wireless radio; the discoverers of insulin Doctors Banting, Best, Collip, and MacLeod; Donald L. Hings, the inventor of the walkie-talkie; Gideon Sundback, the inventor of the zipper; Harry Wasylyk, inventor of the plastic garbage bag; Henry Woodward, the inventor of the electric lightbulb—“he sold the patent to Thomas Edison”; James Naismith, inventor of basketball; John A. McLaughlin, inventor of Canada Dry Ginger Ale; John Joseph Wright, inventor of the electric streetcar; Joseph Armand Bombardier, inventor of the snowmobile; and Dr. John A. Hopps, inventor of the heart pacemaker (p. 75). Sir Sandford Fleming is listed here (p. 75) and is described as “Canada’s Inventor of Standard Time” elsewhere (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 81). While *Ontario Reader* (2003) lists Alexander Graham Bell as an inventive Canadian (pp. 75-76), *Understanding and Using English Grammar* (1999) describes him not as a Canadian hero but as “a teacher of the deaf in Boston” (p. 382). *Listen to the Loon* (1997) concurs that Bell “was not a Canadian” (p. 21) and did not invent the telephone in Canada. That he lived in Canada for a period of time, however, earns him a place in the ‘Ontario’ chapter of *Listen to the Loon* (1997).

Racialising 'Great Canadians'

Just as women 'great Canadians' become gendered as women, while masculinity remains the unmarked category, Canadian greatness is also racialised. Some 'great Canadians' are less nationalized than others. While these texts repeatedly describe individuals as 'great Canadians,' sometimes their Canadianness is displaced by an ethnic or racial identity. While Jordin Tootoo is noted as having "played for Canada in the World Junior Championships" (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 29), in the article "Nunavut is proud of Jordin Tootoo" he is described as "a hero in Nunavut" not 'in Canada' and the "first Inuit hockey player in the National Hockey League." Although the article mentions that he "played for Canada," it does not mention whether he is or was ever 'Canadian.' Now, "his fans in Nunavut proudly watch him on TV" (p. 29).⁵⁰ Governor General Michaëlle Jean is described as "a Haitian-born immigrant who came to Canada as a refugee" and "the first black person to hold this influential position" but never as Canadian. *Listen to the Loon* (1997) characterises Louis Riel as "a famous Métis who lived in Manitoba and fought for the rights of his people" (p. 23) and Kenojuak as "one of the first Native Canadians to receive the Order of Canada" (p. 53). *Being Canadian* (2004) describes Pauline Johnson as "a popular Métis author" and John Kim Bell as "a famous Native composer" (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 123). Nelly Furtado is described as a "Canadian pop star" but one who "expresses Portuguese roots" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, pp. 7-8).

Whether these identifications are those preferred by the 'great Canadians' being described or are the effect of diffused discourses that racialise nationhood, the result is that white men of European ancestry become 'great Canadians' while the greatness of others is

⁵⁰ While this lack of nationalising language could be because he plays for an American team, other Canadians who reside, worked, or perform outside of Canada—for example, Wayne Gretzky, Dr. Norman Bethune, and most of the entertainers mentioned above—still retain their status as national heroes.

gendered and racialised. Still, these racialised 'great Canadians' perform multiple tasks: they represent an 'us' through 'their' achievements, demonstrate 'our' multiculturalism through 'our' recognition of 'them,' and represent those 'others' whose Canadianness is less salient in their textual representation.

More Dialogical Presentations

While *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) does present famous Canadians, it does so in a way that increases the dialogicality of the representations. Rather than simply labelling Stephen Leacock "a well-known Canadian writer" as other texts might as part of a cursory overview of several 'great Canadians,' *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) examines Leacock's literary contribution in depth with student readers being invited to read and compare several passages from 'How to Borrow Money' (Leacock 1928, cited in *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005, pp. 39-40). Elsewhere, a "Culture Note" in *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) describes David Suzuki as "a well-known scientist and broadcaster" (p. 136) but, in maintaining its high level of dialogicality, the textbook also mentions his family's internment in 1942 as well as his environmental activism. *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) then introduces Suzuki's critical voice in a reading that discusses contamination of the water supply of Walkerton, Ontario, which he attributes to "large, high-density cattle farms and factory farming methods for hogs and chickens" (p. 138). The increased dialogicality of these particular texts complicates the representation of these individuals as 'great Canadians.' The texts recognize voices that question and that are critical and ironic. Suzuki's take on environmentalism, for example, contrasts sharply with the more usual framing of environmental protection as being an individual responsibility. The introduction of the voices of these 'great Canadians' still work towards the construction of an imagined community. The individuals selected still banally

reaffirm the nation as a frame of reference but the increased dialogicality of the presentations opens up particular and fixed imaginings of nation to critique.

The marking of some 'great Canadians' more centrally than others does appear in *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) as well. While Dr. David Suzuki is described as a "third generation Japanese-Canadian who was born in Vancouver" (p. 136), Stephen Leacock's Canadian-ness is not hyphenated. He is presented as "a well-known Canadian writer" (p. 34) with no discussion of his ancestry. The use of hyphenated identities is a selective marking of nationality (see Mahtani, 2002 for a discussion of hyphenated identities; see this thesis, p. 65).

Summary and Discussion: Imagining Nationals

The routine deixis of chapter headings that topicalise the food 'we' eat, the animals 'we' live with, 'our' English and French heritage, and 'the' people is an unobtrusive and banal flagging of the nation, but this deixis often signals that the discussion within will imagine a community with a shared heritage and similar behaviours and values. Identified textbooks make claims to both what 'Canadians' do and what 'Canadians' know. Through such claims, 'Canadians' are imagined as inventive and generous, respectful of women, believers in equality, and in the spirit of community. 'Canadians' are imagined as a community that shares certain values, which define them as a people. 'Canadian' behaviour is constructed positively in the texts or, rather, positive behaviour is nationalized. This subtle discursive strategy repeatedly, albeit not invariably, imagines 'Canadians' positively while negative behaviour is implicitly or explicitly presented as that of 'people' or others. Student readers, too, are invited to participate in the imagining of national communities; often they are invited to articulate the differences and similarities between people in 'their' nation and

in Canada. In other places, they are asked to demonstrate their knowledge of the community of 'Canadians.'

In constructing a (positive) national identity for Canadians, these texts are participating in the construction of a 'self,' to which an 'other' can be compared and contrasted. Describing identities as narratives, Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) write: "These narratives are contested, fluid and constantly changing but are clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between 'self' and 'other' and between 'us' and 'them' and are closely related to political processes" (p. 2). Positive constructions of 'Canadians' as a national community further serves to legitimate the ideology of nationhood that could be undermined by negative constructions of 'Canadian' identity. ('Canadians,' if imagined as wasteful of environmental resources, perpetrators of inequity, and disrespectful of women, would lack a legitimate claim to this national space.) Furthermore, these positive identity claims proactively stifle possible critiques regarding issues of racism, gender discrimination, colonization, and immigration policies.

Student readers are often invited to participate in constructions of a 'Canadian' identity and constructions of national identities for 'you.' These work to establish the 'Canadian way of life' and establish 'Canadians' as a cultural group. This group construction not only positions 'us' positively in relation to other nations, it suppresses or marginally includes minority voices within Canada. Once constructed as a cultural group, policies and expectations for newcomers can be legitimated as those of a positively imagined, national community. Imaginings of homogenous cultural groups with shared values become especially insidious in the context of new forms of cultural racism. Bhabra (2006) argues that the notions of ethnicity and culture have replaced those of race in establishing difference

between groups: “All these notions presupposed a world of human differences where those differences are conceptualised as a diversity of separate societies and individuated cultural entities that are intrinsically discontinuous” (Bhambra 2006, pp. 33-34). Exclusionary practices that would be considered racist were they predicated on a racial identity continue to police the structured relations between various social groups and are often legitimated by constructions of difference involving presentations of ‘us’ and ‘them’ but do so with reference to cultural identities or ethnicities.

There are a number of other ways in which being Canadian has been gendered. Both CIC publications and identified textbooks presented Canada as a place in which there is relative gender equality. ‘Canadian men’ and ‘Canada’ are presented positively in regards to gendered relations in the home, with an implied or explicit comparison to men in other countries. While Canada is being presented as a place in which there is a relative degree of gender equality, the textual presentations have been gendered in ways that suggest otherwise. In an analysis of presentations of ‘Canadian holidays,’ depictions of ‘Canadians’ celebrating holidays were often gendered. In the illustrations depicting how these holidays are supposed to be celebrated, Canadian families consisted of male and female couples with children and grandparents, living a lifestyle of comfortable abundance, in which women were responsible for much of the domestic work (Weedon, 1997).

Presentations of ‘famous,’ ‘great,’ ‘important,’ and ‘iconic’ Canadians are gendered and racialised in ways that position men as engaged in more active and intellectual pursuits than women. While men of European ancestry are usually unmarked in regards to their Canadianness, the Canadianness of women or individuals of non-European descent becomes qualified through reference to social groupings other than nation in their descriptions (e.g.,

“female athletes” or “native composers”) and through their contribution being marked as noteworthy by a smaller population of Canadians, i.e., the social group to which they have been marked as belonging. Furthermore, descriptions of women are more likely than descriptions of men to mention children and spouses regardless of the relevance of family to the contribution these ‘great Canadians’ have been described as having made to nation or national culture.

Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) define citizenship as “full membership in a community with all its rights and obligations” (p. 2 citing Marshall 1950; 1981). The textual presentations noted above construct some Canadians more centrally to the discursive project of imagined national communities while others’ membership is hyphenated with their contributions qualified and limited. This is not to imply that one cannot be a “native composer” and be a “Canadian” but, the effect of these social groupings being made salient while men of European ancestry remain unmarked ‘Canadians’ is to make the gendering and racialising of ‘white men’ invisible. ‘White men’ become simply ‘Canadian’ while others become othered. Full membership in a community would allow for membership in communities other than national ones and include participation in multiple “polities from local to global in which people participate in a multi-layered way” (p. 2). The textual presentations summarized above however qualify the participation of some in the community of nation.

Nationalism of any stripe participates in the positioning of individuals within a social community, which structures other possible positionings in a hierarchical relationship to the national community. Racialised and gendered notions of nationhood discursively position some individuals in a hierarchical relation to others within nation. Some Canadians become more Canadian than others. The ubiquity and seeming naturalness of banal nationalism

glosses over the processes through which this structuring takes place by enabling nationalism to be performed by all individuals and all spaces regardless of the extent to which they have been marginally positioned within the national community.

Before a nation can be imagined as positive, it must first be imagined. Banal nationalism flags the nation, naturalises it, and makes it possible to be represented as a social actor. By legitimating the ideology of nation, banal nationalism provides the basis for the legitimations of various aspects of imagined community, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Banal nationalism is therefore not benign. It participates in the ideology of nation with all that that implies.

Chapter 8

Making the Canadian Normal: Legitimation Strategies

While some of the banal imaginings of the nation discussed so far have positively constructed 'Canada' in particular and nationhood in general and spoke of specific valuations of Canada, in this chapter I discuss in more depth the legitimation of particular values, behaviours, and beliefs that are said to be 'Canadian' and how they are invoked in imagining a community of shared values and beliefs. Here, particular reference will be made to those forms of legitimation that appear in texts regarding immigration, new Canadians, or membership in the imagined community.

In constructing an imagined community of Canadians and positioning new Canadians, identified textbooks and CIC publications rely on a variety of forms of legitimation including (1) conformity authorization, (2) a 'logic of appearances,' (3) feigned dialogicality through introduction of the voices of 'new Canadians' or abstract claims about the beliefs of Canadians, and (4) construction of a 'we-community' through assertions of shared values, intranational sameness, positive self-presentations, and subtle or implied negative other-presentations.

Texts intended for new immigrants to a country often play a role in legitimating certain cultural practices and behaviours (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). They do so, in part, by imagining a community of shared values and beliefs but also by legitimating nationalised beliefs and behaviours. What follows is a discussion of the forms of legitimation identified in texts produced by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) that are used in the government-funded Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program. Conformity authorization, positive self-presentations, a 'logic of appearances,' and feigned

dialogicality are used in these texts to legitimate cultural hegemony and the construction of an imagined community of Canadians.

Texts discursively mark in-groups and out-groups, naturalising and essentialising these divisions. In-group performances are portrayed positively alongside negative presentations of performances constructed as those of an out-group or of newcomers to the national project. The in-group is also legitimated through discursive strategies that 'other' immigrants, and downplay or deny of racism(s) (de Cillia et al., 1999; van Dijk, 2004).

Mythopoesis in Immigrant Success Stories

The clientele of the LINC program is adult permanent residents of Canada who have been in the country for less than three years (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2006). Perhaps for this reason, many of the identified textbooks contain stories for or about new Canadians and the experiences of immigrants. In this section, I examine some of those texts and the representations they make.

Mythopoesis involves the use of stories to justify or legitimise actions (this thesis, pp. 85-87). While mythopoesis works as a legitimisation strategy in various texts, the clearest and perhaps most recurrent uses appear in what can be called (and are sometimes titled) 'immigrant success stories.' In these texts, the stories of immigrant success are used to subtly legitimate the period of economic difficulty and social exclusions that are experienced by some immigrants to Canada. Furthermore, they work towards a positive construction of Canada as a place in which hard work and sacrifice are rewarded while, often, implying or stating negative things about the quality of life and opportunities available in other nations.

‘Immigrant success stories’ as they appear in these identified textbooks are stories of hope and determination, the overcoming of struggle and hardship. They are stories of brave individuals who left behind much to build a better life and, through hard work, patience, and sacrifice succeeded. They are good stories with happy endings. For example:

He came to Canada with only \$108 in his pocket. His first Canadian home was a \$10-a-week rooming house. Today, he is a wealthy real estate and hotel entrepreneur. He drives a Mercedes sedan and lives in a 16, 500-square-foot mansion in Toronto’s exclusive Bridle Path neighbourhood. (Ontario Reader, 2005, p. 23)

Such stories may offer hope to those who find themselves lost and lonely in a new country. They may give courage to those who are struggling with poverty and economic abuse. They also, however, present Canada as a land of opportunity in which the hard working almost invariably succeed. At times, they even more or less subtly imply that those who do not succeed are lacking in the qualities and character required for success.

For my purposes, I have selected as ‘immigrant *experience* stories’ all stories in which the topic was the experience of one immigrant or immigrant family. I also included some stories in which the experience of specific immigrants was discussed but not topicalised. These stories differ from presentations in the text of ‘great Canadians’ in that they follow a particular narrative structure, discuss individuals who are often neither well-known nor recognized for their success, and are put forth, I find, not as representatives of Canada but as evidence of Canada’s benevolence.

These stories have been termed ‘immigrant *success* stories’ if a positive outcome is presented within the text. I found 42 ‘immigrant *experience* stories’ in identified textbooks. Of those 42 ‘immigrant *experience* stories,’ 76% (32) presented a ‘positive outcome’ in which the newcomer adjusted or successfully adapted to their life in Canada; 19% (8)

presented an ambivalent outcome of partial success, uncertainty about the future, or success despite some regrets; only 5% (2) presented a negative outcome in which the newcomer did not succeed in Canada.

While the majority of these stories are drawn from three identified texts (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, 2005, and 2007), other texts—*Being Canadian* (2004), *Canadian Concepts 4* (1997), *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995), *Side by Side 1* (2001), and *Canadian Snapshots* (2005)—also contain ‘immigrant experience stories.’ As *Ontario Reader* draws its texts from newspapers and other media, I suspect that ‘immigrant success stories’ reflect larger social discourses on Canada and its role as a redeemer of immigrant others (Roman & Stanley, 1997). Only eight out of twenty-four texts contain ‘immigrant experience stories’ and even some of the texts that do break from the pattern of presenting immigrants as successful and happy after a period of struggle (*Side by Side 1*, 2001; *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005). Six of the texts that do not contain any ‘immigrant experience stories’ contain very few stories, being largely comprised of images to represent vocabulary or short sentences to illustrate grammatical structures (*Basic English Grammar*, 2006; *Fundamentals of English Grammar*, 2003; *Understanding & Using English Grammar*, 1999; *The Oxford Picture Dictionary – Canadian*, 1999; *The Good Grammar Book*, 2001; *Word by Word Picture Dictionary*, 1994). That not all texts follow this pattern shows that it is not a necessary feature of ESL textbooks or an essential element of nationhood but one possible way in which nation is constructed through some identified textbooks.

