Critical Education

Acknowledge the Past, Face the Present, Change the Future
Implementing Call to Action 93 in TESL Classrooms

Stephanie Kinzie
York University

Abstract

Call to Action 93 *requests revision of the Canadian citizenship materials to include more information about treaties and residential schools. Although the citizenship materials have been analyzed in terms of how they present the concepts of citizenship, multiculturalism, and Canadian values, little work has been done on how* Discover Canada *(2012) presents the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada in relation to the* Calls to Action. Discover Canada *(2012) includes only one mention of the term "residential schools" and four mentions of the terms "treaty" or "treaties" in relation to Indigenous groups. Equally troubling, though, is the guide's overall characterization of Indigenous groups and their history in Canada. By asking critical questions about textual features that fit into TESL curricula, I demonstrate how TESL instructors can both meet the language teaching requirements of their institutions and answer* Call to Action 93 *by presenting alternative narratives about Indigenous history in Canada.*

Call to Action 93: We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with the national Aboriginal organizations, to revise the information kit for newcomers to Canada and its citizenship test to reflect a more inclusive history of the diverse Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including information about the Treaties and the history of residential schools. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b, pp. 10–11)

The *Calls to Action* issued by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) ask the Canadian government to take specific measures to "redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, p. 1). *Call to Action 93* recommends revisions of the Canadian government's citizenship teaching materials to reflect more accurately the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada and provide information about the injustices these groups have suffered since the arrival of European settlers. *Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of citizenship* (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2012) (hereafter referred to as *Discover Canada*) is the official study guide for newcomers who wish to become Canadian citizens; as such, it is a key teaching tool used by Canadian Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) instructors tasked with helping newcomers achieve the level of English language proficiency required for citizenship. *Discover Canada* offers, however, a simplified history of Canada that misrepresents the identities of Indigenous groups in Canada in terms both superficial and patronizing, and minimizes the atrocities committed against them by European colonizers, the repercussions of which continue, in many cases, to define and limit the identities of Indigenous groups (Borrows, 2018; Sterzuk & Hengen, 2019). *Discover Canada's* representation of Indigenous and settler histories and cultures reflects dominant discourses surrounding Indigeneity and colonialism and sets the stage for both newcomers and Canadian TESL instructors to be influenced by its biased representation of the historical and social realities of Canada.

My goal in this article is to examine the problems with *Discover Canada's* representation of Indigenous groups, treaties, and residential schools in terms of common TESL teaching points and use critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1989; McCarthy, 1991; van Dijk, 2000) to propose alternative readings of the text and point out areas where TESL instructors might instead utilize materials that answer *Call to Action 93*. First, I review pertinent literature about the citizenship guides, highlighting inaccurate and exclusionary characterizations of Canada and its inhabitants. Next, I discuss a critical framework that positions TESL instructors and classrooms as the means of presenting alternatives to official representations of Canadian history. Then, I analyze a short excerpt from *Discover Canada* and show, by posing critical questions (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 2000), how TESL instructors can bring a critical perspective to their classroom activities as they engage with the text. I conclude by offering some cautions for TESL instructors as they implement *Call to Action 93* in their classrooms. The critical framework, analysis, and implementation strategies will also be useful to educators in other postcolonial/settler contexts in which the interests and histories of dominant groups overshadow and undermine alternative knowledges, histories, and efforts at reconciliation.

Terminology

Words have the power to clarify and obscure, sympathize and demonize, as this study shows. I use the term "TESL" to refer to English language teachers and programs because my main focus is on sites of English-language instruction in Canada (Witol, 2017). The critical

questions raised and the analytical tools employed can, as mentioned, be used by educators in diverse contexts. I use the term "Indigenous" instead of "Aboriginal" or "Indian" because it is internationally recognized and acknowledges "the place of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada's late-colonial era and implies land tenure" (International Journal of Indigenous Health, n.d., p. 5). When referring to *Discover Canada* and other texts, other terms that reflect common usage at the time of publication are employed.

Literature Review

There are, as far as I can determine, no scholarly analyses of Canadian citizenship materials in relation to both *Call to Action 93* and TESL classrooms. Gulliver and Thurrell (2016) briefly mentioned *Call to Action 93* in their analysis of denials of racism in Canadian English textbooks, noting that antiracism training for educators is needed to combat a lack of awareness about residential schools and the ongoing racism Indigenous groups in Canada experience. Sterzuk and Hengen (2019) used *Call to Action 93* to inform classroom activities designed to disrupt newcomers' incomplete and often negative perceptions of Indigenous groups, which had been formed before and after arrival in Canada. Derwing and Thomson (2005) discussed citizenship education in Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) programs at a moment when the responsibility for citizenship test preparation was being shifted to LINC classrooms, finding that issues with materials, time, students' language proficiency, and the need for more immediately relevant language instruction limited the amount and quality of citizenship education.

Most of the existing literature on the citizenship materials has used critical discourse analysis (CDA), discourse-historical, and content analysis to examine how themes such as nationalism, multiculturalism, citizenship, and Canadian values are presented. Many analyses of English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms and textbooks also focus on these themes (e.g. Derwing & Thomson, 2005; Fleming, 2003, 2010; Gulliver, 2009, 2010, 2011a; Gulliver & Thurrell, 2016; Ilieva, 2000; Montgomery, 2005; Thomson & Derwing, 2004) as well as on the larger contexts and issues—particularly race, Indigeneity, and colonialism—that are inseparable from these ideologically-encoded terms. The following analyses reveal how, in *Discover Canada* and in previous versions of the citizenship materials, colonial thought is perpetuated and Indigenous groups (and other minorities) are vilified or erased in the construction of an idealized, unified Canada.

Historical Views of Canada

Assessments of the messages conveyed by the citizenship materials vary significantly. Some scholars (Chapnick, 2011; Jafri, 2012; Sobel, 2013, 2015) have claimed that, historically, the guides have promoted a conservative vision of Canada, emphasizing "history, heritage, and patriotism" (Chapnick, 2011, p. 22) regardless of the issuing party's political alignment. Others (Gulliver, 2012; Joyce, 2014; Tonon & Raney, 2013) have argued that *Discover Canada* (2012) clearly favours Conservative Party values of social conservatism, traditional morality, neoliberal values of decreased social spending and market deregulation, and places a strong emphasis on Canada as a "warrior nation" (Richler, 2014, p. 37). These characteristics are at odds with the peaceable, conflict-free Canada of the Liberal government's previous guide, *A Look at Canada* (2005, 2006). The citizenship guides typically include superficial information about Indigenous traditions and cultures, but a detailed, Indigenous-centered pre-Confederation Canadian history is

excluded in favour of a focus on European settler history (Chapnick, 2011; Sobel, 2013, 2015; Wilton, 2006, 2010).

Multiculturalism vs. Civic Unity

The literature reveals an uneasy tension between Canada's official policy of multiculturalism and the positioning of Indigenous peoples, immigrants, and other minority groups as potential threats to Canadian unity. Canada's official policy of multiculturalism is touted as evidence of Canada's benevolent stance towards immigrants (Jafri, 2012; Wilton, 2006, 2010). Gulliver (2018) noted the "redeemer" (Roman & Stanley, 1997, p. 213) image of Canada promoted in *Discover Canada* and five other guides published between 2003 and 2013. Yet, Canada's policy of multiculturalism is also used to alienate inhabitants who do not fit an idealized white, (British) European, Christian profile (Blake, 2013; Jafri, 2012; Pashby, Ingram, & Joshee, 2014; Tonon & Raney, 2013). This idealized profile is discernable in *Discover Canada* and in previous iterations of the citizenship materials, along with a clear emphasis on the superiority of stereotypically Western values such as "democracy, modernity, and liberalism" (Jafri, 2012, p. 5). Groups considered to have differing traditions and worldviews, such as Muslim, Arab, Francophone, and Indigenous groups, are positioned as threats to these values and, thus, to the foundations of Canadian unity (Jafri, 2012; Pashby et al., 2014; Tonon & Raney, 2013). *Discover Canada* warns newcomers that hatred, violence, and gender inequality are not tolerated in Canada (Gulliver, 2012; Jafri, 2012; Pashby et al., 2014; Sobel, 2013; Tonon & Raney, 2013), ignoring the existence of race-, class-, and gender-based societal inequalities (Blake, 2013; Pashby et al., 2014) that long predate the arrival in Canada of the guide's readers. Racism and the effects of colonialism are presented, not as systemic issues, but as individual, regional, or historical aberrations (Gulliver, 2018; Jafri, 2012; Joyce, 2014, Pashby et al., 2014; Wilton, 2006, 2010), and Francophone and Indigenous claims to the contrary are minimized or excluded (Blake, 2013; Joyce, 2014).

