
# Peer Review Collection, 2012

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## Editorial Introduction

This is the second annual CERN Collection to be compiled from papers presented at the year's CSSE conference. The authors were given the opportunity to update and expand on their original presentations, and were subject to blind review by two peers prior to the posting of this collection. Those interested in contributing or reviewing are encouraged to contact the editor (catherine.broom@ubc.ca) prior to July 5, 2013.

It is the idea of identity that stands out most strongly throughout these articles. Each author is able to touch upon the construction, elaboration, manipulation or analysis of identity with direct focus or tangential reference, and together create a brief narrative. The articles in this collection are thus ordered according to themes surrounding identity, with transitions provided by the natural intermediaries emerging from the authors' independent focuses. The collection begins with three articles discussing Canadian identity, loosely and variably defined, and how it is distinguished and upheld.

First, Broom's research delves into history and the use of textbooks as a means to instill solidarity into citizens and create a myth of the Canadian: peacekeeping, proud, and pluralistic. This picture of Canadian identity is, at least partially, the product of a continuous flow of deliberately manufactured valiance in the retelling of the ancient Greeks through feudalism to contemporary Canada, with missteps such as residential schools mentioned as overcome obstacles. The subjectivity and opposition of this material, detailed in the article's conclusion, applies heavily to the same idea of uncritical thought in public arenas found in Gulliver's work.

Moving from the classroom to the Citizenship Ceremony, Gulliver describes a nearly identical presentation of Canadians, although the revisionism is concentrated on military and recent government decisions. The concerns are similar; those new to Canadian culture, due to youth or immigration, are confronted with officially approved images of stoic soldiers. Regardless of the verisimilitude of the image, no means of confirming or confronting the provided identity are forthcoming. Broom and Gulliver's articles suggest that critical thought, a cornerstone of education and several of the following articles in this collection, appears not to be a component in select pieces of literature intended to create a quintessential Canadian.

DeCaro's work carries that idea outside of the public body and into non-governmental organizations, exploring how the same peacekeeping, proud and pluralistic identity can support and alter fundraising and activist activities. Working within the framework of the 'Good Citizen' as opposed to the 'Bad Activist', DeCaro notes the risk involved in creating a Canadian identity; the helpful Canadian contrasts with the needy third-world citizen. Coupling the difficulty of impacting change without critical analysis and the possibility for philanthropic NGOs to be labeled as bad activists when applying that same criticism to governmental actions, the literature presented in DeCaro's work suggest that large organizations such as Free the Children may perpetuate the exoticism of those receiving its aid. Considering that Free the Children is maintained primarily by youth, the issue is brought closer to the heart of this collection.

The second portion involves the creation of Others, within or outside of Canada, as identities often without agency. As was the case with DeCaro, such a creation may occur with a simultaneous reinforcement or alteration to Canadian identity. Hayduk's article describes this co-creation in an academic and intentionally supportive setting, wherein Canadian youths were immersed in a foreign culture and asked to reflect regularly and through multiple media. Not only was the behavior of the others scrutinized, but the expectations and assumptions of the students were considered with an informal critical stance. Although all the Canadian students have ancestral connections to the other culture, the issue of mixed identities is not one that arises; Canadian identity stands firm. Hayduk and

DeCaro, despite supporting the efforts and intentions of their respective subjects, both note that the identities of Others, and Canadians, requires deliberate, critical thought.

Bilash and Cho take the approach of creating an Other from opposite, yet immediately corresponded, sides. Bilash focuses on the history, political overview and continuous struggle of Aboriginal languages, including figures to illustrate the potentially dire situation; unlike other languages in Canada that have small or shrinking bases of first language speakers, Aboriginal languages lack a source of continual immigration from which to draw. Since the newer generations have little support to learn native languages, the time to save them is extremely limited. This, however, is the peculiarity; according to the article, the First Nations of Canada are treated, in so far as governmental language support is concerned, as outsiders, or non-English speakers. As described in the first several articles, Canadian identity was created, and it does not appear to speak Cree.

Cho instead focuses on newcomers to Canada. The issue of identity is confounded by this newness, as established Canadians have a personal identity as Canadians, and presumed identity for newcomers, and an unintentionally clumsy and inherently problematic manner of determining identity specifics: "Where are you from?" On the other hand, newcomers are busy decoding Canadian identity, masking their own identity as a matter of courtesy, and pigeon-holing themselves by answering such questions. The author presents a third problem: these newcomers are teachers and must adopt the additional identity of a teacher. Taken together, the task for such immigrant teachers is daunting, and not one they can expect to overcome. Instead, the onus lies on Canadian education programs to encourage critical analysis of discourse in order for established Canadian teachers to better communicate with their newly arrived peers.