I analyzed these ‘immigrant success stories’ to see if they shared any commonalities in narrative structure. Most immigrant success stories include the following:

- (1) Mention of the immigrant's departure from country of origin and/or residence and arrival in Canada;
- (2) Mention of a period of emotional and/or financial struggle;
- (3) Discussion of eventual financial, emotional, or personal success;
- (4) Attribution of the immigrant's success to hard-work or good character;
- (5) A direct or indirect quotation that expressing the newcomer's feeling of achievement and success.

The retelling of these immigrant success stories are recontextualisations and transformations, which involve deletions, rearrangement, substitutions, and additions (this thesis, pp. 71-73). The various and individual experiences of these immigrants have been transformed into a share story of Canada as a place where hard-working immigrants of good character succeed and feel grateful.

A typical example of this pattern is the story of Frank Stronach "one of Canada's great entrepreneurs" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 25). In a subsection of the article titled, appropriately enough, "Immigrant Success Story," readers learn: (1) that Stronach was born in Austria and that he came to Canada at the age of 14 because he was "restless and ambitious"; (2) that he worked long, hard hours sleeping in his workplace; and (3) that he eventually succeeded and "never looked back." (4) His success is attributed to his hard-working character and his management philosophy. (5) The subsection ends with a quote from the successful immigrant citing the importance of hard work: "'I'm a great believer in luck,' Stronach says. 'The harder I work, the more luck I have'" (p. 25). Stories like this recontextualize events, substituting, deleting, rearranging, and adding details in ways that, in

'immigrant success stories,' present Canada as a redeemer of immigrant others (Roman & Stanley, 1997).

Departures and Arrivals

The texts usually offer a reason for the choice to immigrate that suggests Canada offered the possibility of a better way of life. This possibility is born out by the success experienced in the rest of the story. Frank Stronach, who came to Canada because he was "restless and ambitious" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 25) becomes one of "Canada's great entrepreneurs" (p. 25). Suresh Jaura who left Dubai for Canada because, as a foreign resident of Dubai, he could not own a home succeeds in buying a reasonably priced home with a "backyard for the kids to play in" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 35). Poverty or struggles in the country of origin or residence are often mentioned: "Kang, 67, grew up in poverty on a small farm near Seoul, Korea" (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 25); Lai Nguyen's "family convinced him to leave Viet Nam because they were sure he would be found and killed. Lai left for Thailand on a crowded boat" (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 127); Maria Gomez's "family was very poor, and she had to go to work when she was thirteen years old" (*Side by Side*, 2001, p. 162). These descriptions of the reason for immigration usually present Canada positively or present the quality of life available in the country of origin negatively contributing to the presentation of Canada and Canadian immigration policies as benevolent.

A Period of Struggle

Most immigrant success stories relate a period of economic difficulty either in Canada or prior to coming to Canada. Articles quite commonly mention minimum wage jobs, underemployment, employment in jobs for which the immigrant was overqualified, difficulty finding any job (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 21), or difficulty finding a job in the newcomer's

field. They also mention less than desirable living conditions such as apartments that were too small for growing families (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 37).

Loneliness or difficulties in adjusting are also discussed. Some newcomers are said to have felt self-doubt and regret: "During the 'darkest days' of his life, Zombori wondered why he had given up a luxury lifestyle to become a nobody in Canada" (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 21). Dissatisfaction takes the form of a sense of lack of fulfillment in one's employment conditions as in the case of Dae Tong Huh who quits after 20 years of working in Toronto hospitals to run a convenience store and write and publish poetry (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 5) or Chongmu Kim who cannot find work in his field, dislikes running a convenience store, and eventually becomes a baker of Korean walnut cakes (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 61-62). Other difficulties include life-threatening illnesses (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 47), the cold and changeable weather (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 127), and that "young people are rude and disrespectful" (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 126).

While discussions of economic and emotional struggles are discussed in 90% of 'immigrant experience stories,' Canada is not usually identified as a cause for these struggles. The inability of Chongmu Kim to find a job building solar houses was due to an unfortunate lack of demand (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 61-62). Leo Agwu and Joy Azuani are not quoted, directly or indirectly, as questioning the reasons that it took three years to be reunited in Canada under the family class application process. They are simply happy to be 'Together again!' (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 35).

Most negative opinions about Canada are resolved in the articles through the eventual success of the newcomers. Where negative opinions of immigration to Canada are expressed, they are vague, attributed to unidentified agents or "whiners" (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 49),

and can be contrasted to the specific, named, and positive immigrants presented in the articles; prior to immigrating, Jamil Ahmad “spoke to people who had been to Canada. Some complained; others said it was worth the sacrifice” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 57). By presenting successful immigrants as specific social actors while unsuccessful immigrants remain abstract and untopicalized, the texts emphasize ‘our good things’—Canada as welcoming to ‘others’—while de-emphasizing ‘our bad things’—Canada as a place in which newcomers may be unsuccessful. In this sense, the texts participate in the ‘ideological square’ suggested by van Dijk (2000) (this thesis, p. 66).

Eventual Success

While difficulties are acknowledged, they are overcome. Success is usually financial or occupational (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 5, pp. 25-26; *Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 21, p. 23; *Ontario Reader* 2007, p. 57, p. 59) often in owner operated businesses (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, pp. 1-2, pp. 23-24; *Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 25, pp. 47-48) public recognition (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 47), the opportunity to give something back to the community (p. 1, p. 47, p. 53), children’s (potential) success (p. 1), or even the ability to purchase a home instead of renting (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 31, p. 35).

Reasons for Success

Success, in these ‘immigrant success stories,’ is almost always attributed to hard work and personal character:

‘I knocked on a lot of doors,’ Gupta says proudly. (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 23)

‘I worked daytime at the factory and I went to night school to get my high-school diploma. I was determined,’ she said. (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 39-40)

The articles attribute success to personal characteristics such as determination (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 39), a strong desire to learn (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 57), a willingness to learn English (p. 57), and a positive attitude (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 49). Good planning, preparation, and a willingness to volunteer or work for less than expected are also mentioned as reasons for eventual success (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 49-52, pp. 57-58, pp. 59-60).

Success may come from lowering expectations. In *Ontario Reader* (2005), Julius Zombori learned that he could be more successful if he did not mention “his doctoral degrees and memberships on the boards of some Hungarian companies” (p. 21) on his resume when applying for jobs in Canada. While there are some variations in the patterns of the stories, the dominant pattern is one in which immigration to Canada, followed by a period of struggle, results in appreciated success.

The failure of other immigrants, on the rare occasions that it is discussed at all, is usually attributed to their lack of the positive qualities discussed in the immigrant success stories. Shirley Zeng (*Ontario Reader*, 2005) is said to believe that “many newcomers are afraid to open themselves up. They isolate themselves from English speakers” (p. 57). She hopes to “focus her energy on the positive things in life and have a positive attitude” like her mother, who despite having given up a job as a university professor in China to work low-paying jobs in Canada “never expresses any sadness or complains about it” (p. 57). The belief that it is “too bad” that most newcomers settle in urban centres and “don’t think about opportunities in rural Canada” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 25) is attributed to Sam Kang Shin-Bong. This attitude seems to be shared by the author given its prominence in the article but this remains implicit. In a discussion of how five recent immigrants succeeded in finding satisfying work, the failure of other immigrants to do the same is discussed: “What’s most

important? All five said don't associate with 'whiners' – people with a negative outlook. Stay positive and don't give up your dream" (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 49). Such criticisms of newcomers are often attributed in the articles to successful immigrants, a discursive strategy that deflects any criticism of racism and an example of 'feigned dialogicality.'

Being Canadian (2004), in a text on employment in Canada, passes along this advice to immigrants to Canada:

Immigrants who have been here for a long time have some advice for newcomers. They say that the new immigrants need to be **patient** and **persistent**. It can be **frustrating** because most newcomers are **underemployed** in the beginning. They do not make as much money as they thought they would, and they are disappointed with the jobs they can find. However, many people eventually go back to school or find a job connected to their occupation. (p. 75, emphasis in original)

While not an 'immigrant experience text' per se, it concurs with the discourses in these texts in suggesting that newcomers to Canada should expect and accept a period of lower income. These lower income expectations are normalized through such texts, placing the responsibility of overcoming this period of relative poverty in the hands of the newcomer. The newcomer 'needs to' display certain behaviours, which do not include critical behaviours that challenge immigration policies or economic norms. The articulation of this necessity is, once again, placed in the mouths of more established immigrants, being phrased as advice from "immigrants who have been here for a long time" (p. 75).

Affirmation of Immigrant Success Story by the 'New Canadians'

Half of the 'immigrant experience stories' (21 out of 42) end with a direct or indirect quote from the immigrant that suggests a positive outcome, gratitude to Canada, or a desire to 'give back':

The Jauras are happy in their new home. But most of all, they are happy it's their own home. (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 35)

These quotes often attribute success to good character, hardwork, or the opportunities available in Canada. They may reaffirm that a period of struggle is to be expected and appreciated:

“When I look back, I really appreciate those tough days,” he said. “You learn so much during tough times. It is really rewarding because it shows you how fragile life can be. You learn not to take things in your life for granted.” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 21)

Zeng says it's important to work hard and have a positive attitude. (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 57)

The happiness of the successful immigrant is often mentioned in this place. Immigrant success stories often end “happily ever after” with reunited families (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 35). Many successful immigrants are cited as feeling fortunate or grateful for the opportunity that a life in Canada has made possible (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 39). Others are quoted as wanting to express their gratefulness by giving back. The story of Fahima Osman, who succeeded in becoming a medical doctor despite great hardship, ends with an indirect quote expressing Osman's “strong desire to use her medical knowledge to help people in developing countries” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 53).

These declarations of gratefulness and success are attributed to immigrants in these articles and take the form of direct or indirect reports. As such, they appear to increase dialogicality. These short reports of others' voices, however, reaffirm the central message of the texts—that Canada is a place in which hardworking newcomers succeed. I consider these reports to be an example of *feigned dialogicality* (this thesis, p. 81), by which I mean a limited orientation to difference despite the appearance of dialogicality, as they give the appearance of dialogicality but with little concrete representation of the opinions of others.

Alternative Immigrant Experience Stories

Some stories break from the usual patterning of 'immigrant success stories' but deserve mention here. These include 'immigrant experience stories' with a negative or ambivalent outcome and stories which included elements of an 'immigrant experience story' but, as the immigrants' experience was incidental to the topic of the story, were difficult to classify as such.

Side by Side 1 (2001), a textbook produced in the United States, contains a text that follows the typical immigrant success story pattern identified above. Maria Gomez is described as having been born into a life of poverty and child labor in Peru, coming to the United States as a teenager, suffering through loneliness and a language barrier. As is the case in most of the immigrant experience stories discussed above, it was her hard work that enabled her to succeed: "She began to study English at night, and she worked in a factory during the day" (p. 162). Now, she has "a good job as a secretary" (p. 162). The text ends with an indirect quote expressing her happiness. What differentiates this fairly typical 'immigrant success story' from others is that Maria Gomez is a cartoon character.

Another cartoon immigrant family in *Side by Side 1* (2001) struggles with the second generation's language loss: "Mr. and Mrs. DiCarlo are sad because their son speaks so little Italian. They're afraid he's forgetting his language, his culture, and his country" (p. 83). The DiCarlo family's immigrant experience story is one of the few stories that mention any concern over language loss as a negative consequence of immigration. I have classified both Maria Gomez and the DiCarlo families as immigrant experience stories and included them in the data despite their fictional nature and that their fictional country of arrival was the United States as opposed to Canada.

One of the two (5%) of stories that met the criteria of 'immigrant *experience* story' but presented a negative outcome is that of Joe and Elizabeth Ferreira (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 45-46). It has been included as an immigrant *experience* story because it tells the story of an immigrant family to Canada. Like many of these stories it discusses the poverty and hardship that this family experienced. Unlike the 'immigrant *success* stories,' however, Joe and Elizabeth were described as being in Canada illegally and were, at the time of writing, awaiting deportation.

'*Underground economy: Working in Canada illegally*' is one of the only articles in a series of 13 articles on 'Canada's Immigration System' (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 29-45) that contained both arguments for and against changes to current Canadian immigration law. Beginning with a discussion on the "thousands of people [who] live and work in Canada illegally" (p. 45) the text suggests that the number of illegal immigrants in Canada may be 200, 000 or perhaps 40, 000 in "Toronto's construction industry alone" (p. 45) participating in a 'numbers game' (this thesis, p. 85). An abstract and untrustworthy social agent—"some people"—argues the case for changes: "Some people believe illegal immigrants should receive an amnesty" (p. 45) and "some people also say Canada's immigration system is the problem" (p. 45) making the argument that Canada's economy would benefit from an amnesty. Arguing against an amnesty is a much more specific social agent, *Citizenship and Immigration Canada* which argues, rather awkwardly, that if Canada does not uphold its immigration laws "people will continue to come here illegally" (p. 45).

The voices of two illegal immigrants to Canada are added to those of 'some people.' The Ferreira family whose refugee claim was rejected "wonders why Canada is deporting hard-working people" (p. 45) and Roberto "an undocumented construction worker from

Honduras” (p. 45) argues “We do jobs that Canadians don’t want. We contribute to your economy. We pay for your health care, your pension systems. But we can never use these services” (p. 45). The topicalisation of the illegal status of some immigrants at the beginning of the article positions the Ferreira family and Roberto, not as failed refugee claimants with few options, but as illegal immigrants and undocumented workers, thus further marginalising them and reducing their credibility. While the article—one of the few texts that argues for immigrant reform in any of the identified textbooks—devotes much of its space to arguments supporting relaxation of restrictions on immigration, those arguments are not attributed to social agents with a high degree of public credibility.

Canadian Snapshots (2005) presents three ‘immigrant experience stories’ that vary significantly from the pattern (pp. 13-14). Before reading, student readers are invited to think about the challenges young refugees might face as they attempt to “adjust to living in Canada” (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005, p. 12). The first story describes Mading, a refugee from Sudan now living in Surrey, B.C., who experienced racist violence after arriving in Canada but now works as a facilitator at an Immigrant Services Society Program. Unlike the majority of texts that describes struggles in Canada, Mading, characterizing Canada as a mountain, implies that Canada is the cause of the struggles: “This is Mount Canada. I was at the bottom of the mountain when I came here at 13. Racism and bullying were so overwhelming I couldn’t climb the mountain. So I went back down” (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005, p. 13). The story of Francisco emphasized the higher socioeconomic status of his life in Guatemala that was given up for the relative safety of Canada. Unlike the many immigrant experience stories that focussed on material wealth, Francisco argues “material things aren’t worth anything. Not without peace” (p. 13). Nathalie Lozano, a refugee from Columbia, speaks about the

open drug use in Canada that “would never happen in my country” (p. 14). She also describes experiences of racial violence in Canada, the loss of social status associated with immigration, and the tighter financial constraints upon her family in Canada. Nathalie also describes experiences of violence during her early days in Canada: “A group of Latin boys started asking me questions in English, but I didn’t know even how to say hello. So I didn’t talk to them and they thought I was being rude. After class they kicked me. That day I cried so much” (p. 14). In each of these articles, the decision to move to Canada is presented with some ambiguity and ambivalence. The new Canadians’ voices are brought in through direct quotes that describe both positive and negative aspects of their life in Canada.

These stories vary from the patterning of ‘immigrant success stories’ in the following ways: They mention both positive and negative things about the immigrant’s departure from their country of origin and express ambivalence about coming to Canada; they explicitly discuss the ways in which racism, language loss, Canadian immigration policies, or other aspects of their Canadian experience made the integration into Canadian culture more difficult; finally, rather than unwavering gratefulness to Canada for a better life, they express ambivalent or negative outcomes such as regret over the country left behind in the country of origin.

From ‘Most Canadians’ to ‘You’: Conformity Authorization

Many of the statements in the texts have the appearance of knowledge exchange—communicating information such as “Canada has a decimal system of currency” (CIC, 2006b, p. 29). Other statements, however, also imply certain normative behaviours and function as activity exchange by calling for certain activities or behaviours. The majority of

the identified textbooks contained examples that involve the construction of ‘Canadians’ as a social actor (*Canadian Concepts 1 through 6*, 1997a-1998b; *Ontario Reader*, 2003, 2005, 2007; *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997a; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993). Throughout this section, I will discuss whether and how these ‘Canadian’ social actors were used as part of a strategy of ‘conformity authorization’ with reference to specific examples.