Canadian Values

What are Canadian values? Blake's (2013) content analysis of *Discover Canada* (2009) revealed these to include the military, the British royal family, and the Canadian government as authorities; Christianity; and the idea of Canada as a dominion. Analyzing format, themes, recurring words, and rhetorical strategies in six guides published between 1947–2012, Sobel (2013, 2015) discovered that the ideal naturalized Canadian is loyal, responsible, politically active, (citizenship) test-ready, wholesome, and has a good character. Gulliver's (2011b) thematic analysis of "Canadians" in *A Look at Canada* (2007) and *Discover Canada* (2009) revealed an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6) of Canadians who are diverse, hardworking and prosperous, tough, proud, creative, loyal to the queen, and proud of the military. Because these claims are made without proof, relying on the official nature of the citizenship materials as validation (Fleming & Morgan, 2011), they resist "alternative knowings" (p. 26) and exclude those who may hold different views.

Discover Canada and its predecessors have served as vehicles for social and political agendas with prominent discourses of inclusion/exclusion and national unity based on a narrow representation of "Canadian" values that take precedence over expressions of cultural diversity. Indigenous peoples are excluded from dominant historical and social narratives, and the ongoing effects of colonialism are dismissed or ignored. With this knowledge, a consideration of language

teaching and an alternative critical framework for confronting misrepresentations of Canadian and Indigenous history in the language classroom will now be presented.

The Role of Language and Language Teachers in Shaping Dominant Discourses

Linguistic theorists have moved from conceptualizing language as a psycholinguistic (mental) phenomenon and a (communicative) instrument for creating meanings to a context-dependent (sociocultural) form of meaning-making (Hawkins, 2011). The history of predominant English language teaching methodologies, at least in Western contexts, reflects these evolving views: behavioural and cognitive approaches that focus on decontextualized grammar, repetition, and the mental processes of the individual learner (Atkinson, 2002; Richards & Rodgers, 2001) have given way to communicative and post-method approaches that emphasize contextualized communicative competence (Kumaravadivelu, 1994, 2003; Richards, 2006). Less-commonly, though, is language understood or taught as a "situated [phenomenon] that is shaped through pervasive social, cultural and political ideologies and forces that serve to empower some people while marginalizing others" (Hawkins, 2011, p. 2). *Call to Action 93* specifically requests the alteration of *Discover Canada's* language regarding the treaties and the residential schools in order to effect a larger discursive change that has implications for the positioning of Indigenous groups in Canada and the ongoing effects of colonization both in Canada and internationally.

Why should TESL instructors be concerned about *Call to Action 93*? The *Calls to Action* are directed at the Canadian government, and there is no compulsory focus on Indigeneity in TESL training topics (TESL Ontario, n.d.) or in LINC teacher orientation materials (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks, n.d.). In LINC settings, providing information about Indigenous history beyond that required for the citizenship test may seem irrelevant compared with the challenges of accommodating continuous intake classes of diverse learners who need language for everyday communication (Government of Canada, 2010, Appendix A). The language needs of learners in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs, who plan to study in Canadian post-secondary institutions, rarely extend to in-depth knowledge of Indigenous history in Canada. The constraints often placed on Canadian language teachers (Fleming and Morgan [2011] cite poor compensation and few opportunities for professional development, among others) may prevent instructors from seeking out materials that counter dominant discourses. There may also be resistance from instructors who fail to see the necessity of altering existing materials that misrepresent Indigenous history (e.g. Scott & Gani, 2018).

It is both possible and, more importantly, necessary to challenge these objections and disrupt the "hidden curriculum" (Jackson, 1990, p. 33) of citizenship and national history. The *Calls to Action*, directed at the Canadian government, can also be considered direct calls to TESL instructors who work in provincially-and federally-funded EAP and LINC programs (Government of Canada, 2018; Government of Ontario, 2021) and thus are government employees and representatives in their teaching sites. TESL classrooms are often one of the first arrival points for newcomers to Canada who will, as future citizens, be in a position to support or oppose future legislation related to Indigenous-settler relations and rights. Citizenship is "a form of subjectivity shaped by the dominant discourses of nationhood" (Fleming & Morgan, 2011, p. 28), and through the materials, themes, and activities presented in the classroom, TESL instructors can play a significant role in helping students define their Canadian identities and counter the ongoing influences of colonialism on Canadian society, including its effects on Indigenous representation (Sterzuk & Hengen, 2019). Stories and perspectives presented in citizenship study guides "can

serve to shape, legitimize, or undermine the lived experience of immigrant newcomers and validate or invalidate their perceptions of racism" (Gulliver, 2018, p. 69). TESL instructors may find themselves positioned as insiders sharing the history of the country with newcomers who have been schooled to accept a "redeemer" (Roman & Stanley, 1997, p. 213) image of Canada but who have experienced racism since arriving. As they address the immediate language needs of students, language teachers can also seek to open spaces for dialogue in which students share and validate their own knowledge and experiences of injustice.

Perhaps the most compelling reason to answer *Call to Action 93* stems from the fact that Canadians today inhabit a place that was, largely, unfairly acquired from the Indigenous peoples who had inhabited it for thousands of years. The treaties that form the foundation of many of these acquisitions are still in force; treaty rights are affirmed in Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution (Constitution Act, 1982) and are still being negotiated today (Assembly of First Nations, n.d.; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021). A majority of Canada's present population is not appreciably affected by these agreements, but is this because the treaties are invalid, or because settler Canadians have not been taught to respect them? And what of recent newcomers—are they exempt from the obligations of the treaties? The language of the treaties indicates a lasting, perpetual duty for the inhabitants of this country to uphold the rights and responsibilities laid out within them. In the Numbered Treaties, for example, a recurring phrase binds Indigenous peoples "now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tracts" (Government of Canada, 2013, para. 29) to uphold the agreements; "hereafter" is also used to bind settlers to provide compensation in exchange for land rights (Government of Canada, 2013). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the fairness and equity of the treaties, or to interpret the precise obligations of the parties according to contemporary standards. Yet, viewed in terms of the binding language within them, we are all—Indigenous, settlers, or newcomers—Treaty people (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.; Miller, 2009; Restoule, n.d., Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). In reflecting on this assertion, it may be useful to distinguish between "personal guilt and benefit based in privilege" (Morcom & Freeman, 2018, p. 822); while those now living in Canada are not directly responsible for past injustices committed against Indigenous groups, we do benefit from them. In one of his final interviews as head of the Assembly of First Nations, Perry Bellegarde recommended that Canadians who are interested in reconciliation read the TRC's 2015 report, familiarize themselves with the *Calls to Action*, and lobby for the changes that Indigenous groups have been requesting for years (Delacourt, 2021). Thus, TESL instructors and students, and indeed all Canadians, have ethical and legal responsibilities to answer the *Calls to Action*, to learn about Indigenous-settler history as fully as possible, and to consider what part they are playing, and will continue to play, in this ongoing narrative.

A Critical Framework

The fields of Indigenous pedagogy, critical pedagogy, and CDA, although based in different epistemologies, diverse cultures, and distinct traditions (Andreotti, Ahenakew, & Cooper, 2011; Battiste, 2005; Morcom & Freeman, 2018), have elements that resonate strongly and provide a framework for TESL instructors and students to recognize and question the dominant discourses associated with *Discover Canada*, and to open up possibilities for the decolonization of language and citizenship education. Decolonization involves "critically undoing colonial ways of knowing, being, and doing" (Fellner, 2018, p. 284) that deny and suppress Indigenous knowledges and

traditions and reject these alternatives as valid and equal ways of knowing and doing (Morcom & Freeman, 2018).