The final portion of this collection, as introduced by Cho's concept of educating student teachers about effective interaction with immigrant teachers, deals with honing the ability to dissect an identity belonging to either oneself, an other, or a collective Other. Fleming looks at a small sampling of ESL and literacy education teachers and, through a series of interviews, notes that trends popular in academic circles already exist among teachers, if without the formal labels. Specifically, critical literacy and justice-oriented citizenship are considered essential by many of the interviewed teachers, although neither term was widely used. The disconnect between pedagogical researchers and 'field' teachers is a concern to the extent that new theories or concepts with promise, or perhaps offering superior means to teach in areas as typically multicultural as ESL and literacy education, may have no means of reaching teachers.

The exceptions are student teachers, since innovative BEd programs can bridge this gap between cutting edge academic theory and the applied world of the classroom. The final article, by Isacsson, McLean and Lalonde analyzes the impact of a two-day global education institute which comprised a series of workshops and panel discussions that brought together student candidates, teachers, professors and NGO representatives. The results demonstrate how the institute significantly impacted the student teachers' capacities to critically reflect on issues of global citizenship. Based on this experience, a majority of the participants saw themselves as capable of integrating these topics into their future classrooms.

These articles explore a variety of other topics not touched upon here, and readers may find comprehensive themes neither noticed while editing or intended by the authors. It is the variety of such writing that will hopefully make the Collection of value to readers, and support the Citizenship Education community.

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# Citizenship, Nationalism, "Nation-building" Stories, and the "Good Citizen": Associating Citizenship Education and Public Schooling

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**Abstract**

This paper begins with a description of the historical connections between public schools and citizenship education. It then argues that one of the main ways in which citizenship education has occurred in Canadian schools has been through the co-opting of history into the presentation of collective memory narratives to students. After describing the theoretical differences between collective memory and history, the paper presents the main elements of Canadian collective memories taught as nation-building narratives in history classes. It describes how these memories were deliberately brought into schools and the reaction of the academic community to these narratives that continue to be found in school curricula and textbooks today. The paper engages in a critical exploration of the meaning of citizenship education in, through and for democracy.

**Keywords:** collective memory; Canadian history; citizenship

## Citizenship Education and the Nation

Citizenship education has had a long and close association with public schools. Some educational historians have even argued that citizenship education was one of the major reasons for establishing public schools, citing nineteenth-century Prussia as the first nation-state to develop schools as a means of building nationalism (Cordasco, 1976; Boyd & King, 1975). Within the context of developing national identities, government officials have used schools to nurture a sense of allegiance and the dispositions needed to maintain (and further develop) the modern nation-state (Boyd & King, 1975; Cordasco, 1976; Dilworth, 2003: Heater & Gillespie, 1981).

An early public school activist that focused on citizenship education was Thomas Jefferson. Influenced by Enlightenment ideas that humans were both rational and moral and could be improved through education and by Locke's ideas on representative government, Jefferson argued that free, universal public schooling was a necessity in a representative republic—it was an essential feature o America's emerging national identity. Jefferson claimed that public schools were crucial in a democratic state with universal suffrage, as educated individuals were required to participate intelligently (critically/morally) and effectively in the nation's public life: "whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government; that, whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights" (Jefferson, 1789). Moral education meant cultivating a duty to the state through means such as literature (Warner, 2010). An informed or educated populace and freedom of the press were believed to actively and effectively ensure democracy: "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day. . . . [T]he diffusion of knowledge among the people is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected" (Jefferson, 1816). Jefferson worked to develop early public schools within which political education was to be nurtured. When he was unsuccessful at the national level, he formulated an elementary to university system in Virginia which focused on numeracy, literacy, moral education and fostering awareness of people's rights and responsibilities. It became a model for other American states and nations (Gutek, 2011).

Later American and Canadian educational reformers drew from and further developed Jefferson's ideas. For example, American educational reformer, Horace Mann, and Ontario Public

School developer, Egerton Ryerson, actively worked to establish universal and public educational systems that aimed to develop good citizens. They effectively convinced many that public schools would improve society and were vital to the development of good, future citizens. Horace Mann played a key role in the development of a public educational system that was modelled on the Prussian: it was free, open to all, administered by the state and combined skills education with the deliberate cultivation of nationalism to the state (Gutek, 2011). It became a model to which many other American states and nations looked in developing their own public school systems. Egerton Ryerson played a similarly important role in Ontario, Canada and influenced the development of other public school systems in Canada, such as in BC (Broom, 2011a).