Throughout the identified textbooks, certain behaviours are banally constructed as Canadian, reaffirming the centrality of nation in interpreting and understanding behaviour. These behaviours are positioned positively and implied to be uniquely Canadian in some way. Statements such as “Canadians are inventive people” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 75), “Millions of Canadians enjoy working in the garden” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 77), and “In their leisure time, Canadians enjoy the outdoors” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 81) assigns nation to behaviour that is neither particularly national nor particular to any nation. In identified textbooks, however, statements about Canada and Canadians work to imagine a national identity through assertions of shared practices and shared characteristics with such identity claims almost invariably being positive. Positive evaluations might involve representing these behaviours as predominant, well-liked, important, worth knowing about, or normal. (If “Canadian teenagers like the Internet” (*Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 33) then the Internet must have some positive characteristics unless positioned otherwise, as to ‘like’ something is to evaluate it positively.) Behaviour attributed to members of a national community also establishes the uniqueness of the nation so as to establish a claim to a unique national character: “Canadians are the number one users of the Internet in the world”

(*Ontario Reader*, 2001, p. 33) and “More and more Canadians use their computers to find information” (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 11).

These identity claims appear in all identified CIC publications and in all identified textbooks produced in Canada or for a Canadian audience. These statements work towards strategies of positive self-presentation (this thesis, pp. 65-66) and conformity authorization (this thesis, p. 86-87).

Conformity Authorization in CIC Publications

In the following passages, claims are made as to the behaviour of most Canadians, without explicitly calling for similar action by the readership:

Women’s rights: In Canada, women have the same legal status, rights and opportunities as men. Most Canadian men respect women as equals — socially, in the workplace and in the home. Violence against women is against the law. Women who are abused can seek help for themselves and their children in local shelters. They are also entitled to legal protection to keep them safe. (CIC, 2006b, p. 38)

Communities across Canada: Most newcomers to Canada tend to settle in the three biggest cities — Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. But many newcomers and many Canadians choose to live in the medium-sized cities, which they feel have as much to offer as the larger cities with a better quality of life. (CIC, 2006b, p. 6)

Many Canadian parents, even if they do not speak French themselves, believe it is good for their children to be able to speak both English and French. Some put their children in a French immersion program, where children learn most of the regular subjects in French. (CIC, 2006b, p. 8)

The texts above, make claims about the behaviours of ‘most’ or ‘many Canadians,’ establishing norms and standards which the reader could conform to or deviate from. The behaviour of ‘most Canadians’ or ‘many Canadians’ is implicitly or explicitly juxtaposed to those of ‘newcomers’ or the reader of these texts.

Declarative statements in these texts that seem to offer helpful information are occasionally accompanied by more explicit statements about what newcomers should do with no attempt to mask the explicit activity exchange. The claims made about what Canadians do or know provide grounds for what 'you' should do or know.

Not smoking in private homes: Most Canadians do not smoke. When you are in people's homes, you should always ask their permission to smoke. If they do not smoke themselves, they may ask you to go outside to smoke. (CIC, 2006b, p. 34)

Never try to give money to a police officer. Canadians do not bribe police officers. It is a serious crime to do this. (CIC, 2006b, p. 37)

The claims made about "Canadians" or "most Canadians" legitimate the claims that "you should always ask their permission to smoke" (p. 34) and the imperative "never give money to a police officer" (p. 37). Here conformity authorization coincides with legal authorization (this thesis, pp. 86-87). In other places, the expectation regarding what 'you' should do has been attributed to 'Canadians' through indirect reporting of what "they" "expect" or "may ask":

Respect for the environment: Canadians respect the natural environment and expect people to avoid littering (dropping waste paper and other garbage on the street or throwing it out of your car). They expect you to hold on to your garbage until you can find a proper garbage can. (CIC, 2006b, p. 34)

Through the use of a declarative sentence, the textual assertion of a respect by all Canadians for the natural environment is unequivocal. More significantly, however, 'Canadians' are constructed as a community that may expect 'you' to behave in specific ways.

When declarative statements engaging in explicit activity exchange appear in the texts without basing the call for that activity exchange on the expectations of ‘most Canadians,’ it is usually ‘you’ that ‘should,’ ‘must,’ or ‘will’ act:⁵¹

You should know which utilities you will pay for and which ones will be paid for by the landlord. (CIC, 2006b, p. 16)

You should always arrive on time — at school, at work and for any meeting. (CIC, 2006b, p. 34)

‘Canada’ and ‘Canadians,’ in these texts, have the power to expect certain behaviour from ‘you.’ ‘Canadians’ do things. ‘You’ *should* do things. These texts do more than share information or imply social values; they create communities of ‘Canadians’ who expect certain behaviour from the ‘you-community’ being presented to the reader of the text. They engage in identity construction.

Fairclough (2003) writes:

Modality is important in the texturing of identities, both personal (‘personalities’) and social, in the sense that what you commit yourself to is a significant part of what you are – so modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity. (p. 166)

In making assertions about Canada and Canadians with a modal choice that is clearly authoritative, the texts present the writer as an authority and the subject matter as unequivocal (this thesis, pp. 82-85). They do more than present an imagined community of Canadians; they imagine a ‘you’-community that may or may not share ‘Canadian values.’ In a brief discussion of social standards (CIC, 2006b, pp. 34-35; see appendix 1), Canadians are constructed in opposition to ‘you.’ The assertions being made about ‘Canadians,’ ‘People,’ and ‘You’ in that passage can be summarized as follows:

⁵¹ However, there are exceptions to this tendency: “Canada and Canadians will welcome you and your family into the larger Canadian family. Good luck on your journey!” (CIC, 2006b, p. 40).

(most/many) Canadians	People	You
do not smoke	normally line up or queue	should always ask their permission to smoke
may ask you to go outside to smoke	will be angry if you push ahead in a lineup instead of waiting your turn	(may) push ahead instead of waiting your turn
will not wait more than 10 or 15 minutes for someone who has a business meeting	may be fired from their jobs or suspended from school if often late	are expected to arrive within half an hour of the stated time should always arrive on time
respect the natural environment and expect people to avoid littering	expect that you will arrive within half an hour of the stated time	are expected to hold on to your garbage
expect you not to litter	may bargain when selling things privately or buying houses or cars	are expected not to litter
	are expected not to litter	

Table 6: **Many/most Canadians vs. People vs. You**

The ‘imagined community’ of Canadians constructed in these texts is used to legitimate particular representations of values and behaviours that are not within the scope of legal discourses regarding citizenship, an example of conformity authorization. Some behaviours and values are imagined as belonging to the community while other behaviours—those behaviours that some ‘people’ and ‘you’ might engage in—are imagined as suspicious, illegal, or impolite (this thesis, p. 66-67).

That the behaviours attributed to Canadians in this text are positive is not stated but implied. The text presents these behaviours as “important social standards” (CIC, 2006b, p. 34), “social practices—not laws” (ibid), and “traditions [that] are well established and are politely but firmly enforced” (ibid). While the (positive) behaviour of Canadians is asserted with observations that Canadians ‘respect the natural environment’ and ‘expect you not to litter,’ their negative behaviour is denied as most ‘do not smoke.’ The positive behaviour of

newcomers, on the other hand, is modalised: 'you' 'should always ask' and 'should always arrive.' The 'newcomer' in these texts is made the 'patient' (van Dijk 1995, p. 258) or 'goal' (Halliday, 1994, p. 110) of the clause, or in the case of the examples 'people expect that *you* will arrive,' or 'they expect *you* to hold on to your garbage'), 'people' and 'they' are initiator-actors and 'you' are agent-actors expected to do something by the initiator (Halliday, 1994, pp. 285-287). Such positioning corresponds to van Dijk's (1995) observation that "semantic roles of propositional arguments (such as Agent, Patient, Object, etc.) may be assigned depending on the ideologically attributed roles in a model" (p. 258) in which case "ingroup actors will typically be selected as responsible Agents of positive acts, and non-responsible Patients of negative acts of Others, and vice versa for outgroup actors" (p. 258; this thesis, p. 68). These texts do more than relay "important social standards" (ibid), they are ideological in that they construct a positive self-presentation of 'Canadians,' in light of which 'you' are expected to adapt 'your' behaviour.

Norming the Canadian in Identified Textbooks

Identified textbooks engage in similar acts of conformity authorization. Through continual reference to 'Canadians,' 'most Canadians,' 'many Canadians' or 'the average Canadian,' identified textbooks participate in a normative enterprise through which a Canadian identity is constructed:

Most Canadians use an alarm clock to wake up every day. (*Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997, p. 82)

Canadians talk on the telephone a lot. Perhaps it is because some people don't like to go outside when it is cold! (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. 19)

Canadians like to talk about the weather. (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 13)

Canadian women started to play hockey over a 100 years ago. (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 5)

Thirty years ago, Canadians thought the outlook for health around the world was a very good one. (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 96)

Identified textbooks ascribe behaviour and beliefs to 'Canadians,' 'most Canadians,' 'many Canadians,' 'the average Canadian,' 'in general Canadians,' 'some Canadians,' 'other Canadians,' 'close to 200 000 Canadians,' '84 percent of those [Canadians] interviewed,' 'over 60 percent of Canadians,' 'about three million people in Canada,' and 'one million Canadians.' In doing so, the texts participate in banal nationalism, an everyday imagining of community. In presenting certain behaviours in terms of both nation and number, identified textbooks construct a cultural identity for 'many Canadians.' These nationalising imaginings of a cultural identity reference some cultural practices ignoring others.

Bread is a basic food in Canada. Many Canadians eat bread two or three times a day. There are many different kinds of bread. (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. 89)

In representing some foods as being eaten by Canadians, these foods are imagined as Canadian and the Canadianness of those who eat these foods is reaffirmed. Foods other than 'bread' that may be eaten for breakfast are not representative of nation and the Canadianness of those who eat these foods is not established. Other texts, discuss naming practices:

In Canada, most people have two or three names. They have a first name and a last name (or family name). Sometimes they also have a middle name. (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. 3)

Naming practices may vary widely but the practices of 'most' people become those worthy of discussion and become connected to nation. Such texts may be imagining some Canadians as representatives of the nation while others are ignored.

At times the behaviour of 'most Canadians' or 'most people' legitimises claims as to the expected behaviour of 'you':

Many people get colds and flu in the winter months or at the change of the seasons. Most people get better without any medical help, but if you don't get better after a few days, see your doctor. (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. 99)

An important custom in a sit-down restaurant is leaving a tip for the server. A tip is generally 10 to 15 percent of the cost of the meal before taxes. You should leave the tip on the table as you leave. (*Canadian Concepts 4*, 1997, p. 39)

While, in the following examples, no explicit claim is being made on what 'you' should do, the texts resonate with racist discourses about new Canadians.

In some parts of the world, families are big. In Canada, most families are small. It is common to have one, two, or three children. (*Canadian Concepts 2*, 1997, p. 50)

City animals such as pigeons and squirrels cannot be eaten. These animals may be unhealthy because they eat leftover food from people's garbage cans. (*Canadian Concepts 3*, 1997, p. 51)

This 'matter-of-fact' presentation echoes that of *Canada: A Source Book for Orientation, Language, and Settlement Workers*: "semi-wild animals such as squirrels, pigeons, etc. that live in cities and towns are not hunted or eaten" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1991, p. 84). For such facts to be included, they must be deemed to be in some way relevant implying that there are some student readers who need to know this information, which may reflect the process through which racist discourses are often recontextualised in government discourses

For example, when a government policy statement is published, it appears in a particular genre, but its arguments and presuppositions are recognizable from discourses which have gone before. (Blackledge, 2006, pp. 64-65)

The racist discourses on the diets or mannerisms of 'others' have infiltrated government discourses and ESL textbooks in the implication that newcomers to Canada might eat city animals unless they are not told not to do so.

Feigned Dialogicality

While the identified textbooks and CIC publications tend to display a low level of dialogicality in their presentations of Canada and Canadians as benevolent and benign, there is a range of dialogicality, albeit a limited one, in many of the texts discussed above and the identified textbooks as a whole. Other voices are brought in to these texts. Beliefs are attributed to social agents. The views of ‘Canadians’ are reported both directly and indirectly. The texts engage in dialogue with ‘you,’ the student reader. They invite ‘you’ to engage in dialogue with other students in ‘your’ class. Through the speaking to, of, and for others these texts open up dialogicality more or less explicitly. In this section, I will discuss what I am calling ‘feigned dialogicality’—the ways in which different voices are introduced in the texts but in support of the main arguments of the texts, maintaining the overall monological nature of the texts and suppressing a wider range of dialogical options.

Texts, while always dialogical, may suppress or foreground their dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1981/2000; Coffin, 2002; Coffin and O’Halloran, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Voloshinov, 1986/2000; White, 2001, 2003). The most dialogical texts feature a range of actual voices, explicitly attributed and quoted at length with differing opinions and assumptions. The least dialogical texts contain indirectly reported assertions, possibly modalised, attributed to abstract and inspecific social agents with little supporting detail or definition to clarify what is meant—a low ‘orientation to difference’ (this thesis, pp. 80-81).

Immigrant Voices and Feigned Dialogicality

There are several ways in which identified textbooks ‘feign dialogicality.’ As has been noted throughout, views of various aspects of Canadian identity are often ascribed to the vague social agents ‘most Canadians’ or ‘Canadian women.’ By indirectly reporting

thoughts or opinions attributed to others without actually introducing the voice of those others, the texts suggest the presence of dialogicality but without the risk that concrete social agents' ideological positions might be foregrounded. 'Most Canadians' are allowed to speak for Canada but usually without any speech being directly reported. While a direct report would be more dialogical, the use of indirect reporting of the views of these Canadians does little to clarify what their opinions or knowledges might in fact be (Fairclough, 2003, p. 46). Assertions, possibly modalised, as to what Canadians believe or know are often inspecific and abstract. Knowing that "in a recent poll of 1800 Canadians, 84 percent of those interviewed said they considered understanding their inner selves more important than money or success" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 8) tells us little about what this might entail or how it might be realized in the lives of those Canadians. *Being Canadian's* (2004) claims that "Canadians value people from everywhere" (p. 130) and that multiculturalism means treating all Canadians as "different but equal" (p. 130) leaves ambiguous what it might mean to value people, how they might be different, and what it means to treat them as equal. While factual information is often provided about Canadian culture it is rarely adequately sourced so that the student readers or teachers could examine the contexts in which a text on national identity contained in the identified textbooks was produced. Furthermore, the views espoused by these vague social agents are often those espoused by the rest of the text; they seldom present a contradictory opinion or interrupt the argument being constructed in the text by offering alternative understandings or challenges to the main arguments.

A text quoted at length in Chapter 6 from *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories* (1991) describes discussion and debate over the choice of a flag for Canada. While the

beliefs and opinions of various social agents are directly or indirectly reported in the text, the level of dialogicality in the text remains relatively low. The text notes “many Canadians remembered Britain as their homeland and wanted to fly the British flag called the Union Jack” (p. 75). It can be inferred from the text that these ‘many Canadians’ were of British ancestry but that lack of specificity allows the ideological positioning of these ‘many Canadians’ to remain muted. It continues “after the First and Second World Wars, Canadians felt more independent and wanted their own flag” (p. 75). What it meant to feel more independent, the reasons for that feeling, the specific feelings about England all remain unexplained. Student readers then learn that “some people wanted a flag with a small Union Jack on it, and others wanted a truly Canadian Flag” (p. 75). Again, ‘some people’ and ‘others’ are abstract social agents, ideologically muted, reducing the dialogicality—the diversity of voices and opinions—foregrounded by the text.

The voices of those identified by the texts as ‘immigrants,’ ‘new Canadians,’ or ‘ESL students’ appear in the text to support the notion that Canada is multicultural and that Canadians value multiculturalism: The belief that “a diverse workforce is an advantage” is attributed to the Hoangs (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 47); Sam Kang Shin-Bong, an air-traffic controller from South Korea who farms cabbages in Ontario, is reported as saying that “Canada’s diverse population is creating a big market for ethnic and specialty foods” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 25); Dae Tong Huh’s poem speaks of the healing effects of multiculturalism (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 5). An article on reasons that close to half of new immigrants to Canada settle in the Greater Toronto Area introduces a number of voices that characterise Canada as multicultural: “‘We came here because Canada is good for new immigrants,’ Yunus says” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 51); “Although [Abdullahi Osman]

didn't know much about the city, he fell in love with Toronto for its multiculturalism" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 51); speaking of growing up in a bicultural family Macksim Grunin says "that kind of difference was not a problem in Canada" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 51). Such claims, while introducing another voice into the text, reaffirm the textual presentations of Canada as a multicultural nation that is 'good for new immigrants' and in which biculturalism and difference are 'not a problem.'