One popular representation discernable in *Discover Canada* is that of Indigenous peoples as powerless and without agency. Tuck (2009), an Aleut scholar, warns against an exclusive focus on "damage-centered research" (p. 409) that presents Indigenous and other marginalized groups as broken and defeated in order to "obtain particular political or material gains" (p. 413). An epistemological alternative is a framework of desire-based research that focuses on the intricacies, paradoxes, and search for autonomy that characterize human life (Tuck, 2009), concerns which are congruent with Indigenous and critical pedagogical perspectives.

Indigenous and critical pedagogies posit that all aspects of a particular context (social, political, economic, cultural, educational, linguistic) are interrelated (Benesch, 2001, 2009; Chun, 2015; Grey, 2009; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Kincheloe, 2008; Morcom & Freeman, 2018; Morgan & Ramanathan, 2005). Indigenous pedagogies emphasize holistic learning and the interconnectedness of the various aspects of the natural/physical and spiritual worlds (Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Morcom & Freeman, 2018). Indigenous scholars Battiste and Henderson (2009) discussed using Indigenous knowledge to promote an ecological classroom perspective based on "personal insights…informing a collective knowledge" (p. 9) as well as the key concept of "learning from place" (p. 14), that is, through remembering and retelling past events associated with particular locations to create a continuity of knowledge and experience.

Indigenous and critical pedagogies also acknowledge the political dimensions of education (Battiste, 2005; Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Benesch, 1999, 2001; Chun, 2009; Freire, 1992/2014; Gray, 2011; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Kincheloe, 2008; Morcom & Freeman, 2018) and require an interrogation of who is making decisions and why (Benesch, 2001) as well as a consideration of how institutional and political discourses shape curricula. Critical instructors balance curricular and institutional demands and at the same time animate learners to engage more fully in academic and public life (Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Benesch, 1999, 2001; Chun, 2009; Pennycook, 1997) and to question norms and assumptions.

Further, Indigenous and critical pedagogies recognize that power relations enable and promote specific forms of discourse (language and expression). Forms of expression create and describe realities; language used to label and name the world defines, permits, and limits identities and possibilities (Foucault, 1980; Gray, 2011; Grey, 2009; Hawkins, 2011; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Kincheloe, 2008; Luke, 2004; Morgan & Ramanathan, 2005; Pennycook, 1997). Iseke-Barnes (2008), a Métis scholar from northern Alberta, illustrated how colonial terms used to refer to Indigenous peoples act as collectivising tools that erase intergroup distinctions but can also be used to enable dialogue and draw attention to different histories and contexts.

Finally, Indigenous and critical pedagogies reveal the complex nature of knowledge and provide tools for analyzing and interpreting this complexity (Andreotti et al., 2011; Battiste, 2005; Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Benesch, 2001; Gray, 2011; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Kincheloe, 2008; Morcom & Freeman, 2018). Citing the influence of Du Bois and Macedo, Kincheloe (2008) asserted that critical education involves teaching "a dual curriculum" (p. 85) that helps students successfully navigate the social, academic, and professional requirements of their contexts while also ensuring that they are aware of knowledge beyond that validated by the dominant culture (Benesch, 2001; Kincheloe, 2008). Indigenous pedagogy and knowledge incorporate the idea of multiple or alternative epistemologies (Andreotti et al., 2011; Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Gray,

2011; Iseke-Barnes, 2008; Morcom & Freeman, 2018) that respect differences and emphasize the situated nature of knowledge.

To enable awareness of the complexity of knowledge, "there must be some actual dissociation from one's available explanatory texts and discourses—denaturalization and discomfort and 'making the familiar strange'" (Luke, 2004, pp. 26–27). This dissociation may seem to contradict the emphasis of critical and Indigenous pedagogies on situated and interconnected knowledge. Yet, it is sometimes necessary to attend to small parts of the whole in order to detect the connections that familiarity can render invisible. CDA provides "distancing strategies" (Morgan & Ramanathan, 2005, pp. 156) that permit TESL practitioners to teach the structure and use of language and also to stress how language is "always engaged in the construction of how we understand the world" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 258). CDA is especially effective in exposing the racialized biases lingering in the interstices of language, power, and identity that constitute seemingly objective citizenship materials.

Analysis of *Discover Canada*

Call to Action 93 requests that more detailed information regarding treaties and residential schools be included in the citizenship materials. Efforts that promote decolonization and reconciliation can target curriculum design, teaching outcomes and approaches, material selection, and instructional strategies and methods. These elements are under the control of instructors to varying degrees; the areas most amenable to immediate change and instructor input are instructional strategies and methods. I focus my analysis on an excerpt from page 10 of *Discover Canada* (see Figure 1) that contains the guide's only reference to "residential schools", as well as three of the four references to "treaty" or "treaties" relevant to Indigenous peoples. I will analyze the text's narrative structure, voice, word choices, and missing information (Janks, 2010; McCarthy, 1991). The choice of these textual features reflects topics and skill areas that are regularly introduced in TESL classrooms and demonstrates how instructors may still fulfill curricular requirements while introducing a critical perspective. I will ask and answer two critical questions (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 2000) about each aspect to highlight how the text perpetuates dominant identities and discourses related to Indigenous and settler inhabitants and history. I will then offer examples of classroom activities, aligned with the critical framework outlined above, that can be used to challenge these identities and discourses.

Selected Text from Discover Canada

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

The ancestors of Aboriginal peoples are believed to have migrated from Asia many thousands of years ago. They were well established here long before explorers from Europe first came to North America. Diverse, vibrant First Nations cultures were rooted in religious beliefs about their relationship to the Creator, the natural environment and each other.

Aboriginal and treaty rights are in the Canadian Constitution. Territorial rights were first guaranteed through the Royal Proclamation of 1763 by King George III, and established the basis for negotiating treaties with the newcomers—treaties that were not always fully respected.

From the 1800s until the 1980s, the federal government placed many Aboriginal children in residential schools to educate and assimilate them into mainstream Canadian culture. The schools were poorly funded and inflicted hardship on the students; some were physically abused. Aboriginal languages and cultural practices were mostly prohibited. In 2008, Ottawa formally apologized to the former students.

In today's Canada, Aboriginal peoples enjoy renewed pride and confidence, and have made significant achievements in agriculture, the environment, business and the arts.

Figure 1. History of Aboriginal peoples in Discover Canada (p. 10).

Note: Part of the text not used in this analysis has been deleted from the image.