Dialogicality can enter a text when emotional states are attributed to agents in the text. The emotional states of Leo Agwu, upon successfully sponsoring his wife Joy Azuani to come to Canada "after three long years of waiting" are described in the text "Leo was very nervous," "Leo waited anxiously," "Leo could hardly stand it," "They were so happy to be together," and "At last, they were reunited. They would build a new life together in Canada" (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 35). Descriptions of the Ha family's dangerous and difficult escape from Vietnam stand in opposition to their feelings of relief when they arrive in Canada "Tam could barely speak a word of English. She could not tell her sponsors how grateful she was for her clean, cozy apartment. She felt safe for the first time since leaving Saigon" (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 39). The gratefulness of immigrants is frequently mentioned in texts on immigration and is matched by the pride of the Canadians who sponsor their immigration: "Tam feels very fortunate, and so do her sponsors." (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 39). The gamut of emotions attributed to Leo Agwu and his wife Joy Azuani and the Ha family personalize the experience of sponsorship but also support the frequent implication that immigrants to Canada are fortunate and that Canada offers them opportunities.

Reports of criticisms of Canada's immigration system, on the other hand, are rare in these texts. Quite often, such critiques are quite mild and negated by positive evaluations of

the choice to immigrate or the opportunities available in Canada. Kanthi Kumar is indirectly reported as being hesitant to have more children because of the high cost of living in Canada. This mild critique of life in Canada is ameliorated by the statement that “Still, she is grateful for the quality of life Canada gives her children. She fled Sri Lanka because of the civil war there” (*Ontario Reader*, 2005, p. 39). When stronger critiques of Canada appear they are often subverted or constrained by the development of the argument of the article. Tom He, a computer systems developer from China, is working as a general labourer in a Markham factory. He is quoted as saying, “It’s very hard for people like me to convince Canadian employers that I can do the job” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 55). The criticisms that he might offer are muted, however, by the text’s immediate consideration of a new website that “may have a solution to this problem” (p. 55). The article concludes with Tom He agreeing that “It’s a good way for people like me to get our names out there so Canadian employers know we’re here” (p. 55). The pain and frustration of those whose skills are underutilized remains unexpressed, subverted by the ‘supportive’ tone of the article. The Ferreira family and Roberto, in the text on illegal immigration discussed above (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 45), offer some of the sharpest critiques of Canadian immigration law and do so through the use of directly reported voices. The article somewhat undermines their argument, however, by framing them as being amongst a vaguely ominous number—“No one knows for sure” how many (p. 45)—of illegal workers in Canada. Thus, dialogicality, when it threatens to offer a more nuanced representation of Canada, is often reduced through the subsequent inclusion of more positive representations of Canada or negative representations of those who would critique Canada.

The voices of newcomers to Canada are often limited to short quotes or indirect reports within larger articles. More extended direct reports of the opinions of new Canadians occur rarely but, when they do appear, the representations of Canada become more ambivalent and less monological. *Xuan's Diary*, a reading in *Canadian Concepts 4* (1997), allows Xuan, an ESL student in Canada, to represent herself and her own understanding of her first months in Canada. In her writing, it is Canada that is positioned as exotic when it is described as "strange" and "unfamiliar." She discusses moments of embarrassment and discomfort when she did not behave as expected. Perhaps lacking the careful and euphemistic language in which the expectation of assimilation to Canada is often phrased, Xuan's observation that "the biggest problem was changing from my Oriental ways to new western ways" (p. 4) seems uncomfortably frank. She describes herself becoming more comfortable as she became more understanding and aware of expectations in Canada and concludes "maybe life in Canada will be OK after all" (p. 4). The diary entry, in the end, reinforces two messages central to ideologies of nation: cultural differences exist between nations and the normal behaviour of the new nation should be practiced and adopted. The extended direct reporting of the voice of a 'newcomer to Canada,' however, unsettles the positive self-presentations of Canada and disrupts the discourse of benevolent multiculturalism that often appears in identified textbooks.

The normative potential of these texts is accomplished in part through their 'feigned dialogicality.' The ascription of views to 'most Canadian men' and 'many Canadian parents' gives the appearance of dialogicality by attributing thoughts or opinions to others and open the texts up to the understandings of others but does not actually introduce the voice of those Canadian men or Canadian parents who share these beliefs. These beliefs and values are

reported indirectly; consequently, readers do not gain any specific knowledge into what, for example, 'respect of women as equals' means to 'most Canadian men' nor the reasons that parents believe having children speak both languages is good. The voices of 'newcomers to Canada' and 'immigrants' are introduced to extend the arguments of the texts further than the authorial voice could do so without its ideological position becoming salient. The ideological position of the authorial voice would be brought into question were it to suggest that 'newcomers to Canada' should accept lower paying jobs or start their own businesses rather than pursuing work in their fields, should stop isolating themselves from English speakers, and should consider settling in the countryside rather than larger cities. However, when such claims are made by 'newcomers to Canada,' as in the examples in the section above on 'immigrant success stories,' they seem less ideologically interested. Feigned dialogicity enables the construction of a coherent nation-ness by imagining a community of speakers in general agreement as to the particularity of their nation-ness.

Positive Self-Presentations

"A dangerous anger hovers within the self-praise." (Billig, 1995, p. 101)

Identified textbooks both assume the ubiquitous acceptance of the notion of nationhood and assert a mostly positive identity for 'Canada' and 'Canadians.' All of the identified textbooks that were produced for 'newcomers to Canada' contain some positive identified claims for Canadians (*Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, 1991; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *Canada Coast to Coast*, 1995; *Canadian Concepts 1*, 1997 through *Canadian Concepts 6*, 1998; *A Canadian Conversation: Book 1*, 1993; *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997; *Ontario Reader* 2003, 2005, 2007; *The Oxford Picture*

Dictionary – Canadian, 1999). Similarly, three out of three of the identified CIC publications contain these claims (CIC, 2003c; CIC, 2006a; CIC, 2006b). At some level, they all attribute—or include between their pages texts that attribute—values, behaviours, and understandings to the membership of this imagined community and positively evaluate these activities. This positive self-presentation and public discourses regarding integration of newcomers within the context of a program in which newcomers to Canada are to be introduced to a ‘*Canadian way of life*’ can be understood to be as much prescription as description. The positive self-presentation of ‘Canadian’ values, behaviours, and understandings constructs a ‘we’-community, implies a community of others who are not like ‘us,’ and, on occasion, asks student readers to position themselves in relation to this positive presentation of Canada and Canadians. In this section, I will be discussing some of the ways in which Canada and Canadians are positively constructed—the ways in which Canada is imagined as the ‘best place to live’ and Canadians are imagined as sharing egalitarian values.

Positive Self-Presentations in ‘*The Canadian Way of Life*’

Canadian identity is both asserted and assumed in texts intended for ‘newcomers to Canada.’ When speaking of ‘Canadians’ and ‘the Canadian way of life’ it is assumed that one can unproblematically describe the membership of this imagined community as a whole. The predicate of these sentences often assign values, behaviours, or activities (almost invariably positive) to the membership of this imagined community. The assertion that “Canadians do not bribe police officers” (CIC, 2006b, p. 37) both assumes a group known as Canadians⁵² and unequivocally asserts that ‘Canadians’ do not engage in such behaviour while also assuming that some other people do engage in such behaviour or need to be told not to. These

⁵² Given the ubiquitous nature of nationalism (Billig, 1995), this may seem to the writers of these texts a fairly safe and unproblematic assumption.

assertions work towards the construction of an imagined community in two ways: by the delineation of that community in time and space and by the attribution of values and behaviours to members of that community.

In a text titled *'The Canadian way of life,'* Canada and Canadians are imagined as a community of members that "share the same important values" (CIC, 2003c, p. 7) which "guide and influence much of our every day life" (ibid.). These values include "Fairness, tolerance and respect," "Diversity and cooperation," "Equal opportunity," "Civil responsibility," and "Environmental responsibility" (ibid.). They are expressed with great certainty using assertions of what Canadians want, understand, believe, appreciate, and are conscious of. The text asserts: that "Canadians do share the same important values" (CIC, 2003c, p. 7); that "Canadians want fairness and justice for themselves, their children and their families" (ibid); that "Canadians understand the value of cooperation" (ibid); that "Canadians believe in equality" (ibid); that "Canadians let people live as they wish, as long as they do not limit how others live" (ibid); and that "Canadians appreciate their rights and freedoms, which are the same without regard to gender, race or ethnicity" (ibid).

Positive self-presentations do more than make claims about the values or value of a specific group. They construct that group. The unequivocal attribution of these beliefs to 'Canadians' works to construct an imagined community. They also construct a group of others (van Dijk, 1992, p. 90). That it is necessary to say that Canadians share certain values and appreciate certain rights also implies that there are others who do not. In opposition to this 'Canadian' community, these positive self-presentations construct their readership as 'you,' the actions of whom are positioned as possibly counter to 'Canadian values' in somewhat subtle negative other-presentations (de Cillia et al. 1999, p. 163). Finally, these

vague, sweeping, and invariably positive self-presentations preemptively counter possible negative interpretations of the group identity.

Positive Self-Presentations: 'The Best Place to Live'

Newcomers to Canada are given opportunities to participate in (or challenge) positive presentations of Canada. *Being Canadian* (2004) notes that Canada has been named one of the best places to live, mentioning social programs and 'Canada's' high quality of life. It acknowledges that "Canada has some problems" without naming what these might be but then, within the same sentence, mentions the ranking of Canada by the United Nations as "the best country in the world to live in from 1995 to 2000" (p. 130). The door to a critique of this monological "*Portrait of Canada*" is closed as quickly as it is opened with descriptions of Canada as relatively safe and peaceful.

In '*The Best Place to Live*,' *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) asks student readers to discuss "what makes a country a good place to live" (p. 12). The text then tells them "Canada is ranked by the United Nations as one of the best places to live. Do you agree or disagree? Give your opinions about Canada and any other countries you know, using the categories in the list" (p. 13). There is little within the chapter to support a negative presentation of Canada and students are left to their own devices if they wish to articulate one.

On the other hand, the chapter '*The Best Place to Live?*'—note the question mark in the otherwise identical title—in *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) asks students to reflect on why and how Canada has become ranked as one of the best places in the world to live and reasons for its decline in ranking from first to eighth (pp. 66-79). While the chapter does contain positive presentations of various cities in Canada, it does so alongside critiques of the quality

of life in Canada, increasing the dialogicality of the textbook by providing for and including a diversity of perspectives.

'Canadians value people from everywhere'

*Together,
with the water from the spring of multiculturalism,
we can quench the thirst,
ease the pain,
and remedy the sadness of wars of the 21st century*

– poem by Dae Tong Huh (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 5)

While the ideology of nationalism is often banal and implicit, the notion of 'multiculturalism' is explicitly proclaimed and flagged as 'Canadian' in many identified textbooks. It becomes closely linked to 'Canadian' and 'Canada' as an important national value and becomes written into many discussions of other national characteristics.

This proclaimed multiculturalism runs counter to observations of the monological framings of Canadian identity noted throughout this thesis. It is always, however, *Canada's* multiculturalism and multiculturalism as a *Canadian* value that is being presented. Billig (1995) mentions this confinement of multiculturalism within the ideology of nation:

Although multiculturalism might threaten old hegemonies, which claimed to speak for the whole nation, and although it might promise an equality of identities, it still typically is constrained within the notion of nationhood. (p. 148)

Presentations on food, holidays, and sports discussed elsewhere have all contained texts in which 'Canadian' and 'multicultural' existed in a tense relationship within the social imagination of Canada. Canada is constructed as including both 'Canadian' culture and the colourful cultures of 'multicultural' others. Identified textbooks boast of Canada's multiculturalism and, in doing so, construct a positive identity for Canadians:

Canada is a multicultural country. This means that Canada is made up of people from many different cultures. A main goal of multiculturalism is to

treat all Canadians as different but equal. Canadians value people from everywhere. (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 130)

Multiculturalism is a positive trait that 'we' possess which makes us good, perhaps better than undefined others who lack 'our' values. In some cases, new Canadians are positioned as possibly not sharing 'our' multicultural values (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 68). Identified textbooks teach this positive value that belongs to 'us' alongside other constructions of what Canadians know and believe.

Identified textbooks reference the notion of Canada as a 'mosaic' or as 'colorful': "Canada is often called a cultural mosaic" (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 66); "Canada, on the other hand, is _____ as a cultural mosaic" (*Canadian Concepts 5*, 1998, p. 8); *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) contains a unit titled '*Canadian Mosaic*' which discussed immigration patterns (pp. 2-16); "The immigrant population in Manitoba is a colourful and varied blend. New Canadians have come from all over the world to add a distinctive flavour to this province" (*Listen to the Loon*, 1997, p. 23); soccer, while "very popular in Canada" (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 13) is more closely associated with the multicultural "people from more than 180 countries [that] live in Toronto" (p. 13) and brings them out onto the streets during the month of the World Cup so that "multicultural Toronto is a noisy and colorful place" (p. 13). Student readers of *Listen to the Loon* (1997) are invited to participate in this discursive construction of Canada by finding out about the "festivals that are held each year to celebrate the different cultures of Manitoba" (p. 28) and then to "Write about a festival that is important in your country of origin" (p. 28). In describing Canada as a colorful mosaic, these texts continue in the long tradition of making a value of what some might see as the marginalisation of multicultural others or at the very least, the continued positioning of

some Canadians as exotic others in comparison to the implicitly less colorful and more 'Canadian' culture of 'most Canadians.'

'Our' multiculturalism sets us apart from others, including one of the touchstones of Canadian self-definition, 'our' neighbour to the South. *Canadian Concepts 6* (1998) include Canada's treatment of minorities on a list of things that differentiate us from Americans:

In a recent poll, nearly three-quarters of Canadians said they believe Canadian culture is different from the culture of the United States. They said that Canadian history, geography, political systems, and *treatment of minorities* contribute to those differences. (p. 15, emphasis mine)

Student readers are then asked to articulate some of the differences: "Many Canadians feel there are differences between being Canadian and being American. What do you think these difference are?" (p. 15). This text may be invoking the myth of the Canadian mosaic in which Canada has greater "tolerance for ethnic and cultural diversity" than the United States (Francis, 1997, p. 80). *Canadian Concepts 5* (1998) compares Canada with the United States in another identified textbook as well. In an exercise in which students are expected to fill in the blanks in a reading passage, America is characterised as a "melting pot" in which immigrants "are expected to assimilate" whereas:

Canada, on the other hand, is _____ as a cultural mosaic. This means that the various cultural groups that _____ the population are encouraged _____ their own customs and language while _____ with the society around them. (p. 8).

The following verbs from a box above the passage fit neatly in the blanks: 'known,' 'make up,' 'to maintain,' and 'joining in.' Students, in completing this exercise, are expected to rearticulate this 'Canadian' vision of multiculturalism thus confirming the positive construction of Canada as both multicultural and unique.

The notion that multiculturalism makes Canadians different than Americans can be traced back to the coining of the term ‘cultural mosaic’ by American author Victoria Hayward in 1922 who used the term to describe the variety of Christian churches she saw in small Saskatchewan towns (Francis, 1997, p. 80, citing Hayward 1922). According to Francis (1997), this term was originally used to describe the pattern of settlement in Saskatchewan and then transformed into a positive valuation of Canadian society by John Murray Gibbon, a publicist for the Canadian Pacific Railway, who used the term ‘mosaic’ as a metaphor for the way “Canadians should live together, and something which set us apart from our American neighbours” (Francis, 1997, p. 80). Thus, “according to the mosaic principle, Canadian society is characterised by a tolerance for ethnic and cultural diversity quite unlike other countries, and especially unlike the United States” (Francis, 1997, p. 80).⁵³

This claim to Canadian multiculturalism is often attributed to the imagined community of Canada or Canadians but in other places in identified textbooks, new Canadians are brought in to confirm these claims with their own experiences. CIC (2003) invites newcomers to Canada to add ‘A Few Last Words’ to their largely nationalising text and quotes Serge Radchuk as saying “To me, Canada is a unique combination of many things and many people from many places. It’s a creation that the world—and we—should cherish and nourish” (p. 44). A poem by Dae Tong Huh a poet, publisher, convenience storekeeper, and immigrant from South Korea characterises multiculturalism as a balm that can “ease the pain, and remedy the sadness of war of the 21st century” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 5). In an immigrant success story, Jack Hoang is credited with the belief that “a diverse workforce is

⁵³ Francis (1997) notes that it is curious that “at the same time as Canada was so obviously shot through with racial prejudice, the myth of the mosaic gained widespread acceptance” (Francis 1997, p. 80). I would suggest that in identified textbooks the myth of the mosaic is invoked as part of strategic denial of racism and its growing acceptance reflects the social significance and discursive function of that denial.

an advantage. Immigrants bring fresh new ideas. They have good technical skills and a wide range of experience. They also understand global markets” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 47). Abdullahi Osman, an immigrant to Canada, “fell in love with Toronto for its multiculturalism” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 51).