Narrative Structure

Narrative structure may not be taught as such in TESL classrooms; instead, structure is often taught in relation to reading and writing skills such as identifying and writing introductions, supporting points, and conclusions of paragraphs, articles, and essays; or interpreting and using key terms that signal the main points of, and the author's position regarding, a text. As seen in Figure 2, the *Discover Canada* narrative can be analyzed using a variation of the Aristotelian three-act structure illustrated by Freytag (1863/1900) and employed by Labov and Waletzky (1967). The paradigm has five stages: orientation (characters and setting), rising action (problems or conflicts that occur), the crisis (the dominant problem is faced, and everything afterwards changes), then falling action (solutions applied to the crisis), and the resolution or outcome of the crisis (Freytag, 1863/1900; McCarthy, 1991). Questions that can be asked to critique narrative structure include: how does the story begin, develop, and end; and, to what extent does the narrative reflect lived experiences?
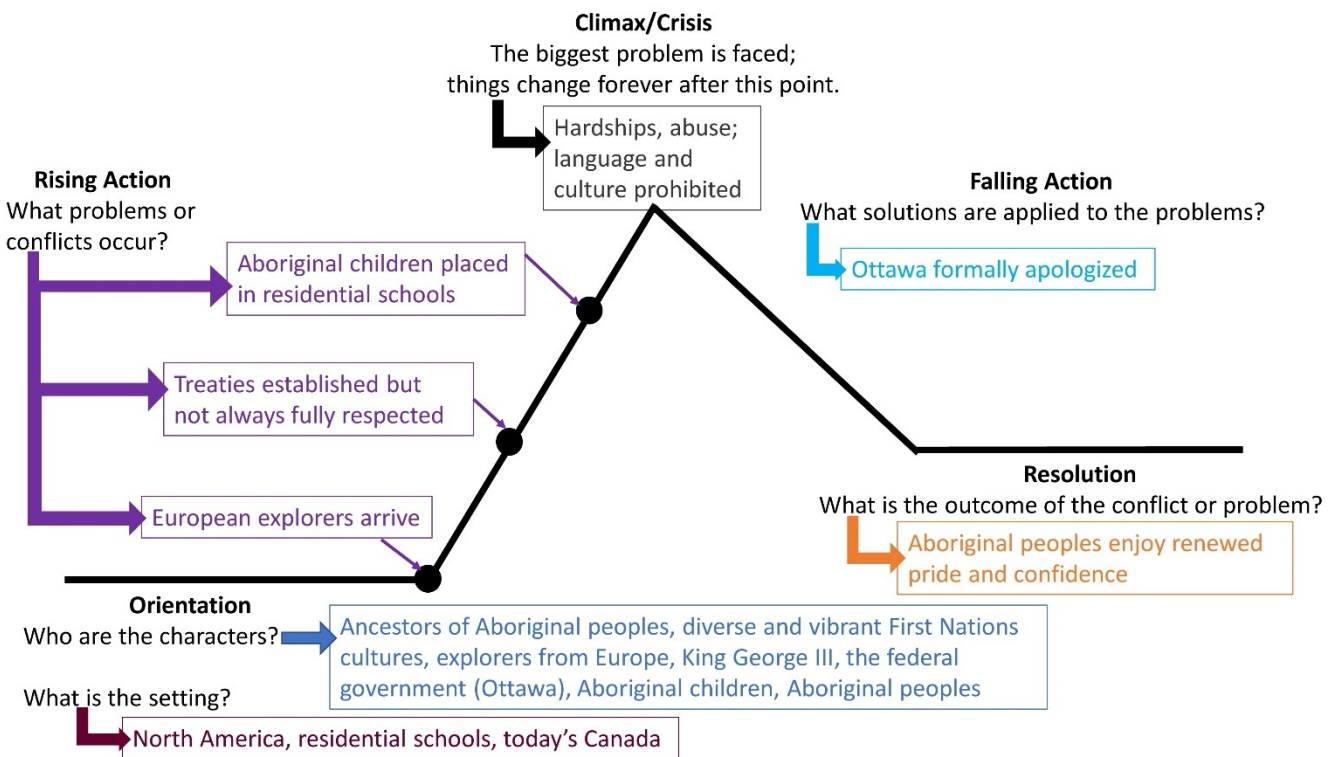
Climax/Crisis
The biggest problem is faced;
things change forever after this point.

Hardships, abuse; language and culture prohibited

Rising Action
What problems or conflicts occur?

Aboriginal children placed in residential schools

Treaties established but not always fully respected

European explorers arrive

Falling Action
What solutions are applied to the problems?

Ottawa formally apologized

Resolution
What is the outcome of the conflict or problem?

Aboriginal peoples enjoy renewed pride and confidence

Orientation
Who are the characters?

Ancestors of Aboriginal peoples, diverse and vibrant First Nations cultures, explorers from Europe, King George III, the federal government (Ottawa), Aboriginal children, Aboriginal peoples

What is the setting?

North America, residential schools, today's Canada

Figure 2. Discover Canada p. 10, Narrative Structure

What are some implications of this text's narrative structure? Responding to the first critical question, the orientation and resolution are the same: Indigenous peoples were diverse and vibrant in the past, and they are proud and confident now, suggesting that nothing has essentially changed for Indigenous groups since European arrival. The crisis of the story is the erasure of Indigenous culture and language due to residential schools. Although these institutions played a significant role in the destruction of Indigenous communities, cultural erasure did not happen solely because of them; the narrative ignores the long history and various means employed to accomplish this goal (e.g. Daschuk, 2014; Graybill, 2004). The discursive strategies of historicization and localization of problematic events insulate agents from blame or responsibility (Gulliver, 2018). The narrative presents apology as the solution to cultural erasure and mistreatment, but, considering the second critical question, does apology equal restoration and restitution? The straightforward, linear construction of the narrative, and the status of this text as official Canadian history, invite readers to believe that apologetic words are sufficient. Does the reality of Indigenous peoples in today's Canada bear out this assertion? A review of statistics compiled by OECD (2020) shows that a majority of Indigenous peoples live in rural areas with reduced access to social, economic, health, and educational resources, which negatively impacts life expectancy, health outcomes, and employment opportunities. These realities indicate that apologies are not enough to rectify centuries of injustice.

Considerations of *Discover Canada's* narrative structure may fit into reading or writing lessons about textual organization or about cause/effect relationships; students could map the historical narrative themselves and respond to their findings in a group discussion or written analysis/reflection. Janks (1993b) suggested that students write their own version of historical

narratives from the perspective of a non-dominant character to see how this changes perceptions of the story's critical events and outcomes. Iseke-Barnes (2008) suggested using group activities based on Indigenous governance ideals of "cooperation, community-based sharing, and shared resources" (p. 136) versus colonial models based on competitive hierarchies. Her adaptation of Graveline's (1998) Cage of Oppression activity encourages students to use their knowledge of colonial structures and imagine how systems of oppression might be enacted in different facets of life. By tracing cause and effect relationships based on particular goals (e.g. to colonize a society, colonizers need control of land, which can be achieved through relocation of its inhabitants), students increase their awareness of colonial systems that pervade society and often go unremarked.

Verb Tense and Voice

Verbs are a ubiquitous topic in TESL classrooms; as learners advance from lower-to higher-level classes, they are required to use increasingly complex forms and structures in a wide variety of targeted exercises and communicative situations both spoken and written. The use of tenses such as the simple present, present perfect, and simple past implies an unproblematic transparency in the meaning of a text (Fairclough, 1989). Passive structures are often taught as a way to report information objectively. The use of active voice indicates who or what is responsible for an action; passive voice focuses on the results of an action while often minimizing or ignoring the agent (Fairclough, 1989; Janks, 2010; van Dijk, 2000). Critical questions that can be asked regarding verb tense and voice include: when are various tenses and active and passive structures used; and, how do these choices assign blame or credit for specific events in the narrative?

Table 1.

Discover Canada (p. 10): Active and Passive Voice Examples

Active voice samples from text	Passive voice examples from text
• Aboriginal and treaty rights are in the Canadian Constitution. • …explorers from Europe first came…	• …ancestors…are believed to have migrated…
• The federal government placed many Aboriginal children… • The schools…inflicted hardship… • …Ottawa formally apologized…	• Territorial rights were first guaranteed…
• …Aboriginal peoples enjoy renewed pride and confidence…	• …treaties…were not always fully respected. • …some were physically abused. • …languages and cultural practices were mostly prohibited.

In both sets of excerpts from Table 1, the use of the simple present and simple past makes the assertions seem factual and definite, a stance that is congruent with the genre of the text (Fairclough, 1989). *Discover Canada* is a study guide presenting historical information about

Canada to newcomers; presumably, it provides the most important *facts* to learners who are unfamiliar with this information and who need this key data to pass the official citizenship test. Questioning or deeper investigation are subtly discouraged.

In the active voice excerpts, the subjects "the federal government," "the schools," and "Ottawa," referring to the agents who placed Indigenous children in residential schools and who later apologized for these actions, may seem like reasonable choices, but these choices remove any sense of personal responsibility by attributing the actions to distant, inanimate institutions. The simple present declaration about the pride and confidence enjoyed by Indigenous peoples today implies that the injustices committed against them, and their suffering, have come to an end (Jafri, 2012).

The first passive voice excerpt calls into question the origins of Indigenous peoples and casts doubt on their right to be in Canada. Who believes that Indigenous people's ancestors migrated here? How strong is a belief compared to the factual declarations that characterize this text? One goal of the Conservative government that published the guide was to present a grand, unifying narrative of Canada as a land of immigrants, including Indigenous peoples (Jafri, 2012), and the document's wording serves to undermine Indigenous land claims in the past and present. By using passive structures in the statements regarding the treaties, the *act* of guaranteeing territorial rights takes precedence over the degree of adherence to that guarantee, and ignores the fact that, had European settlers not encroached on Indigenous territories, there would have been no need for any agreements. Similarly, the abuses suffered by Indigenous students in the residential schools are not attributed to any particular agent; this "euphemistic framing" (Gulliver & Thurrell, 2016, p. 50) focuses attention on the actions while ignoring the perpetrators and minimizes negative self-representation (van Dijk, 2000) by, and of, the creators of the text, representatives of the same federal government that enabled the abuses.

The study of specific verb tenses and voice may fit into similarly-focused grammar or writing lessons. Students could be asked to identify passive structures within the *Discover Canada* text and discuss the representation of agency. Rewriting the text and changing passive forms to active ones would give students practice with the use of voice forms and open spaces to discuss how and why voice is used to highlight or obscure actions and actors. A similar exercise could be done using other versions of this narrative from different times and sources to detect how authors' choices reflect personal and social agendas and define what information audiences perceive as factual. Students could also search for examples of active and passive structures in their day-to-day contexts, which would help develop their awareness of both the target language structures and the influence these structures have on perceptions of agency and responsibility.

Word Choices

Vocabulary is another universal point of instruction in TESL classrooms. It may be technical language like grammar terms or topical language needed to discuss a particular theme or idea. To use language is to know the world (Freire, 1970); the vocabulary we use in everyday life constructs and informs our worldviews and our understanding of history while also revealing the power relations that sustain accepted and personal knowledge (Chun, 2009). The wording of a text reveals attitudes and mindsets that may not be readily apparent yet have significant effects on readers. Critical questions that can be asked regarding word choice include: which words and

descriptions are used for characters and events; and, what effect might these words have on the perceptions and conceptualizations of the text's readers?

Table 2.

Discover Canada (p. 10): Word Choice Examples

Indigenous peoples	**European settlers**
• Ancestors	• Explorers
• Migrated	• Arrived
• Well-established, diverse, vibrant	• Newcomers
• Rooted in religious beliefs	• King George III
• Aboriginal children	• The federal government placed
• Former students	• Mainstream Canadian culture
	• The schools inflicted hardships
• Aboriginal peoples enjoy pride and confidence	• Ottawa formally apologized

The lexical items in Table 2 vividly demonstrate that there are distinct differences between the descriptions of Indigenous peoples and European settlers in *Discover Canada.* Indigenous peoples are presented at best as a primitive cultural curiosity (vibrant, rooted in religious beliefs) and at worst as dehumanized or infantilized abstractions. They are referred to as "people" only in the final paragraph of the text (Figure 1); in the preceding sections, the words "ancestors," "children," and "students" imply irrelevance and a lack of agency and knowledge that is only resolved through the civilizing influence of European settlers. The verb "migrated" brings to mind the movement of animals, driven by instinct rather than purpose. The Conservative government's goal of presenting Canada as a nation of immigrants (Jafri, 2012) finds further support through the positioning of migrating Indigenous peoples as settlers themselves, but the word choice also serves to undermine any sense of belonging or rightful land ownership. In contrast, Europeans are explorers [brave adventurers] who arrived [purposefully, with goals] in North America embodying the power of a king; they possess legitimate authority (van Dijk, 2000) as shown through references to government, mainstream culture, and schools (disciplinary institutions that create, sanction, and enforce order and cultural norms). The formal apology of the government in 2008, while factual, implies the existence of informal apologies before this time, in other words, a longstanding recognition of, and shame for, the government's role in irrevocably altering Indigenous lives. The gravitas of a "formal" apology may also imply a certain tangible impact in the lives of the recipients; the anguish and condemnation, 15 years after this apology, over the discovery of hundreds of Indigenous children's remains at several former residential schools, demonstrate that apology falls far short when faced with concrete evidence of colonial wrongs and contemporary obfuscation. The use of the word "newcomers," although fitting in the context of the narrative and the government's overall goals for the guide, is particularly interesting given the projected audience of *Discover Canada*. As (mostly) recent newcomers themselves, to whom might readers relate more in this narrative: to Indigenous groups, whose origins are ancient and contested, or to European settlers, who left their homes and came to North America looking for a new and better life? Reflecting the discursive subtext of mainstream Canadian society, European settlers and

readers of the guide are positioned as ingroup members (van Dijk, 2000), and Indigenous peoples are, largely, excluded.

The discussion of word choices and their impact on audience perceptions could fit into a language lesson in various ways. Students could be asked to create a list of words used to describe themselves (e.g. words used in different personal, professional, academic, cultural, and bureaucratic contexts) and consider how these impact their identities; then, students could identify the descriptors of Indigenous and settler groups in the *Discover Canada* text and consider the connotations of these lexical choices. Janks (1993a) provided sets of commonly-used South African terms (e.g. apartheid, separate development), asking students to think about who would likely use each term and why. The use of narrative frames (Barkhuizen & Wette, 2008) could also highlight how language shapes perception. Students could be given several frames (e.g. European explorers came and… / European invaders came and…) and asked to complete the ideas in a logical (or illogical) way to show how word choices change and limit what can be said about a subject.

Missing Information

Content, like narrative structure, is most often a focus of TESL reading and writing classes. As mentioned in **Narrative Structure**, learners may practice identifying different parts of a piece of writing or write their own texts that meet certain requirements for evidence and support. They may also research, evaluate, and add content from external sources to their own writing. The inclusion or exclusion of information in a text highlights its privilege and importance in terms of social interests (Fleming & Morgan, 2011). *Discover Canada* is an official publication of the Canadian government, and the information (not) presented within it "takes on an official character" (Fleming & Morgan, 2011, p. 33). In Table 3, three statements from *Discover Canada* on the themes of treaties and residential schools juxtaposed with corresponding information from the TRC's final report highlight some crucial omissions. Critical questions that can be asked about missing information include: what information is available but absent; and, why might it have been excluded?

Table 3.

Contrasting Characterizations of the Treaties and Residential Schools

Discover Canada	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
"Treaties…were not always fully respected" (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2012, p. 10).	"[Treaties] were not made to be kept, but to serve a present purpose, to settle a present difficulty in the easiest manner possible, to acquire a desired good with the least possible compensation, and then to be disregarded as soon as this purpose was tainted and we were strong enough to enforce a new and more profitable arrangement" (Indian Rights Association, 1886, p. 19, as cited in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 45).
Residential schools were created "to educate and assimilate [Indigenous children] into mainstream Canadian culture" (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2012, p. 10).	"These residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into…the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. v).
"The schools were poorly funded and inflicted hardship on the students; some were physically abused" (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2012, p. 10).	"Children were abused, physically and sexually, and they died in the schools in numbers that would not have been tolerated in any school system anywhere in the country, or in the world" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, pp. v-vi).

Clear differences in the texts' descriptions of the same situations emerge. Minimization, alteration, and exclusion of "dispreferred information" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 275) characterize all of the *Discover Canada* excerpts. Where information cannot be completely eliminated, it is framed in euphemistic terms in order to lessen the negative impact on readers' perceptions (Fairclough, 1989; Gulliver, 2018). In Table 3, row 1, "not fully respecting" the treaties implies at least a partial respect; this implication falls far short of the TRC's characterization of the treaties as simply a means to an end. Some of the information is altered to reflect non-Indigenous perspectives and rationales. In Table 3, row 2, the *Discover Canada* text states that residential schools were benignly meant to educate Indigenous children and enable them to function in settler society; this one-sided rationalization positions European settler knowledges and cultures as superior to those of Indigenous groups. Other information is completely absent. As seen in Table 3, row 3, in *Discover*

Canada's narrative, Indigenous children suffered harsh physical living conditions and abuse in residential schools. This limited truth ignores the psychological and sexual abuse that occurred, as well as the fact that a partial accounting numbers more than 4000 Indigenous children who died, unacknowledged, as a result of attending residential schools (National Center for Truth and Reconciliation, 2021, para. 3). That the purposes of the texts are different cannot be ignored: one provides necessary information for the official citizenship test while the other makes known the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples. Nonetheless, downplaying, absences, and silence prevent the voices of those who experienced an event from being heard (Gulliver, 2018). Readers should question the discursive silences (Foucault, 1976/1978) in *Discover Canada* and consider for whose benefit they exist.