‘Multiculturalism’ is presented in these texts as a value that Canadians have and that others need to be informed about. In a reading titled ‘Canadian Issue: Conflict and Multiculturalism,’ *Being Canadian* (2004) suggests that many people who have “come to Canada because of conflicts in their countries” (p. 68) may “have trouble forgetting the hostility they feel towards the other group” and continue the conflict in Canada. They then quote several ESL students’ responses to a survey question “What do you think about people bringing their conflicts to Canada?” (p. 68). Nationalism and intolerance remain a property possessed by others—an emphasising of ‘their bad things’ (this thesis, p. 66). The ESL students were not quoted as challenging the assumptions contained in the question (that people do indeed bring their conflicts to Canada) but as saying: “We live in Canada now. People who were our enemies are not our enemies here”; “We should find a middle way; there should be general rules for everyone, and we must respect Canadian law”; “Canada is a peaceful country. Immigrants should respect that” (p. 68).

This positioning of ‘newcomers to Canada’ as newcomers to multiculturalism in *Being Canadian* (2004) follows closely on the heels of a presentation of most Canadians as supporting of multiculturalism. A reading titled ‘*Multiculturalism*’ quotes statistics from a federal government survey of Canadians. The survey reveals that “61 percent of Canadians support the multiculturalism policy in Canada”; “73 percent believe that multiculturalism will provide greater equality between groups”; and that “51 percent believe that recent

immigrants should have as much to say about the future of Canada as people who were born and raised here” (p. 66). While the text does not invite student readers to think critically about these statistics, an astute teacher could draw attention to the fact that, despite claims elsewhere in the text regarding the welcoming character of Canadians (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 130), the survey responses show that this view is far less common than such an assertion would suggest and ask what ‘right to speak about the future of Canada’ the other 49% of Canadians might feel that recent immigrants should have.

Canadian Snapshots (2005) comes closest to presenting critical challenges to the representation of Canada as multiculturally inclusive. In a chapter titled ‘Canadian Mosaic,’ *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) includes claims that “Canada is one of the most multicultural countries in the world and one of the most desired places for immigration” (p. 3) and a maple-leaf flagged ‘culture note’ on establishment of “policy of multiculturalism in 1971” (p. 6). It also, however, contains texts that discuss racism in Canada (pp. 13-15) and invites student readers to write a letter to a friend describing “two cultural challenges your friend might face in Canada” (p. 6). In doing so, the texts repeat claims about Canadian multiculturalism but do not present them as uncontested knowledge. Student readers are invited to question the assertion of Canada’s desirability as a place to live due to its multiculturalism. The invitation to question or critique positive constructions of ‘Canadian’ identity shows it is possible for texts call for more nuanced understandings of nation.

However, the proclamation of multiculturalism in identified textbooks is rarely accompanied by substantive discussion of the challenges faced by new Canadians and the limits to Canadians’ “valuing of people from everywhere.” Throughout *Canada Coast to Coast* (1995) Canada is represented as diverse. This embracing of diversity, however, is done

acritically. A photo of a smiling RCMP officer wearing a turban bears the caption “This RCMP officer is Sikh. He wears a turban instead of a hat” (p. 17). Even on the following page in which the RCMP uniform is discussed, there is no mention of debate within Canada over the wearing of turban by Sikh officers that would contradict the implication of Canadian multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism, consequently, remains:

an idea originated by the white, Euro-Canadian mainstream [that] expresses a remarkably benign view of ethnic relations in the country. It celebrated diversity and encouraged mutual understanding, up to a point at least, while ignoring the realities of inequality and racial injustice in Canadian society. (Francis, 1997, p. 83)

Various performances that are represented as performances of national identity are asserted as evidence of ‘Canada’s’ tolerance of national others. Identified textbooks proclaim Canadian multiculturalism and a love of diversity but the diversity being appreciated resembles the “folk-arts approach to diversity” (p. 83) that Francis (1997) attributes to the promotional skills of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other promoters of tourism within Canada (p. 83). Representations of multiculturalism in identified textbooks, in other words, works towards an imagined community of Canada and as a preemptive denial of racism.

Racism and Its Denial in Identified Textbooks

One of the crucial properties of contemporary racism is its denial. (van Dijk, 1992, p. 87)

A strategy related to positive self-presentation is the denial of negative aspects of the in-group including the denial of racist beliefs and practices (van Dijk, 1992; van Dijk, 2004; this thesis, pp. 87-88). Identified textbooks in this study were comparable to those van Dijk analyzed in that, as discussed throughout this thesis, they often contained texts that tended to

essentialise difference, exoticise or stereotype 'others,' offered self-presentations of 'us,' and exhibited the problematic dimensions of other countries. The texts represented 'Canada' as a benevolent nation welcoming to immigrant others (*Ontario Reader* 2003, 2005, 2007; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *Canadian Concepts* 5, 1998; *Canadian Concepts* 6, 1998; *Listen to the Loon*, 1997; *Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; CIC 2003c; CIC 2006a; CIC 2006b) with the occasional negative representations of 'them'. Stereotypical representations did occur and some texts seemed to bring into official and pedagogical discourse more explicitly racist public discourses about new Canadians. Texts on 'Canadian culture' focussed on 'most Canadians,' presenting the behaviours of this majority culture as a 'Canadian' culture thus marginalising or excluding discussion of immigrant cultures. Differences were essentialised as belonging to extranational others, exoticised as colorful and ethnic, and stereotyped as traditional and foreign even while they were represented as occurring within 'Canada.'

Unlike the textbooks examined by van Dijk (2004), however, the identified textbooks in this study did not exclude immigrants and minorities, but rather incorporated the voices of immigrants and minorities in order to support the monological message of the text. Furthermore, negative representations of others were often subtle or implied when they appeared at all and assignments did not assume the absence of minorities but, quite often, assumed their presence. The voices of newcomers to Canada are directly and indirectly reported but usually only in short quotes that support the argument being made throughout. Another way in which these texts differed from those analyzed by van Dijk (2004) was in terms of the assumptions the assignments made about the student readers. Assignments in the Spanish social studies textbooks van Dijk studied presupposed the exclusive presence of 'white' students in the class. Identified textbooks in this study, on the other hand, assumed

the presence of students who need to learn about 'our' good things; 'Canadian' dietary habits, naming practices, hobbies, gender relations, greetings, imagery, self-conceptions are taught and rehearsed by the 'new Canadian' student readers.

Denying racism.

Racism is denied, in part, through a continual emphasis on 'Canadian' diversity and a claim to a positive valuation of multiculturalism and inclusiveness. Texts imagine Canada as uniquely multicultural in its history, cuisine, treatment of 'others,' linguistic character, and immigration policies. Such a denial may preempt observations of racism in Canada's past and present.

I have found four identified textbooks (*Canadian Snapshots*, 2005; *Being Canadian*, 2004; *Ontario Reader*, 2003; *Ontario Reader*, 2007) that make reference, even if euphemistically, to racism and analyzed these texts for the extent to which racism is acknowledged or denied, confronted or downplayed. Some types of denial that occur in identified textbooks are individualization of racism, localizing of racism, representation of racism as a property of others, denials of racist intentions, euphemistic reframing of racism, distancing from racism, and the naming of mitigating circumstances. The denial of racism in these texts involves the recontextualization of events including process of addition and substitution (this thesis, pp. 71-73).

Ontario Reader (2007) introduces Michaelle Jean, the Governor General of Canada, as "the third woman and the first black person to hold this influential position" (p. 65). The text reads: "The family settled in Thetford Mines, Quebec. There, they were one of the few non-white families in town. Young Michaelle had to cope with racism" (p. 65). This acknowledgement of racism localizes it in a small town, describes the mitigating

circumstances of the Jean family being “one of the few non-white families in town” (p. 65), and places it in the past of Michaelle Jean’s childhood. Through the lack of specificity, racism, even when it is acknowledged here, remains abstract and impersonal.

Several texts refer to discrimination against Chinese immigrants. In ‘Forgotten story goes to court’ (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 57), the story is personalized through the presentation of the granddaughter of an immigrant to Canada from China who discusses the effects that the head tax had on her grandfather and the distress it caused him: “Yam’s grandfather was cut off from his family in China until 1947” (p. 57). Despite the call within the text for compensation from the federal government and Yam’s desire for an apology and acknowledgement “that the head tax was an act of discrimination,” the text downplays racism in a number of ways. The article refers to policies but without discussing their rationale. Sixteen-year-old Debbie Yam is indirectly reported as considering the head tax “an act of discrimination” and a “mistake” but the closest the authorial voice of the article comes to calling the head tax racist is when it refers to “*victims* of the head tax” (p. 65, emphasis mine). Furthermore, the racism of the head tax is clearly situated in the past. The article uses time clauses such as “in 1923,” “at that time,” “later in 1923,” “until 1947,” and “between 1885 and 1923” to place these incidents in the past (p. 57). It notes “many people have forgotten” that this discrimination took place and that “most young people don’t know about this” (p. 57). Yam is quoted as saying: “‘History is very important,’ Yam says. ‘If you know the history and the mistakes, you can learn from the mistakes’” (p. 57). This characterization of racism as a ‘mistake’ further downplays racism.

Another article on the same page in *Ontario Reader* (2003) titled ‘Hard life for early Chinese immigrants’ (p. 57), also situates racism as something that happened in the past.

Describing early Chinese immigrants who came to Canada to work in gold mines or build the B.C. section of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the article acknowledges dangerous and difficult working conditions. It also contains an acknowledgement, of sorts, of racism: “Many Canadians did not want Chinese in Canada. The government passed laws to keep out Chinese immigrants” (p. 57). The article continues with a discussion of the head tax. It ends, however, by noting that the “discriminatory law” was repealed in 1947 and that “in 1967, other restrictions were removed” (p. 57). The text acknowledges discriminatory laws put in place by ‘the government’ and some type of prejudice is attributed to ‘many Canadians.’ However, by beginning the article with the statement “Every year, thousands of new immigrants arrive from China. But it wasn’t always so easy for Chinese newcomers” (*Ontario Reader*, 2003, p. 57) and ending it by noting that after the repeal of the head tax and other laws “thousands of Chinese have immigrated to Canada” (p. 57), the article situates ‘prejudice’ as something that happened in the past and ‘discriminatory restrictions’ as having been removed in 1967. There is no discussion of present day ‘discrimination’ or any possible current ill will on the part of ‘many Canadians.’ Racism remains a matter of ‘prejudice’ and ‘discrimination’ but is not explicitly characterised as racism.

This discursive strategy of presenting racism as something that happened in the past also appears in two readings on ‘Canadian Issues’ in *Being Canadian* (2004). A text titled ‘Chinese Canadians’ explains:

Many Chinese men came to Canada in the nineteenth century to help build the railway. When it was completed, a lot of them stayed, mostly in British Columbia. The federal government at the time would not allow the men to bring their families to Canada unless they paid a head tax. (p. 56)

As no other explanation is given as to why these laws were enacted, that “a lot of them stayed, mostly in British Columbia” appears as a possible mitigating circumstance for the

discriminatory laws put in place by “the federal government at the time” (p. 56). The article then notes “it was not until 1947 that Chinese Canadians were given most of the rights enjoyed by other Canadians” and that other “**restrictions**” were lifted in 1967 (p. 56, emphasis in original). The rest of the article is devoted to explaining how “Canada has come a long way in the last few **decades**. There is now less discrimination” (p. 56, emphasis in original), giving evidence of the distance that Canada is claimed to have come by mentioning the selection of David See-Chi Lam as lieutenant-governor of British Columbia and “Adrienne Clarkson, who came to Canada as a refugee from Hong Kong” as Governor General of Canada (p. 56). These ‘additions’ are a form of recontextualization and tenuous ones in that they have little direct relationship to the events being described. Such claims to a less discriminatory present, often occur after even the most ambiguous acknowledgements of discrimination in the past.

On the following page, an article titled ‘Japanese Canadians’ follows a remarkably similar rhetorical style. It begins with a statement about the numbers of Japanese Canadians living in Canada in the 1940s. The attack on Pearl Harbor is mentioned, acting as a mitigating circumstance for internment. The text then describes how “the Canadian government sent Japanese to work camps in the interior of British Columbia and in Alberta” (p. 57). Other than the attack on Pearl Harbor no motive is given for the government’s actions. “Discrimination during the war” is only acknowledged in the context of an apology by the federal government. In concluding the article by noting that “the federal government apologized and gave some money to those people who were discriminated against” (p. 57), once again, evidence of a less discriminatory present serves to distance Canada from past discrimination.

Racism is rarely mentioned as a cause of 'discrimination' in identified textbooks. A third text in *Being Canadian's* (2004) 'Canadian Issue' reading mentions more recent 'discrimination.' It begins by citing a survey of students in an ESL class regarding discrimination. Nine of the fourteen "said that there is some discrimination on the basis of sex, skin colour, nationality, and language skills" in Canada (p. 57). Student readers are then asked "How many people in your class have been discriminated against?" (p. 57). This acknowledgement that 'skin colour' might serve as the basis for discrimination is rare in identified textbooks. The article then describes a "case of discrimination" in which Sikh men were denied entry into "some branches of the Royal Canadian Legion." The article presents the Legion members argument that "it is a sign of respect to remove headgear when entering the Legion" and explains the Sikh's religious requirements to wear the turban (p. 57). No other motive for this discrimination than tradition and respect for Legion customs is mentioned. The possibility that there racism could motivate this discrimination is not mentioned.

The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11th, 2001 appears as a mitigating factor to explain some of the few present day acknowledgements of racism in *Being Canadian* (2004). A 'Canadian Issue' text from *Being Canadian* (2004) "world events often **trigger** discrimination" (p. 57, emphasis in original) and mentions discrimination against "many Arab and Muslim Canadians ... even though they had nothing to do with the terrorist attacks in the United States" (p. 57). In a reading titled "The Effects of September 11, 2001," racial profiling is explained (*Being Canadian*, 2004, p. 95). The mitigating circumstance of the terrorist attack on September 11 is assigned as a cause of racial profiling

and discrimination: “Unfortunately, one of the consequences of September 11 is racial profiling and discrimination towards visible minorities” (p. 95).

Normalizing Language Teaching in CIC Publications

‘Imagined communities’ rely, in part, on the construction of a linguistic identity (Anderson, 2006). However, if a nation can be thought of as an imagined community, then these linguistic identities and the language policies that support them become contestable. In this section, I discuss the claims made in the texts regarding official bilingualism and use CDA to point to various forms of legitimation brought into play in order to support these policies and the expectation that newcomers will learn at least one official language.

Official Bilingualism and Language Rights

Among the many characteristics of Canadian identity asserted in identified CIC publications is support for and promotion of official bilingualism. Widespread use of English and French in Canada allow for support for the maintenance and spread of English to seem ‘common-sensical.’ Although the official status of English would allow for English to be presented as the uncontestable and normal option, texts also legitimate the status of English:

English and French are Canada’s two official languages. English- and French-speaking people have lived together in Canada for more than 300 years. This is an important part of our Canadian identity—more than 98 percent of Canadians speak either English or French or both. **You must be able to speak English or French to become a Canadian citizen.** (CIC, 2006a, p. 8, emphasis in original)

This short text contains a number of attempts at legitimating the condition that ‘you’ be able to speak English or French to become recognized as a Canadian citizen. The passage as a whole could be described as performing legitimation through ‘moral abstraction’ in which what appear to be simply descriptive sentences emphasize specific qualities of an activity (in

this case the speaking of English or French) in ways which imply discourse(s) of values (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999, p. 108). The positive evaluation of bilingualism presupposed by the use of the adjective ‘important’ in ‘this is an important part of our Canadian identity’ links the learning of English or French to discourses affirming national identity and belonging. Similarly, the characterizing of English and French as having “lived together” (ibid.), links the learning of one of these official languages to discourses on diversity and multiculturalism enacted throughout the text. The designation of these languages as ‘official’ and a precondition for citizenship utilizes a legitimation through legal authorization as well as discourses on the obligations of citizenship. The emboldened, modalised demand directed at the reader in the last sentence of this paragraph is heavily legitimated by all of the above. Such legitimation may be necessary considering that language testing for citizenship denies citizenship to some, “potentially preventing a group of willing residents from participating in the democratic process, and from accessing their rights” (Blackledge, 2006, p. 68).

Legitimizing ‘Learning English or French’.

This legitimation of official languages appears in other texts throughout these publications. The text titled ‘Learning English or French’ (see Appendix 2) both exemplifies a ‘logic of appearances’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 95) and contains many of the forms of legitimation identified by (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, pp. 104-111; this thesis, pp. 85-87). Appendix 2 contains the complete text with the causal relations noted through the insertion of the words ‘elaboration,’ ‘additive,’ ‘contrastive/concessive,’ and ‘temporal’ in capital letters before the clause they refer to. The full text shows that the majority of clauses are additive or elaborative with very little else. The semantic relations between clauses within the first paragraph, which details the status of English and French in Canada, consist almost

entirely of additions and elaborations. In this sense, it has a 'logic of appearances' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 95). The second paragraph, on the other hand, while still largely additive has an element of explanatory logic with several clauses adding purposes to the claim that learning English or French is necessary. As with other texts written with a 'logic of appearances,' there are a number of silences and exclusions that would be made relevant were more attention paid in the text to the social contexts and conditions surrounding these social facts.

The 'logic of appearances' that predominates in this text presents the position of these languages within Canada as naturally occurring and essential ignoring the extent to which the official status and predominance of English is the result of policies and practices. There is no discussion within this text of other linguistic possibilities or of how English came to be "the language of the majority everywhere in Canada" (CIC, 2003c, p. 31). This 'logic of appearances' makes the need to learn an official language 'common-sensical,' setting aside issues of historical or present injustices that could be presented in challenge to the status of these languages. Blackledge (2006), drawing on Bourdieu (2000) argues "symbolic indications of identities and positions in society are only legitimate because they are misrecognized as such. That is, they have no intrinsic value or status unless there is consensus that they do" (p. 74). The establishment of that consensus, however, is erased through the presentation of the text in a dehistoricised present, speaking factually about how things are and not how they came to be.

The text legitimates this position of English or French as the languages that newcomers must learn to speak using the four main strategies of legitimation, namely authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98;

Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999, pp. 104-111; this thesis, pp. 85-87): (1) *Authorization*: The necessity of speaking English or French is legitimated by reference to law (authorization) as “one of two official languages” (CIC, 2003c, p. 31), tradition (conformity authorization) with “almost everyone in Canada speaking at least one of these languages” (ibid); (2) *Rationalization*: Learning English is rationalized as “you will find it easier to get a job” and as it is a skill “you will need to adapt to life here in Canada” (rationalization) (ibid); (3) *Moral Legitimation*: Legitimation through reference to a value systems is less explicit in this text; however, as becoming a citizen and understanding Canada have been established as moral values elsewhere in the text, these stated purposes act as moral legitimation for the necessity of learning English;⁵⁴ (4) *Mythopoesis*: “legitimation conveyed through narrative” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98) can be seen in the text through the establishment of characters, setting, and events in the description of ‘you’ needing “to communicate with ‘your’ children, who will be busy learning English or French at school” (CIC, 2003c, p. 31). While this could be seen as a rationalization or moral evaluation—appealing to the utility of being able to communicate with one’s children or the moral value of family communication—it is also a cautionary tale in which “socially deviant behavior results in an unhappy ending” (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999, p. 110). It is interesting to note that this ‘story’ assumes first language loss to be a given and yet, rather than suggesting first language maintenance as a way to ensure communication with their children, the learning of English or French is suggested instead.

54 Citizenship is established as a moral value, a gift, and a guiding principle in statements such as: “Canadian citizenship is about caring enough to want to get involved and make Canada even better” (p. 7) and “For many newcomers, the gift of citizenship, this special sense of belonging, is a goal that guides much of what they do every day” (p. 43).

Implied in the list of purposes in the second paragraph for learning English or French, is that not learning English or French is a reason for inability to adapt, to get a job, to understand Canada, to communicate with one's children, and to become Canadian citizens. Such implications resonate with other (racialising) discourses on the failure of successful immigration into multicultural societies (Blackledge, 2006).

The lack of any relevant discussion of the reasons that other languages spoken in Canada are not officially recognized and the lack of specific mention of first languages other than English or French are amongst the silences or exclusions enacted by the factual representations of this text—the 'this is the way it is' logic of appearances that the text follows. This exclusion occurs in a number of ways:

- (1) The texts do not speak with any specificity of other languages spoken in Canada.

Elsewhere in the publications, for example, aboriginal languages are mentioned but they are enumerated not named.

- (2) Languages other than English or French are not positioned as Canadian languages.

While French and English are marked as official languages, other languages are marked as being "their languages" (CIC, 2006a, p. 8), and "their language" (p. 9), "different languages" (p. 14), the "50 different languages spoken by Aboriginal peoples, most of which are spoken only in Canada" (p. 14), "your language" (CIC, 2006b, p. 11) and "languages other than French or English" (CIC, 2003, p. 33) not "Canada's official languages" (p. i). This exclusion occurs despite the long history of languages other than English and French being spoken in the region. Stanley (2006) noting that Chinese has been spoken and written in parts of Canada for as long as

English muses: “One wonders how long it takes for a language to become Canadian” (p. 46).

- (3) First languages, when they are mentioned, are suggested as a temporary solution and are not positively valued. The value of first languages is rarely discussed except as possible temporary ways of accessing some critical public services (CIC, 2003c, p. 9 and p. 33).
- (4) There is no discussion of issues of language loss. Considering the weight of the evidence supporting the importance for first language maintenance (Ellis, 1994, pp. 221-227; Guardado, 2001; Kouritzin, 1999, 2000; Tannebaum, 2003; Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Education, 1999; Wong-Fillmore, 1991) and the role of the English language in language loss in this region (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2003) such an oversight seems negligent at best.

‘And They Continue to Come’: Immigration and a ‘Logic of Appearances’

While mythopoesis figures prominently in immigrant success stories and positive presentations of Canada appear in texts on multiculturalism, texts that discuss immigration rather than specific immigrants often follow a ‘logic of appearances’ rather than an ‘explanatory logic’ (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 95-96; this thesis, p. 74). The texts are primarily factual presentations, containing mostly additions and elaborations with little analysis of causes, consequences, and conditions relevant to the phenomenon. Readers may infer from the ‘logic of appearances’ in such texts that certain social conditions—in this case, immigration patterns and policies—are unquestionable and inevitable (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 95-96).

From the 24 identified textbooks, I have selected 30 articles (texts) that discussed immigration, including those that discussed immigration law, patterns, policies, the reasons people might choose to immigrate, and the attitudes of Canadians toward new Canadians. I have excluded those texts that contained only tangential references to immigration laws, patterns, or policies. Of the thirty texts selected, eleven discussed the current immigration policies, six mentioned changes in immigration policies over time, and fourteen mentioned changes in the patterns of immigration, e.g., changes in the country of origin of the immigrants. Of these, only eight mentioned any rationale for Canadian immigration policy, and only four suggested reasons for changes to patterns or policies. Immigration is consequently presented as something that happens in Canada, with little discussion of the rationale, and as something that changes, but with little discussion of the cause or consequences of those changes.

Decontextualized change of immigration policies.

I have analyzed these texts for the way in which they present Canadian immigration policy and patterns and found that they reduce the dialogicality of the texts through a discursive style that follows a 'logic of appearances.' While they discuss immigration policies, patterns, and changes in the immigration patterns over time, there is much less discussion of the reasons behind the policies, patterns, and changes and the arguments made for or against immigration policies. The effect of these descriptions of policies and avoidance of critical discussions is the presentation of immigration as neutral and inevitable.

Following a 'logic of appearances,' these texts do not argue for or against Canadian immigration policy. They present a series of facts (additions and elaborations) and the occasional purpose for which this rationale has been put in place but without explicit

evaluation of these purposes or the effectiveness of the policies. Of eleven texts that discussed current immigration policies, only four contained arguments for or against the current laws or policies. The few criticisms that were made were either relatively mild or attributed to social agents that lacked a great deal of legitimacy, e.g. illegal immigrants (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 45-46). Other than the mild criticisms that “applying can take a long time” and “it also costs money” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 31) there was very little criticism or debate regarding Canadian immigration policies. These ‘logic of appearances’ texts leave unquestioned the rationale and ethics of Canadian immigration policy and reduce the space in which student readers of these texts might articulate an argument against them.

A reading text in *Canadian Snapshots* (2005), for example, describes the percentages of the Canadian population born outside of the country as recorded in the national census throughout the 20th century. The text does not discuss the reasons for the changing pattern nor mention the ways in which immigration policy could have been a factor. Other than noting that immigration was lower “during the depression and war years” (p. 7) there is little explanation for the changes in immigration patterns. These factual presentations leave the patterns of immigration and settlement as objective and purposeless as the weather, beyond governmental control and human agency.

In a text discussing immigration to Manitoba, *Listen to the Loon* (1997) tells us that the countries of origin of immigrants to Manitoba have changed between 1950 and 2000 with more immigrants of Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Thai, and East Indian ancestry settling in Winnipeg with “the most recent immigrants to Manitoba [coming] from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, El Salvador, and Guatemala” (p. 15). There is no explanation of what policy changes might have accounted for that changing immigration pattern.

This lack of discussion on the reasons for changes in the patterns of immigration to Canada masks the possibility that changes in immigration policy might account for the changing demographics of new immigrants. Any historical exclusions or policy restrictions that might have limited immigration from some countries previously are left unexplained by texts that address student readers using a ‘logic of appearances’ discursive style relaying facts and information such as “During the 1960s, almost all of Canada’s immigrants (90%) came from Britain and Europe. Today, most newcomers are from Asia (63%)” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 29). Such texts do little to encourage understandings or awareness of the rationale behind Canadian immigration patterns or to help students to articulate in English the critical understandings they may already have.

Canada’s benevolence.

When identified textbooks discussing immigration policy do refer to the rationale for the policies, what is apparent is Canada’s benevolence. The purpose of the family reunification “is to reunite close family members” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 35). The most salient social agent in these texts is ‘Canada,’ which, in its benevolence, “offers asylum” (p. 35), “offers protection” (p. 37), and provides a “safe haven” (p. 37).

However, texts often confuse the government rationale for promoting immigration for those of the newcomers, reducing the complexity and diversity of the reasons for which newcomers have come to Canada. *Canadian Snapshots* (2005) tells student readers that immigrants entered Canada in the early part of the 20th century “to settle the western provinces, to meet growing requirements for workers, and to help build the railroad across Canada” (p. 7).

Discussions of refugee immigrants frequently mention reasons for immigration. These articles describe immigrants whose “lives were in danger” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 39) fearing “persecution, torture or death in their home countries” (p. 37) and fleeing war, violence, and conflict. Canada is portrayed as benevolent in these texts as “Canada has offered protection” and the Canadian refugee system “helps thousands of people every year” (p. 37). *Ontario Reader* (2007) describes Pier 21 as “a place full of memories of people who sailed across the ocean seeking a land of hope and opportunity” (p. 41). Canada becomes a place in which immigrants can “build a new life together” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, p. 35). Refugees are described as feeling “grateful” and “fortunate” and expressing appreciation to those who sponsored them to come to Canada (p. 39).

Only two of the thirty texts mention ways in which ‘Canada’ might benefit from immigration. *Ontario Reader* (2007) tells student readers that “Canada’s population is aging, and the fertility rate is low (1.5 children per woman). Without immigration, the population would soon begin to decline. Immigration also helps Canada’s labour force to grow” (p. 29). In another article, immigrants are desirable “because of their potential economic contribution to Canada” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 33-34) and it is acknowledged that “The Government of Canada wants to attract immigrants who can contribute to the economy. It wants skilled professionals, tradespeople, and individuals who will start businesses and create jobs” (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 33-34). The relative rarity of texts that speak of the benefits of immigration for Canada compared with those texts that speak of Canada’s benevolence towards new immigrants reveals the prevalence of the discursive construction of ‘Canada’ as a redeemer (Roman & Stanley, 1997) rather than as a receiver of the skills and experience that newcomers bring.

'Canadian' attitudes towards immigration.

Identified textbooks usually claim Canadians are supportive of immigration and immigrants. Eight of thirty texts discussed attitudes of citizens of Canada towards immigration. Of these eight, six attributed positive attitudes to Canadians while three discussed negative attitudes. An article titled 'Boat people: The Ha family settles in Canada's prairies' describes the generosity of a group of young Mennonites who sponsored the refugee application of a Vietnamese family (*Ontario Reader*, 2007, pp. 39-40). Tam Ha describes her sponsors as being "more proud of me than I am of myself" (p. 39).

The warm and personal tone of the detailed narrative account describing Ha's friendship with and gratitude towards her sponsors can be contrasted with the almost non-existent cursory mentions of less supportive attitudes towards immigration. Compared with presentations of Canadian generosity, negative attitudes towards immigration are presented more abstractly, less clearly attributed to concrete social agents, and mitigated by other factors or presented as something that happened in the past. While abstract social agents in the past *may* have held vague discriminatory beliefs in regards to immigration, concrete social agents in the present *are* active supporters of immigrants.

Summary and Discussion: Legitimizing Hegemonic Relations

Henderson and McEwen (2005) argue that discourses on nationally 'shared values' serve three different purposes: (1) to present the values of particular political parties as those of the population; (2) "to mobilise the population or encourage support or sacrifice in times of stress" (p. 174); and (3) to strengthen "inter-regional solidarity and a mutual sense of belonging" (p. 174) in the face of movements for regional autonomy or separation. From a

more critical perspective, the purposes of discourses on 'shared values' could be alternatively understood as (1) implying that the values and the interests of certain (dominant) social groups or political actors are those of the entire population; (2) compelling activity and behaviour in support of hegemonic interests; and (3) fostering a sense of belonging despite ethnic, regional, and social stratification. Consequently, discourses on 'shared values' are a powerful resource in establishing consensus towards the achievement of a hegemonic status of specific, interested representations of an imagined community.

Publications intended for new Canadians and applicants for Canadian citizenship legitimate their normative enterprise with reference to the values of an imagined community. These texts do more, however, than mark 'Canada' as a nation—they mark certain values, beliefs, and behaviours as 'Canadian.' The citizens of a nation are imagined as a community and defining characteristics, values, beliefs, political interests, and knowledges are attributed to them. Through these acts of imagining, a community is constructed to which can be ascribed and upon which can be legitimated the normative force of prescriptions of specific values and behaviours.

These texts are informative and it may be in the best interest of 'newcomers to Canada' to be aware of these social discourses on 'our' imagined community. Knowing social and institutional norms can be empowering. The presentation of these norms, however, takes place within a nationalising project that constructs a positive self-presentation of Canadians and Canadianness and positions the reader as alien to this project. Despite the positive evaluation of diversity, the texts work to further exclude already othered voices within an imagined community of Canada.

Both identified textbooks and CIC publications contained texts that legitimated policies and practices that could be challenged as discriminatory. In immigrant success stories, mythopoesis followed a notable and repetitive pattern that implied that hard work and a good character made economic, social, and personal success possible. Through these stories, the struggles of immigrants to Canada become legitimated through stories of eventual and almost invariable success in a land of opportunity and possibility.

Texts that follow a 'logic of appearances' describing immigration in a factual manner and seemingly objective tone present the policies as uncontested and uncontestable, naturalising them, masking the political struggle involved in shaping and forming immigration policies over time, constructing "imaginings of belonging [that] gloss over the fissures, the losses, the absences and the borders within them" (Anthias 2006, p. 21). Policies become dehistoricised through the lack of mention of contextual factors and reasons for changes in immigration patterns over time. While politics of belonging are situated temporally, spatially, and intersectionally, the 'logic of appearances' through which identities are often constructed in these texts dehistoricises them, extends them across the entire national space, and ignores the extent to which other claims to identity compete or conflict with these national claims. While discursive constructions of group membership shift historically, geographically, and "along different power grids in society – such as along class, ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, (dis)ability, stage in the life cycle and so on" (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006, pp. 7-8), the presentation of some values and behaviours as timeless aspects of 'Canadian' culture co-extensive with the nation masks the ways in which other positionings intersect with other constructions of group membership.

Anthias (2006) notes that in much of the writing on multiculturalism the focus has been on the cultural predispositions of newcomers, distracting from “societal mechanisms involved in the production of salient narratives and practices of ‘identity’ and belonging (Anthias 2002b)” (p. 20). One important societal mechanism is the discursive legitimization of certain cultural predispositions against which others can be imagined or constructed as silent. The repeated legitimization of a positively marked national identity has served to legitimise past or present exclusions. Where legal protection of rights prevents laws from guiding behaviour, *conformity authorization* is used to validate certain behaviours and justify social or cultural expectations.