An analysis of missing information could enter into a reading or writing lesson on research skills; students might be given a selection from *Discover Canada* and be asked to find one corroborating or one opposing source of information and consider how each representation benefits particular groups. In analyzing a poem about social identity, power, and language, Janks (1993a) suggested that students discuss the statement, "Silence is a way of getting power over someone" (p. 2), an activity that could fit into any TESL skills class and would allow students to consider how they have silenced others or, like many Indigenous voices, have been silenced themselves. Gray (2011) stated that social control can be achieved through "remembering and forgetting" (p. 11) and showed how photovoice projects gave Indigenous youth the means to remember and expose the intergenerational effects of residential schools. Similarly, TESL students of any level could use images or narratives to share their own knowledge of significant events that shaped their lives before or after coming to Canada. These personal perspectives could be juxtaposed with other information sources (e.g. news reports, other students' knowledge) to develop critical awareness of the fragmentary nature of knowledge as well as vocabulary, research, or other language skills. Combining language skills and critical inquiry, Sterzuk and Hengen (2019) showed how students can "confront, interrogate, and negotiate the settler disposition" (p. 22). By reading positive descriptions of significant Indigenous figures in Canada's past and present and creating summaries and timelines of the information, students began to ask questions that led to discussions of the history and positioning of Indigenous peoples after European contact. An Indigenous cultural expert provided context and first-hand knowledge of Indigenous people's experiences in Canada. Students "expressed gratitude and relief" (p. 32) that they now knew more about this aspect of Canadian society.

Many of these pedagogical activities may appear more suited to upper-intermediate and advanced learners, but this is not to suggest that beginner and lower-intermediate level learners cannot, or should not, also engage critically with the texts they encounter. Lavoie, Sarkar, Mark, and Jenniss (2012) demonstrated the presentation of critical framing and epistemological plurality to bilingual Indigenous kindergarten students; by asking questions that required students to consult with community members, and by positioning the students as experts who shared their cultural knowledge with a symbolic community outsider, students came to realize that they could participate in the co-construction of knowledge in their school and community. TESL students have extensive and varied life experiences and knowledges upon which to draw in the language classroom, and critical learning activities can be adapted in ways that allow for epistemological variety and are appropriate for all levels of language proficiency.

Discussion

In this article, analytical questions were used to read *Discover Canada* critically and uncover the discourses and power relations that construct and are reiterated by the text. The Canadian government, as producer and disseminator of the guide, is positioned as the official mouthpiece of the past and present inhabitants of the country; that the information in the guide is essential knowledge for passing the citizenship test implies that it is information all Canadian citizens know and agree upon. The narrative trajectory of the excerpt prompts readers to think that life after colonization improved, or at least was and is not much different, for Indigenous groups, and that discriminatory practices and systems have been left in the past. Declarative sentences position readers of *Discover Canada* as passive recipients of knowledge, much like Indigenous peoples in the text. The use of simple present and simple past verb forms encourages users to accept the writers' presentation of history as complete, transparent, and true (Fairclough, 1989). Subtly but persistently, Indigenous peoples and cultures are presented as being inferior to European settlers' ways of life and knowing the world. Readers are invited to transpose the experiences of the newcomer settlers onto their own. Significant and crucial information about the treaties and residential schools, the specific focus of *Call to Action 93*, is altered or missing completely. A vital question for TESL instructors—who are involved in facilitating the ongoing settlement of Canada—is whether a failure to counter the racist and colonial discourses promoted by the guide is not, in fact, a continuation of the priorities and practices that supported residential schools and the erasure of Indigenous life.

A revised version of the citizenship materials is reportedly forthcoming (Government of Canada, 2021). It remains to be seen to what extent the revised document will answer *Call to Action 93*. Certainly, the above analysis will serve as a point of comparison, and TESL instructors can use the analytical tools I have outlined to assess the new document and the claims that it presents "unvarnished" (Quan, 2021, p. IN4) historical and current information about racism, colonialism, and their ongoing effects in Canada. The processes of decolonization and reconciliation will not, however, be completed simply with the publication of a revised guide, and it is necessary for critical TESL instructors to use teaching materials that develop students' communicative and symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2006, 2011) as participants in the changing dialogue of Indigenous and settler people.

Conclusion

To conclude, I offer some critiques and cautions. First, this article has focused on the damage (Tuck, 2009) inflicted on Indigenous peoples in history and through *Discover Canada* to draw attention to textual features and dominant discourses that might pass unnoticed. Although trauma has been passed down through Indigenous groups, along with it comes resilience (Gray, 2011; Morcom & Freeman, 2018; Tuck, 2009), and an important step for TESL instructors implementing *Call to Action 93* will be to show how Indigenous peoples in Canada have withstood the effects of colonialism and continue to insist that their voices be heard across the country and around the world (see, for example, the *Indigenous Perspectives Education Guide* [Historica Canada, 2021]).

Continuing the themes of resilience and voice, Indigenous educators are encouraging the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives into diverse subject areas "beyond social studies and history, into science and math and language" (Francis, 2021, p. IN5), and TESL instructors who ground their language teaching in real-world examples can look for opportunities not simply to add

Indigenous history as a teaching topic (Battiste, 2005), but to integrate Indigenous knowledges outside the narrow contexts of Canadian history and citizenship. Whatever form of implementation TESL instructors use in relation to *Call to Action 93*, care should be taken not to appropriate Indigenous traditions simply to serve the purposes of English language instruction. This tension is something that I, a white settler Canadian TESL instructor, feel as I consider how to address my responsibilities as a Treaty person in the classroom and the need for Indigenous peoples to "direct the interpretation of their own history" (Watson, 2014, p. 514).

Finally, there exists the danger of placing too heavy a transformative burden on already overloaded instructors, and of expecting rapid, near-miraculous change in response to critical teaching (Morgan, 2009). Different contexts will have different affordances that facilitate or impede teachers' responses to *Call to Action 93*. To the extent that it is possible, however, TESL instructors should employ strategies that enable "*the pluralisation of knowledge in the present*" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 263). Derwing and Thomson (2005) suggest that LINC and other TESL classrooms may not be the best places to engage in detailed citizenship teaching. Instead, separate citizenship classes should be offered once students leave regular language programs. This would perhaps open up wider spaces for critical engagement with the discourses that constitute Canadian society and shape dominant conceptions of Canadian history.

Instead of promoting an exclusive imagined community (Anderson, 2006) as depicted in *Discover Canada*, *Call to Action 93* invites Indigenous peoples, TESL instructors, and students to build both imagined and actual communities based on shared identities and responsibilities as Treaty people, a goal also set forth in the TRC's (2015a) final report. For this to happen, more collaboration, through as many means and modes as possible, will need to occur between TESL instructors, students, and Indigenous peoples from all walks of life. TESL classrooms, then, rather than being spaces where partial and exclusionary views of Indigenous peoples and history are perpetuated, can become spaces where the Indigenous, settler, and newcomer inhabitants of Canada are encouraged to take measures toward effective, substantive, and ongoing reconciliation.

References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (2nd ed.). Verso. Retrieved from: https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/2027/heb.01609

Andreotti, V., Ahenakew, C., & Cooper, G. (2011). Epistemological pluralism: Ethical and pedagogical challenges in higher education. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *7*(1), 40–50. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011100700104

Assembly of First Nations. (n.d.). *Land and claims*. https://www.afn.ca/policy-sectors/lands-claims/

Atkinson, D. (2002). Toward a sociocognitive approach to second language acquisition. The *Modern Language Journal, 86*(4), 525–545. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1192723

Barkhuizen, G., & Wette, R. (2008). Narrative frames for investigating the experiences of language teachers. *System*, *36*, 371–387. Retrieved from https://doi.org10.1016/j.system.2008.02.002

Battiste, M. (2005). Leadership and Aboriginal education in contemporary education: Narratives of cognitive imperialism reconciling with decolonization. In J. Collard & C. Reynolds (Eds.), *Leadership, gender, and culture in education: Male and female perspectives* (pp. 150–156). Open University Press.