Both CIC publications and identified textbooks used conformity authorization to legitimate certain behaviours in various social settings including the private homes of Canadians. While several forms of legitimation are brought into play even in a short text legitimating the learning of English or French, other languages are not legitimised in official discourses despite their being noted as evidence of Canada’s multiculturalism. These various forms of legitimation give value to certain identities and positions while leaving others relatively lacking in legitimacy. They are strategies of investment in the symbolic capital of cultural behaviours that have been marked as ‘Canadian.’

Forms of legitimation do their work unobtrusively allowing the socially produced and situated to be imagined as natural and essential, naturalising the “socially produced, situational and contextual relations, converting them to taken-for-granted, absolute and fixed structures of social and personal life” (Anthias 2006, p. 21). These various forms of legitimation shield practices, policies, or social norms that could be seen as exclusionary or discriminatory from reproach.

Marginalising Inclusions

Analysis of how texts position Canadians in terms of social groupings other than citizenship demonstrate the extent to which citizenship and membership in national communities is gendered and racialised with some Canadians being more centrally Canadian than others. Discourses that position individuals vis-à-vis the nation do so with reference to intersections of citizenship, gender, and ethnic, national or racial identities. Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) argue that “racialised exclusionary effects” are supported by discourses around gender, sexuality and family (p. 1). Speaking of military policies, immigration policies, and laws, Yuval-Davis (2006) states:

constructions of gender, sexuality and family relations play central roles in justifying these policies and have a high symbolic value with a direct effect on the lives of women and sexual minorities in very many places. (p. 1)

These markings of some citizens as marginal members of the imagined community are in many social contexts being used to justify laws and policies that restrict speech in both academic and political discourse and performances of identity such as religious modes of dress (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006, p. 2).

Identified textbooks and CIC publications characterise ‘Canada’ as multicultural and ‘Canadians’ as supportive of multicultural values and, yet, the framework of ‘liberal multiculturalism’ evident in the texts reifies difference and marginalises those it includes. Representations of Canada as benign in its immigration policies and benevolent in its multiculturalism are positive self-presentations of Canada. Canadians are represented as having important shared values *despite* their differences. Anthias (2006) suggests that discussions of multiculturalism should avoid fixating on the ‘problem’ of difference and instead ask which discourses, policies, and understandings have made difference into a

problem: “we could usefully turn this question [of difference] on its head and ask instead: under what conditions do people with different languages, cultures and ways of life fail to live in harmony?” (p. 17). That multiculturalism and immigration are things that Canadians do out of compassion for others despite difficulties positions multiculturalism as a problem, albeit one for which Canadians have found solutions. Such a representation reaffirms difference and posits that difference as nationally determined and reproduced.

The multiculturalism described in CIC publications and identified textbooks could be characterised as liberal multiculturalism. Anthias (2006) writes that a:

liberal multiculturalist framework means that the dominant group within the state is able to set the terms of the agenda for participation by minority ethnic groups and involves a bounded dialogue where the premises themselves may not be open to negotiation. (Anthias 2006, p. 24)

The repeated positioning in identified textbooks of multiculturalism as something that ‘Canadians’ do for ‘others,’ the repeated positive constructions of some performances of identity as ‘Canadian’ and others as ‘*multiculturally* Canadian,’ the conformity authorization and feigned dialogicality through which certain performances become expected of ‘you,’ the invitations for ‘you’ to compare ‘your culture’ to ‘Canadian culture,’ and the government rationale to use language instruction to introduce ‘new Canadians’ to ‘the Canadian way of life’ are instances in these identified textbooks and CIC publications where the agenda is being set in monologic terms suppressing dialogue and negotiation.

In this way, multiculturalism becomes “both a feeble recognition of the fact that cultures have lost their moorings in definite places and an attempt to subsume this plurality of cultures within the framework of national identity” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997a, p. 35). Multiculturalism, while being presented in the texts as something that ‘Canadians’ do out of an appreciation of ‘people from everywhere,’ works to organize multicultural others in

relationship to a 'Canadian' identity. If multiculturalism is "reduced to an administrative tool aiming to regulate collective diversity for cohesion and nation-state purposes" (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006, p. 6), then it will fail to address the cultural hegemony evident in the claims to a benign tolerance of others. The tolerance of an 'other' works in a number of ways to preserve and perpetuate the imagination of an 'us.' 'We' are imagined through reference to an 'other' who is different than 'us'; 'our' valuing of 'them' is one of 'our' positive characteristics. In these texts, however, the grammar at work is not one of 'us' and 'them' but of 'us' and 'you' with 'you' being presented as a possible, conditional member of 'us.'

Dialogicality

Both CIC publications and identified textbooks have, in parts, displayed a low level of dialogicality even while attempting to appear dialogical. This 'feigning of dialogicality' involves the attribution of abstract and inspecific views to abstract social agents (often 'Canadians' or 'most Canadians') through indirect reports. It has also involved brief direct reports of views often attributed to specific newcomers to Canada, that support the monologic assumptions of the text. The quoting of newcomers often occurs when the view the newcomer is reported to hold might otherwise be construed as justifying exclusionary practices or criticizing those marginal to the imagined community of Canada. By putting them in the mouths of 'newcomers,' the texts minimize observations that the views being seen as ideologically interested. The range of dialogicality in the text remains quite low despite the introduction of what appear to be other voices. This feigned dialogicality often works as a form of conformity authorization, whereby the voice that is introduced values certain behaviours. The text then can present these behaviours as valued without the authorial voice of the text taking responsibility for the valuation. However, the authorial voice speaks

as if it can know what 'most Canadians' value or do, constructing Canadians as clearly identifiable and knowable group against which 'you' might be compared, thus fixing identity and reifying difference. Again, as with other forms of conformity authorization, this type of legitimation appears often where legal authorization would be inappropriate.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Wanting to Imagine Otherwise

This thesis began with the argument that language classrooms are a place in which nation is imagined. The notion of ‘imagined community’ outlined in the introduction and referred to throughout this thesis is a challenge to notions of nation that see it as fixed, deterministic, and essential. Anderson’s (2006) notion of imagined community, however, was developed with little reference to the extent to which these imaginings have involved the subordination of gendering and racialising discourses. The nation is not the only community being unimaginatively imagined in these discourses. A wide range of social positions is implied in the imagination of the nation. In the context of social exclusions and marginalisations legitimated with reference to notions of nationhood, it becomes even more imperative that educators, particularly those who work with those marginalised by cultural racism and gendered constructions of nationhood, question the extent to which they work within nationalist projects or that their work projects nation onto the social interactions that could otherwise be the basis of possibly less exclusive visions of community.

Returning to the Research Questions

While the analyses of multiple texts is complicated and it is impossible to make claims that include all identified textbooks, I have identified recurring discursive strategies that construct gendered and racialised nationhood in ESL textbooks used in the LINC program. That such discursive strategies, while frequent, are not unchallenged offers hope that more dialogical and critical representations of community are possible and likely. In this

section, I refer back to the research questions that guided this thesis and offer some summaries of relevant analyses.

At the beginning of this thesis, I asked whether and how ESL textbooks teach nation-ness and nationalism, how they imagine Canada, and how they imagine ESL learners in relation to this imagined Canada. I asked if there were continuities between the discourses in ESL textbooks used in the LINC program and the official discourses of Canadian citizenship employed in publications from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). I also asked how theories of power, language and discourse, and subjectivity and identity help to explain these constructions of nation-ness.

(1) Do ESL textbooks used in the LINC program in Ontario teach nation-ness and nationalism and, if so, how? Identified textbooks teach nation-ness and nationalism through the construction of an imagined community that is represented as sharing positive cultural values, behaviours, knowledges, histories, and futures. The texts imagine 'Canada.' They map this political community onto geographic space and flag it repeatedly throughout their books. Within this Canada, they imagine a community of 'Canadians,' the shared beliefs, desires, and behaviours of which can be known and explained. This imagined and valued community of 'Canadians' is then used to legitimate expectations of 'newcomers to Canada.'

These texts also imagine 'newcomers to Canada' who, while constructed as multicultural others differing from 'Canadians' are benevolently welcomed and marginally included within this imagined community. The positive marking of multiculturalism in Canada takes the form of a marginalising exclusion of 'new Canadians' through which 'their' values, behaviours, knowledges, histories, and future are marked as those of an 'other' within

the nation. The inclusion of newcomers is marked by uncertainty, tentativeness, and exoticisation.

(2) Are there continuities in the discourses of Canadian citizenship and belonging employed in the identified textbooks and those employed in the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) texts recommended for use in the LINC program, and if so, what are they?

Several lines of continuity exist between the discourses of racialised Canadian citizenship in identified textbooks and those in the government-produced texts (CIC, 2003c, 2006a, 2006b). Both identified textbooks and government-produced texts use various forms of legitimation—particularly conformity authorization, feigned dialogicality, mythopoesis, and a ‘logic of appearances’—to nationalize particular culture practices and values. Strategies of explicit positive self-presentation and a usually implicit negative other-presentation were used to affirm the imagined community of Canada and Canadians, while marginalising possible ‘others’ both within and outside of Canada.

Through various forms of denial of racism and the marking of multiculturalism as a ‘Canadian’ value, these texts imagine away inequality that exists within Canada in ways that could further marginalise ESL students who face racism. In both sets of texts, denials of racism were used to imagine racism as a property of ‘others’ who were in the past, elsewhere, or limited in number but not in any way representative of the imagined community of ‘Canadians.’ Lines of continuity can also be drawn between public racist discourses and the discourses in the both identified textbooks and identified CIC publications, as evidenced in the implication that any failure of new immigrants to integrate is due to their own character faults, the legitimation of two languages as Canadian to the exclusion of others, and references to semi-wild animals that are not to be eaten.

(3) *How can theories of power, language and discourse, and subjectivity and identity help to explain these constructions of nation-ness?* I explain the continuities between these discourses through reference to theories of nations as imagined communities (Anderson 2006; Billig, 1995), gendered and racialised nationhood (Anthias, 2006; Goldberg, 2002; Yuval-Davis et al., 2006), discursive hegemony and ideology (Gramsci, 2000; Jäger 2001), and dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1981/2000; Coffin, 2002; Coffin and O'Halloran, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Voloshinov, 1986/2000; White, 2001, 2003). Both identified textbooks and government-produced texts participated in the construction of an imagined community of Canada through banal nationalism, positive self-representations, the imagining of shared values, and the reinforcement of the ideology of ubiquitous nationalism. Analyses of these discourses through which nation has been imagined show that there are gendered and racialised elements to these imaginings that supports current hegemonic relations. The relative lack of dialogicality apparent in these texts supports discursive hegemony by downplaying or silencing possible counter-hegemonic understandings.

Resisting the Naturalisation of Nation-ness in ESL Classrooms

ESL classrooms, ESL texts, and TESOL theory are sites in which fixed visions of nationhood have been reproduced. They are also, however, sites in which these notions have been and can continue to be challenged. The possibilities of students engaged in projects and with content that foster an active reimagining of their national communities in the language classroom with the hopes that they will adopt transnational perspectives have been raised by TESOL professionals and theorists (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Kamal, 2003). Even in these more active imaginings, however, imagination is still restricted by the ideology of

nation. To foster imaginings of community that acknowledge the extent to which various social positions intersect in the construction of identity in textbooks and in the positionality of readers of texts, the discourses involved in the reproduction of national identities must be denaturalised.

Claims to a Canadian national identity that imagine a community of Canadians with shared values and behaviours, and imagining this community as one that needs to be taught to students in ESL classrooms, works to fix understandings of Canadians by marginalising some Canadians and positioning others at the centre of Canadian national identity. I have attempted to unsettle the ways in which everyday presentations of nationhood, including my own, eternalize and naturalise that which is discursively reproduced in the present. The banal nationalism found in CIC publications and identified textbooks are the repetitive and everyday markings of nation that make it commonsensical and difficult to question. By drawing attention to the frequency, function, and interestedness of these everyday markings, I have hoped to make them less easily forgotten and more open to questioning.

That the language classroom is a place in which these hegemonic discourses and everyday markings of nation reduce the diverse possible understandings and social positions achievable in social interaction does not imply that these discourses are specific to language classrooms. The discourses critiqued here are widespread in official texts, popular media, and other educational contexts. As a language teacher, however, I am excited by the possibility of interrupting these hegemonic discourses and the need to do so in relation to the language classroom. ESL texts, ESL classrooms, and TESOL theory can be sites in which multiple interpretations of nation and imaginings of community are welcomed, allowed to surface, and seen as challenges and contradictions to attempts to stifle difference. It has been my intention

to participate in this process by critiquing some of the more ubiquitous and naturalised discourses of the imagined community of nation that hinder the more dialogical, contextualized, immediate, and ethically engaged imagining communities of the classroom.

Fostering Imagining Communities

In order to foster these imagining communities, TESOL theory should continue to draw upon and develop critiques of essentialised notions of identity. Throughout this analysis, I have presented ways in which identified textbooks *constructed identities*. By focussing on the constructedness of identities, I have hoped to unsettle the texts presumptions that identities are fixed traits belonging to individuals. While notions of multiple identities and hybridity begin to unsettle the more restrictive notions of identity: “A concern with multiple and fragmented identities still suggests that identity might be a possessive property of individuals rather than a process” (Anthias 2006, p. 20). Attention to these nationalising discourses through which identities becomes constructed, allows these processes to become consciously engaged with.

Furthermore, these imagining communities need to value the understandings that students bring to the classroom. Identified ESL textbooks begin this process through asking student readers to compare and contrast their nation of origin to Canada. They affirm multiculturalism as a value and express a desire to respect and understand diverse interpretations. The liberal multiculturalism that identified textbooks value reproduces notions of fixed identities through understandings of culture in which “people are presumed to have particular cultures and not other ones and those cultures are understood to be mutually distinct” (Bhabra, 2006, p. 36). A critical/reflexive multiculturalism, however,

draws attention to the discursive processes through which cultures become imagined as multiple and distinct (p. 37). TESOL theory, in order to address the extent to which language teaching participates in these “processes of exclusion, inclusion and constructions of otherness” (p. 37) needs to address the processes that produce difference.

In order to foster creative imaginings of community, ESL teachers in Canada need to beware of societal exclusions that hinder participation in these processes of reimagining. The unimaginative imagining of national communities reifies difference, positing fixed, deterministic, and cohesive groups that have similarities and differences from ‘us.’ Racism, sexism, linguisticism, and other exclusionary discourses, which I have argued become perpetuated by and subordinated within current imaginings of Canadian identity, work to limit and shape the subject positions available to students. In many places, identified textbooks and CIC publications, have envisioned an officially bilingual nation in which many languages are valued and in which racism and sexism are not a part of Canadian reality. This better Canada that these texts imagine may be an attractive one but it is irresponsible to present it as a Canadian reality. To do so uncritically, ignores the extent to which inequity, prejudice, and institutionalized discrimination continue to exist. Within these identified textbooks, marginalising and exclusionary discourses exist alongside of the proclamations of welcome and inclusiveness. Race is not forgotten in favour of national ideologies (Renan, 1882) but remembered within the discursive construction of national identities and representations of culture. I have drawn attention to these contradictions.

Texts that attempt to introduce students to ‘the Canadian way of life,’ due to their focus on nation, take a view of culture that will shape and limit the range of participation in imagining communities possible within the ESL classroom. Such texts will not stimulate

engagement with the positionality of student readers; they will limit the “range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialisation” (Anthias 2006, p. 27, quoting Anthias 2001, p. 634) from which identity can be understood and debated. Rather than fixing identity along national lines, ESL textbooks, ESL classrooms, and TESOL theory should continue to develop critiques of nationalising, racializing and gendering discourses, seeing difference and inequality as being reproduced through language and open to challenge from within the classroom. They should continue to pay attention to the ways in which ESL texts reproduce national identities that intersect with, organize, and limit other possible sites of community identification. They should unflinchingly address the ways in which these national identities can be discursively legitimised and deligitimised.