Battiste, M., & Henderson, J. Y. (2009). Naturalizing Indigenous knowledge in Eurocentric education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *32*(1), 5–18. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/scholarly-journals/naturalizing-indigenous-knowledge-eurocentric/docview/755262421/se-2?accountid=15182

Benesch, S. (1999). Thinking critically, thinking dialogically. *TESOL Quarterly*, *33*(3), 573–580. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.2307/3587682

Benesch, S. (2001). *Critical English for academic purposes: Theory, politics, and practice*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Benesch, S. (2009). Theorizing and practicing critical English for academic purposes. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(2), 81–85. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.09.002

Blake, R. (2013). A new Canadian dynamism? From multiculturalism and diversity to history and core values. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, *26*(1), 79–103. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.3828/bjcs.2013.5

Borrows, L. K. (2018). *Otter's journey through Indigenous language and law.* UBC Press.

Canadian Council for Refugees. (2016). Truth and Reconciliation Commission call to action. Retrieved from: https://ccrweb.ca/en/res/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-call-action

Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks. (n.d.). CLB Bootcamp. Retrieved from https://learning.language.ca/

Chapnick, A. (2011). A "conservative" national story? The evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Discover Canada. *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, *41*(1), 20–36. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2010.544853

Chun, C. (2009). Contesting neoliberal discourses in EAP: Critical praxis in an IEP classroom. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(2), 111–120. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.09.005

Chun, C. (2015). Power and meaning making in an EAP classroom: Engaging with the everyday. Multilingual Matters.

Constitution Act (1982). Retrieved from: https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-15.html

Daschuk, J. W. (2014). *Clearing the Plains: Disease, politics of starvation, and the loss of Aboriginal life*. Regina, SK: University of Regina Press. Retrieved from: https://books-scholarsportal-info.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks3/upress/2014-06-10/1/9780889772977

Delacourt, S. (2021, July 4). Perry Bellegarde has some advice for non-Indigenous Canadians. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from: https://www.thestar.com/politics/political-

opinion/2021/07/04/perry-bellegarde-has-some-advice-for-non-indigenous-canadians.html

Derwing, T. M., & Thomson, R. I. (2005). Citizenship concepts in LINC classrooms. *TESL Canada Journal*, *23*(1), 44–62. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v23i1.77

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Longman.

Fellner, K. D. (2018). Embodying decoloniality: Indigenizing curriculum and pedagogy. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *62*(3-4), 283–293. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12286

Fleming, D. (2003). Building personal and nation-state identities: Research and practice. *TESL Canada Journal*, *20*(2), 65–79. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v20i2.949

Fleming, D. (2010). Becoming citizens: Racialized conceptions of ESL learners and the Canadian Language Benchmarks. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *33*(3), 588–616. Retrieved from: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A259841126/EAIM?u=yorku_main&sid=bookmark-EAIM&xid=47f3e4db

Fleming, D., & Morgan, B. (2011). Discordant anthems: ESL and critical citizenship education. *CERN's Peer Reviewed Collection 2011*, 30–42.

Retrieved from: https://ojs-o.library.ubc.ca/index.php/CERJ/article/view/223

Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and power (C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham & K. Soper, Trans.). In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (pp. 109–133). Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality volume 1: An introduction*. (R. Hurley, Trans.). Random House. (Original work published 1976).

Francis, A. (2021, June 26). How this educator is bringing truth to Indigenous textbooks. *Toronto Star*, pp. IN1, IN4-IN5.

Freire, P. (1970). The adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom. *Harvard Educational Review*, *40*(2), 205–225. Retrieved from: https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.17763/haer.40.2.q7n227021n148p26

Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage* (R. R. Barr. Trans.). Bloomsbury. (Original work published 1992).

Freytag, G. (1900). *Freytag's technique of the drama: An exposition of dramatic composition and art. An authorized translation from the 6th German ed.* (E. J. MacEwan, Trans.). (Original work published 1863). Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company. Retrieved from: https://ia800208.us.archive.org/25/items/freytagstechniqu00freyuoft/freytagstechniqu00freyuoft.pdf

Government of Canada. (2010). *Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program*. Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-

refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/language-instruction-newcomers-canada-2010.html

Government of Canada. (2013). *Treaty texts: Treaty no. 6*. Retrieved from: https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100028710/1581292569426

Government of Canada. (2018). *Language classes funded by the Government of Canada*. Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/new-immigrants/new-life-canada/improve-english-french/classes.html

Government of Canada. (2021). *Canada's oath of citizenship now recognizes First Nations, Inuit and Métis rights*. Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2021/06/canadas-oath-of-citizenship-now-recognizes-first-nations-inuit-and-metis-rights.html

Government of Ontario. (2021). Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Retrieved from: https://www.ontario.ca/page/ministry-colleges-universities

Graveline, F. J. (1998). *Circleworks: Transforming Eurocentric consciousness*. Fernwood.

Gray, R. R. R. (2011). Visualizing pedagogy and power with urban native youth: Exposing the legacy of the Indian residential school system. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *34*(1), 9–27. Retrieved from: http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/scholarly-journals/visualizing-pedagogy-power-with-urban-native/docview/1002737898/se-2?accountid=15182

Graybill, A. R. (2004). Rangers, Mounties, and the subjugation of Indigenous peoples, 1870–1885. *Great Plains Quarterly*, *24*(2), 83–100. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23533883

Grey, M. (2009). Ethnographers of difference in a critical EAP community–becoming. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(2), 121–133. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.09.006

Gulliver, T. (2009). *Imagining Canada, imagining Canadians: national identity in English as a second language textbooks*. (Publication No. NR52332) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa]. uO Research. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.20381/ruor-13144

Gulliver, T. (2010). Immigrant success stories in ESL textbooks. *TESOL Quarterly*, *44*(4), 725–745. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.5054/tq.2010.235994

Gulliver, T. (2011a). Banal nationalism in ESL textbooks. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *34*(3), 116–135. Retrieved from: https://journals.sfu.ca/cje/index.php/cje-rce/article/view/362

Gulliver, T. (2011b). Framing Canadians in two citizenship study guides. *CERN's Peer Reviewed Collection 2011*, 16–29. Retrieved from: https://ojs-o.library.ubc.ca/index.php/CERJ/article/view/223

Gulliver, T. (2012). The militarization of Canadian citizenship and immigration. *CERN's Peer Reviewed Collection 2012*, 18–31. Retrieved from: https://ojs-o.library.ubc.ca/index.php/CERJ/issue/view/19

Gulliver, T. (2018). Canada the redeemer and denials of racism. *Critical Discourse Studies, 15*(1), 68–86. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2017.1360192

Gulliver, T., & Thurrell, K. (2016). Denials of racism in Canadian English language textbooks. *TESL Canada Journal*, *33*(SI 10), 42–61. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v33i0.1245

Hawkins, M. R. (2011). Introduction. In M. R. Hawkins (Ed.), *Social justice language teacher education* (pp. 1–6)*.* Multilingual Matters.

Historica Canada. (2021). Indigenous perspectives education guide. Retrieved from: https://fb.historicacanada.ca/education/english/indigenous-perspectives/2/

Ilieva, R. (2000). Exploring culture in texts designed for use in adult ESL classrooms. *TESL Canada Journal*, *17*(2), 15–20. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v17i2.889

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2012). *Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of citizenship.* Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/discover.pdf

Indian Rights Association. (1886). *Proceedings of the 4th annual Lake Mohonk conference: October 12, 13, 14 1886*. Indian Rights Association.

International Journal of Indigenous Health. (n.d.). *Defining Aboriginal peoples within Canada* [PDF file]. Retrieved from: https://journals.uvic.ca/journalinfo/ijih/IJIHDefiningIndigenousPeoplesWithinCanada.pdf

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2021). Who we are. Retrieved from: https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/

Iseke-Barnes, J. (2008). Pedagogies for decolonizing. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *31*(1), 123–148. Retrieved from: http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/scholarly-journals/pedagogies-decolonizing/docview/230303573/se-2?accountid=15182

Jackson, P. W. (1990). *Life in classrooms*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Jafri, B. (2012). National identity, transnational whiteness and the Canadian citizenship guide. *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*, *8*, 1–15. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/1519291/National_Identity_Transnational_Whiteness_and_the_Canadian_Citizenship_Guide

Janks, H. (1993a). *Language, identity & power: Materials for the classroom*. Witwatersrand University Press. Retrieved from: http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/18110

Janks, H. (1993b). *Language & position: Materials for the classroom*. Witwatersrand University Press. Retrieved from http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/18078

Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. Routledge.

Joyce, C. (2014). From "peaceable kingdom" to "warrior nation": A comparative analysis of the liberal and conservative citizenship study guides. *CAPSTONE SEMINAR SERIES (Re)Negotiating Artifacts of Canadian Narratives of Identity*, *4*(1), 3–18. Retrieved from:

https://capstoneseminarseries.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/cassandra-joyce-final-by-anne.pdf

Kincheloe, J. L. (2008). *Critical pedagogy primer* (2nd ed.). Peter Lang.

Kramsch, C. (2006). From communicative competence to symbolic competence. *The Modern Language Journal*, *90*(2), 249–252. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2006.00395_3.x

Kramsch, C. (2011). The symbolic dimensions of the intercultural. *Language Teaching*, *44*(3), 354–367. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444810000431

Kumaravadivelu, B. (1994). The postmethod condition: (E)merging strategies for second/foreign language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, *28*(1), 27–48. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3587197

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2003). A postmethod perspective on English language teaching. *World Englishes*, *22*(4), 539–550. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2003.00317.x

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the verbal and visual arts: Proceedings of the 1966 annual spring meeting* (pp. 12–44). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press. Retrieved from: https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~rnoyer/courses/103/narrative.pdf

Lavoie, C., Sarkar, M., Mark, M., & Jenniss, B. (2012). Multiliteracies pedagogy in language teaching: An example from an Innu community in Quebec. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *35*(1), 194–210. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/scholarly-journals/multiliteracies-pedagogy-language-teaching/docview/1370197071/se-2?accountid=15182

Luke, A. (2004). Two takes on the critical. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (Eds.), *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning* (pp. 21–29). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139524834.002

McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse analysis for language teachers.* Cambridge University Press.

Miller, J. R. (2009). *Compact, contract, covenant: Aboriginal treaty-making in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Montgomery, K. (2005). Banal race-thinking: Ties of blood, Canadian history textbooks and ethnic nationalism. *Paedagogica Historica*, *41*(3), 313–336. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230500069795

Morcom, L., & Freeman, K. (2018). Niinwi - Kiinwa - Kiinwi: Building non-Indigenous allies in education through Indigenous pedagogy. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *41*(3), 808–833. Retrieved from: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A562004915/AONE?u=yorku_main&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=ad8bf179

Morgan, B. (2009). Fostering transformative practitioners for critical EAP: Possibilities and challenges. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(2), 86–99. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.09.001

Morgan, B., & Ramanathan, V. (2005). Critical literacies and language education: Global and local perspectives. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *25*, 151–169. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190505000085

National Center for Truth and Reconciliation. (2021). Student memorial register FAQ. Retrieved from: https://nctr.ca/memorial/national-student-memorial/student-memorial-register-faq/

OECD. (2020). Linking Indigenous communities with regional development in Canada. *OECD Rural Policy Reviews*. OECD Publishing. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1787/fa0f60c6-en

Pashby, K., Ingram, L.-A., & Joshee, R. (2014). Discovering, recovering, and covering-up Canada: Tracing historical citizenship discourses in K-12 and adult immigrant citizenship education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *37*(2), 1–26. Retrieved from: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A383459871/EAIM?u=yorku_main&sid=EAIM&xid=8bbd4786

Pennycook, A. (1997). Vulgar pragmatism, critical pragmatism, and EAP. *English for Specific Purposes, 16,* 253–269. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(97)00019-7

Quan, D. (2021, June 26). Newcomer's guide to citizenship gets an 'unvarnished' makeover. *Toronto Star*, pp. IN1, IN4.

Restoule, J-P. (n.d.). We are all treaty people. Retrieved from: https://www.oise.utoronto.ca/abed101/we-are-all-treaty-people/

Richards, J. C. (2006). *Communicative language teaching today*. Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J. C., & Rodgers, T. S. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511667305

Richler, N. (2014). *What we talk about when we talk about war*. Goose Lane Editions.

Ritenburg, H., Leon, A. E. Y., Linds, W., Nadeau, D. M., Goulet, L. M., Kovach, M., & Marshall, M. (2014). Embodying decolonization: Methodologies and indigenization. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *10*(1), 67–80. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011401000107

Roman, L. G. & Stanley, T. (1997). Empires, emigres, and aliens: Young people's negotiations of official and popular racism in Canada. In L. G. Roman & L. Eyre (Eds.), *Dangerous territories: Struggles for difference and equality in education* (pp. 205–232). Routledge.

Scott, D., & Gani, R. (2018). Examining social studies teachers' resistances towards teaching Aboriginal perspectives: The case of Alberta. *Diaspora, Indigenous and Minority Education*, *12*(4), 167–181. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2018.1497969

Sobel, N. (2013). *Constructing Canadian citizens: A textual analysis of Canadian citizenship guides in English - 1947-2012* (Publication No. 24356) [Master's thesis, University of Manitoba]. Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/1993/18319

Sobel, N. (2015). A typology of the changing narratives of Canadian citizens through time. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 47*(1), 11-39. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2015.0003

Sterzuk, A., & Hengen, S. (2019) "When I came to Canada like I heard lots of bad stuff about Aboriginal people": Disrupting settler colonial discourses through English language teaching. In M. E. López-Gopar (Ed.), *International Perspectives on Critical Pedagogies in ELT* (pp. 19–38). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95621-3_2

TESL Ontario. (n.d.). TESL training topics for programs accredited by TESL Ontario [PDF file]. Retrieved from: https://www.teslontario.org/uploads/accreditation/Institutions/Topics.pdf

Thomson, R. I., & Derwing, T. M. (2004). Presenting Canadian values in LINC: The roles of textbooks and teachers. *TESL Canada Journal*, *21*(2), 17–33. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v21i2.172

Tonon, L., & Raney, T. (2013). Building a conservative nation: An examination of Canada's new citizenship guide, Discover Canada. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, *47*(1), 201–219. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.3138/ijcs.47.201

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015a). *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.* Retrieved from: http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015b). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to action.* Retrieved from: http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf

Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409–428. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3n15

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 249–283. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006

van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction* [PDF file]. Retrieved from: http://www.discourses.org/UnpublishedArticles/Ideology%20and%20discourse.pdf

Watson, I. (2014). Re-centring First Nations knowledge and places in a terra nullius space. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *10*(5), 508–520. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011401000506

Wilton, S. (2006). Official literature for new Canadians: Images and perceptions of Canada. In P. Anctil & Z. Bernd (Eds.), *Canada from the outside in: New trends in Canadian studies* (pp. 233–246). Peter Lang.

Wilton, S. (2010). State culture: The advancement of "Canadian values" among immigrants. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, *42*(42), 91–104. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.7202/1002173ar

Witol, S. (2017, March 27). TEFL, TESL and TESOL: What's the difference? University of Toronto, Woodsworth College. Retrieved from: http://tesol.wdw.utoronto.ca/tefl-tesl-and-tesol-whats-the-difference/

Author

Stephanie Kinzie is a PhD student in Applied Linguistics at York University. Her research interests include mentorship and language teacher education, language teacher identity, critical pedagogy, activity theory, and (critical) discourse analysis. She has been teaching English (EFL, ESL, and EAP) since 2008.

Critical Education