I began this thesis with three quotes. Anderson argued that nation-ness was a cultural artifact and that we need to understand not only how it “came into historical being” (p. 4) but why it commands “such profound emotional legitimacy” (p. 4). How Canadian national identity came into historical being is far from the scope of this paper. I have attempted, however, to analyse ways in which national identity is legitimated and ways in which texts both involve and exclude students in performances and repetitions of national identity. Stanley (2006) argued that imaginings of community involve both exclusions and inclusions. I have been attempting to undermine constructions of identity that unimaginatively imagines a ‘Canada’ in which there are ‘Canadians’ and marginally included ‘newcomers to Canada’ who will always will always be imagined as inexorable aliens. In doing so, I have hoped to make a “concerted attack against those constructions of difference and identity that exclude and devalourise” (Anthias 2006, p. 28). Undermining exclusionary constructions of

difference, however, is only a step towards fostering inclusionary communities. Fostering inclusionary communities involves others.

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Appendix 1: “Important Social Standards” Text

STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS

Some of Canada’s standards for public behaviour may be more conservative than you are used to, while others may seem more liberal. For example, Canadians may seem impersonal and cold to some newcomers; to others, we may seem overly friendly.

Important social standards

Social practices — not laws — govern many types of behaviour in Canada. Some traditions are well established and are politely but firmly enforced. For example:

- **Lining up or queuing:** People normally line up or queue according to the principle of “first-come, first-served.” They will be angry if you push ahead in a lineup instead of waiting your turn.
- **Not smoking in private homes:** Most Canadians do not smoke. When you are in people’s homes, you should always ask their permission to smoke. If they do not smoke themselves, they may ask you to go outside to smoke.
- **Being on time:** You should always arrive on time — at school, at work and for any meeting. People who are often late may be fired from their jobs or suspended from school. Many Canadians will not wait more than 10 or 15 minutes for someone who has a business

meeting. For social events, people expect that you will arrive within half an hour of the stated time.

- **Respect for the environment:** Canadians respect the natural environment and expect people to avoid littering (dropping waste paper and other garbage on the street or throwing it out of your car). They expect you to hold on to your garbage until you can find a proper garbage can.

- **Bargaining:** Bargaining for a better price is not common in Canada, but there are some exceptions. For example, almost everyone bargains for a better price when buying a car or a house, or other expensive items such as furniture. People who sell things privately may also bargain.

- **Smart shopping:** Stores compete with one another to attract customers, so it is wise to check and compare prices at different stores before you buy. Note: The price marked on goods in stores does not usually include the federal and provincial sales taxes, which add from 7 percent to 15 percent to the cost of an item, depending on the province in which you buy it.

SOURCE: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2006b). *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Appendix 2: “Learning English or French” Text

Learning English or French

There are two official languages in Canada ELABORATION: English and French.

ADDITIVE Almost everyone in Canada speaks at least one of these languages ADDITIVE and millions of Canadians speak both. ADDITIVE There are Anglophone and Francophone communities in every province and territory. ADDITIVE English is the language of the majority everywhere in Canada, CONTRASTIVE/CONCESSIVE except in the province of Quebec TEMPORAL where French is the official language. ADDITIVE French is spoken in many communities in other provinces, especially New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba. ADDITIVE New Brunswick is an officially bilingual province.

One of the most important skills you will need PURPOSE to adapt to life here in Canada is to speak English or French. CONDITIONAL Once you learn one or both of these languages, you will find it easier ADDITIVE/PURPOSE to get a job, ADDITIVE/PURPOSE to understand Canada, ADDITIVE/PURPOSE and to communicate with your children, ELABORATION who will be busy learning English or French at school. ADDITIVE You will also need to know English or French ADDITIVE/PURPOSE to become a Canadian citizen.

There are many language courses available, and many of them are free. ELABORATION Sometimes these courses are called “ESL” for English as a Second Language courses, ADDITIVE or “FSL,” for French as a Second Language courses.

Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC)

The Government of Canada, in cooperation with provincial governments, school boards, community colleges and immigrant-serving organizations, offers free language training across the country to adult permanent residents. In most provinces, the name of the program is LINC. (In French this program is known as CLIC, for Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada.) LINC can also assess your current language skills to find out which training program would be best for you.

LINC offers both full- and part-time classes to suit your needs. Most LINC centres can also refer you to other non-LINC classes in your area, and some offer free child care while you attend classes.

Remember, language classes are available for all the adults in your family, not just the person who may be looking for work.

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW 31

SOURCE: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2003c). *Welcome to Canada: What you should know*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Appendix 3: Survey and Consent Forms

Dear LINC Service Provider,

I am conducting a survey of instructors in the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program as part of my doctoral research at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Dr. Timothy J. Stanley (tel: 613-562-5800, ext. 4965; email: tstanley@uottawa.ca). The purpose of the study is to examine how Canada, Canadians, and Canadian identity are described in English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks used in federally funded language instruction. The purpose of this survey is to identify textbooks that are used in the LINC program.

You could help me immensely by forwarding the enclosed survey packages to two LINC program instructors. The packages contain a letter of introduction, a questionnaire, and a bilingual consent form that is to be used only if the instructor agrees to be contacted for follow-up interviews. The purpose of the questionnaire is to identify which textbooks and specific other curricular material have been used in LINC classes that these instructors have taught, to identify the reasons for material selection, and the ways in which the material was made available to students. Although it does not call for any information of a sensitive or highly personal nature, you have my assurances that I will maintain the confidentiality of both participants and institutions.

Participants are, of course, under no obligation to participate but their participation will be greatly appreciated. Please forward these packages intact to LINC instructors without making them feel any obligation to participate or not participate.

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

Name of researcher: Trevor Howard Gulliver

or by email tgull053@uottawa.ca

Name of supervisor: Dr. Timothy J. Stanley
(Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa)

Contact: by email tstanley@uottawa.ca

If you have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Thanks in advance,

Trevor H. Gulliver
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Dear Colleague,

I am conducting a survey of instructors in the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program as part of my doctoral research at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Dr. Timothy J. Stanley (tel: 613-562-5800, ext. 4965; email: tstanley@uottawa.ca). The purpose of the study is to examine how Canada, Canadians, and Canadian identity are described in English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks used in federally funded language instruction. The purpose of this survey is to identify textbooks that are used in the LINC program.

You could help me immensely by filling out the three-page questionnaire enclosed. The purpose of the questionnaire is **not** to gather personal information about your professional identity but to identify which textbooks and specific other curricular material have been used in LINC classes that you have taught, to identify the reasons for material selection, and the ways in which the material was made available to students. Although it does not call for any information of a sensitive or highly personal nature, you have my assurances that I will maintain your confidentiality and anonymity.

You are, of course, under no obligation to participate but your participation will be greatly appreciated. Please fill in the attached survey form and return it in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided.

Also attached is a consent form. If you are willing to be contacted by phone for an interview of no more than 30 minutes duration (with the possibility of a follow-up interview of no more than 15 minutes duration) please complete and return the consent form. If you do not consent to a follow-up interview, your participation in this study by filling out the written questionnaire will still be much appreciated.

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

Name of researcher: Trevor Howard Gulliver

Name of supervisor: Dr. Timothy J. Stanley
(Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa)
Contact: by email tstanley@uottawa.ca

If you have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Thanks in advance,

Trevor H. Gulliver
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Survey of Instructors in the LINC Program

1. Are you or have you been an instructor in the LINC program?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, in which province or territory: _____

2. Which type of LINC service provider have you taught through (please check all that apply):

(a) Businesses

(b) Not-for-profit groups

(c) Non-governmental organizations

(d) Community groups

(e) Educational institutions

○ public community colleges;

○ vocational schools;

○ public degree-granting universities and colleges;

○ school boards and their elementary and secondary institutions

(f) Individuals

(g) Provincial, territorial, or municipal governments

(h) Other (please specify: _____)

3. How many LINC courses are you currently teaching?

(a) 0

(b) 1-2

(c) 3-4

(d) more than 5

4. Approximately how many LINC courses have you taught in the past 5 years?

(a) 0-4

(b) 5-10

(c) 11-20

(d) more than 20

5. Please list below any ESL textbooks you are using or have used in LINC classes in the past 5 years to the best of your recollection.

Author(s)	Year	Title	Edition (1 st , 2 nd , etc.)	Publisher

Author(s)	Year	Title	Edition (1 st , 2 nd , etc.)	Publisher

6. Have you ever used any of the following materials (please check all that apply)?

- ☐ A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada (print).
☐ Welcome to Canada: What You Should Know (print).
☐ A Look at Canada (print).

Fact Sheets:

- ☐ employment (C&I-128-03-98),
☐ housing (C&I-129-11-98),
☐ education (C&I-130-03-98),
☐ rights and responsibilities (C&I-135-03-98),
☐ health and income security (C&I-131-01-01),
☐ budgeting, banking and saving (C&I-132-03-98),
☐ government in Canada (C&I-133-06-97),
☐ citizenship (C&I-136-01-01),
☐ sponsorship (C&I-134-06-97), and
the documents you should bring with you when you immigrate (C&I-137-01-01).

Videos:

- ☐ Canada: Day to Day (60 min. video).
☐ Working in Canada: A Newcomer's Introduction (39 min. video).
☐ Education in Canada: A Newcomer's Introduction (21 min. video).

If so, how do you use these resources?

7. In your capacity as an instructor in the LINC program, were you involved in selection of which textbooks would be used in your classes?

☐

Yes

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No

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Other (please explain):

a. If yes, how did the following LINC program rationale influence your textbook selection (rank from 1 to 5 with 1 being "Very influential" and 5 being "Not at all important"):

i.		social/cultural integration					
Very Influential		1	2	3	4	5	Not at all important
ii.		economic integration					
Very Influential		1	2	3	4	5	Not at all important
iii.		orientation to the Canadian way of life					
Very Influential		1	2	3	4	5	Not at all important

8. Please check the following box **only** if you might agree to be contacted for a follow-up interview, primarily for clarification purposes:

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Yes, I **might** be willing to participate in a telephone interview of no more than 30 minutes duration and possibly a follow-up interview of 15 minutes duration if clarification is needed.

If, and only if, you are willing to be contacted for further consultation, please sign the enclosed consent form.

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No, I do not want to be contacted by telephone.

Formulaire de consentement pour l'interview téléphonique

Ne remplissez pas ce formulaire de consentement à moins que vous ne vouliez être contactés pour une interview téléphonique. Vous n'avez pas besoin de remplir ce formulaire de consentement pour participer à l'enquête.

Titre de l'étude : Constructions de l'identité canadienne dans les manuels ASL

Nom du chercheur: Trevor Howard Gulliver
(Faculté d'Éducation, Université d'Ottawa)

Contact :

Nom du superviseur: Dr Timothy J. Stanley
(Faculté d'Éducation, Université d'Ottawa)
Contact : par courrier électronique tstanley@uottawa.ca

Invitation à participer : Je suis invité à participer à l'étude de recherche susmentionnée dirigée par Trevor Gulliver, candidat de doctorat et supervisée par Timothy J. Stanley .

But de l'étude : Le but de l'étude est de regarder comment le Canada, les Canadiens et l'identité canadienne sont décrits dans les manuels d'Anglais comme Langue Seconde (ALS).

Participation : Ma participation se composera d'une interview téléphonique d'une durée de 30 minutes maximum, avec la possibilité d'une seconde interview d'une durée de 15 minutes à une date ultérieure. Lors de ces interviews, on me demandera comment les manuels ALS sont choisis pour les cours LINC que j'enseigne. Le chercheur m'appellera au numéro de téléphone et aux horaires mentionnés ci-dessous. Le chercheur est responsable de tous les frais d'appel longue distance.

Numéro de téléphone : () -

Temps : Entre _____ (AM/PM) et _____ (AM/PM).

Risques : Ma participation dans cette étude implique que je donne des renseignements sur mes choix professionnels, en particulier sur mes raisons guidant le choix de manuels spécifiques. Cela peut me placer dans une situation inconfortable. J'ai reçu l'assurance du chercheur que tout effort sera fait pour minimiser ce risque : (1) je comprends que l'on me garantira l'anonymat et que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment; (2) Dans un tel cas, tous les renseignements fournis dans l'interview seront détruits et aucun de ceux-ci ne seront utilisés dans l'étude; (3) je peux refuser de répondre à toute question si je n'obtiens pas d'explications complémentaires, lorsque nécessaire.

Avantages : Ma participation dans cette étude contribuera à une plus grande compréhension de la manière dont les objectifs du programme LINC sont réalisés

dans les classes LINC. Elle aidera en particulier à approfondir la compréhension du rôle de manuels dans la façon dont on enseigne le Canada aux nouveaux arrivants.

Confiance et anonymat : J'ai reçu l'assurance du chercheur que les renseignements que je partagerai resteront strictement confidentiels. L'anonymat sera protégé dans la manière suivante : aucun nom de n'importe quel interviewé ne sera mentionné à aucun moment. Les seules personnes qui accèderont aux données seront le chercheur et le superviseur de thèse. On me donnera un pseudonyme. Les seules descriptions dans le texte des interviewés seront restreintes à une description se composant du genre, la région géographique (BC, les Prairies, Ontario, Québec, ou le Canada de L'Atlantique) et le type d'institution (le collège, le collège), par exemple : (un Professeur Femme – le Canada Atlantique - Collège).

Conservation de données : Les données recueillies, incluant les enregistrements ou transcriptions de bandes magnétiques, seront gardées dans un tiroir fermé à clé dans la maison du chercheur, pour la durée du projet. Elles seront ensuite conservées à l'Université d'Ottawa pour une durée de cinq ans et finalement détruites.

Participation Volontaire : Je ne suis sous aucune obligation de participer et si je choisis de participer, je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment et/ou refuser de répondre à n'importe quelles questions, sans subir de conséquences négatives. Si je veux me retirer, toutes les données recueillies pendant les interviews téléphoniques seront détruites.

Acceptation: Je soussigné, *(nom du participant)*, accepte de participer à cette recherche menée par *Trevor H. Gulliver* de la Faculté d'Éducation, l'Université d'Ottawa, *laquelle recherche est supervisée par Dr Timothy J. Stanley.*

Si j'ai des questions à propos de l'étude, je peux contacter le chercheur ou son surveillant.

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, je peux m'adresser au Responsable de l'éthique en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, Pavillon Tabaret, 550, rue Cumberland, salle 159, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tél.: (613) 562-5841
Courriel : ethics@uottawa.ca

Il y a deux copies du formulaire de consentement, dont une copie que je peux garder.

Signature de participant : *(Signature)*

Date : *(Date)*

Signature de chercheur : *(Signature)*

Date : *(Date)*

Consent Form for Telephone Interview

Do not complete this consent form unless you wish to be contacted for a follow-up telephone interview. You do not need to complete this consent form in order to participate in the survey.

Title of the study: Constructions of Canadian Identity in ESL Textbooks

Name of researcher: Trevor Howard Gulliver
(Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa)

Contact:

Name of supervisor: Dr. Timothy J. Stanley
(Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa)
Contact: by email tstanley@uottawa.ca

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Trevor Gulliver, PhD candidate, and supervised by Timothy J. Stanley, thesis supervisor.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to look at how Canada, Canadians, and Canadian identity are described in English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks.

Participation: My participation will consist of a telephone interview of no more than 30 minutes in length with the possibility of a follow-up interview of no more than 15 minutes in length at a later date during which I will be asked questions on how ESL textbooks are selected for LINC courses that I teach. The researcher will call me at the phone number below between the times specified. The researcher is responsible for all long distance charges.

Phone number: () -

Time: Between _____ (AM/PM) and _____ (AM/PM).

Risks: My participation in this study will entail that I volunteer information on my professional choices, specifically my reasons for selecting specific textbooks. This may cause me to feel somewhat uncomfortable. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk: (1) I understand that I will be guaranteed anonymity and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; (2) In which case, all of the information provided in the interview will be destroyed and none of it will be used in the study; (3) I may refuse to answer any question without an explanation being requested or required.

Benefits: My participation in this study will contribute to a greater understanding of how LINC program objectives are realized in LINC classrooms and it will help to deepen understanding of the role of textbooks in helping newcomers to Canada to learn about Canada.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. **Anonymity** will be protected in the following manner: no names of any interviewee will be mentioned at any time. The only people who access the data will be the researcher and the thesis supervisor. I will be given a pseudonym. The only descriptions in the text of interviewees will be restricted to a description consisting of gender, geographic region (BC, Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, or Atlantic Canada), and type of institution (college, high school), for example: (Female Instructor – Atlantic Canada – College).

Conservation of data: The data collected including tape recordings and transcripts will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher's home for the duration of the project. After which it will be stored at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years and then destroyed.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered through the telephone interview until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed.

Acceptance: I, _____ (Name of participant), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Trevor H. Gulliver of the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa. This research is under the supervision of Dr. Timothy J. Stanley.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: _____ (Signature)

Date: _____ (Date)

Researcher's signature: _____ (Signature)

Date: _____ (Date)