The close connection between democracy and education was well theorized by Dewey (1916). He argued that public schools were to be places in which democratic sentiment was to be nurtured through the associated life of varied students that led to negotiations and fostered understanding and community bonds. His elegant philosophy intertwined public schools and citizenship and has been one of the most influential educational theories in the twentieth century, underpinning numerous educational programs and educators' beliefs in the aims, methods, and processes of education. His focus on education for democracy placed citizenship education at the centre of the school curriculum.

In short, a number of prominent educational leaders and thinkers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries advocated universal public education in order to nurture democratic citizens at a time when states were developing themselves into the major organized form of governance. The association of democratic states with citizenship education and public schooling clearly influenced early public school and curriculum developers. For example, BC's guides' major stated aim was the creation of good citizens:

> The development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship actuated by the highest British ideas of justice, tolerance, and fair play should be accepted without question as a fundamental aim of the provincial school system. Such an aim has stood the test of time…Any well-rounded system of education, while emphasizing individual development, should stress in greater degree the paramount duty and importance of harmonizing such development with social needs and obligations. The development of the intellect for the service of others…the appreciation of one's duties to one's fellow-men and the body politic—these aims are neither ephemeral nor ornamental.
>
> (Royal Commission Report in Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 38)

The nationalist citizen was correlated with the good (compliant) citizen. That is, good citizens were versed in governmental procedures, took part through informed voting and other civic actions to the best of their abilities—and, perhaps most importantly, were nationalistic/patriotic supporters of the current state.

The educational program for developing this focused on teaching factual knowledge of the government and interweaving Canada's nation-building myths into history lessons. Myths are understood to be extractions and slanted interpretations of history; they are narrative stories that have moral purposes (Kenny, 1999). In this case, they aim to build patriotic feeling. They are written using Collective memories: some historical events are selected, interpreted in particular ways that link to nationalism, and then imbued with emotional significance through narrative structures and the use of symbols (Wertsch, 2002; Kenny, 1999). The difference between collective memory and history are explored in more detail in the following section, after key terms are briefly defined.

## Key Terms

*Civic Education* is a systematic program of study that aims to develop knowledge, skills, and values related to participation in democratic government structures. It spans a variety of ideological or political perspectives from those that aim to conserve society as it is to those that aim to transform it. Programs can have varied focuses of attention, ranging from an individual moral stance to a more transformative position (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

A *state* is a structural form of governance that is demarcated through spatial boundaries. It can encompass within itself several different nationalities (or cultural groups) that may range in their access and ability to wield power. One hegemonic group may frame which discourses have legitimacy over others. A *nation* tends to be associated with one particular cultural group and is an *imagined community*, a significant concept developed by Anderson (1991) which illustrates how conceptions of identity in association with places are deliberately created by people through actions that include the development of common symbols.

*Democracy* is a system of governance in which power is held by the general public, the majority of the population. The manner in which this power is actualized can vary, with forms ranging from full participation of citizens in governmental processes to representational forms in larger societies. *Republics* are a form of government in which positions of authority are not vested in a person, family or tradition, as is the case in monarchies. Republics may or may not be democracies (Gelderen & Skinner, 2002).

The "state" and "democracy" are embedded in ideological and philosophical orientations that frame how and for what purpose "civic education" is conceptualized and taught in schools. One of the key ways of teaching civic education is through history, which—as the next section demonstrates—is itself immersed in varied ideological perspectives (Evans, 2004; Broom, 2011b).

## Collective Memory/Myth and Objective History

The collective memory of a group and history are fundamentally different. *History* is understood as an objective interpretation of the past based on a balanced evaluation of evidence that develops and utilizes a number of inquiry-based, analytical, and synthesis skills (Seixas, 2002; Broom, 2008). *Collective memory* involves the deliberate effort to circulate particular, carefully framed narratives with a selection of facts that are woven together in a manner that aims to create particular responses in readers that will nurture a national identity (Wertsch, 2002).

Collective memory is a shared, subjective association of memories that are held by groups within particular social institutions (Wertsch, 2002). When the memories are associated with the past, they are called *historical, collective memories*. These memories are developed by groups through historical stories, symbols, and places and are often used by governmental institutions to develop a common public sentiment or consciousness, or patriotism. That is, they are used with the deliberate intention of uniting people living within a democratic state. Collective memory "comes from a single committed perspective, reflects a particular group's social framework, is unself-conscious" and "is impatient with ambiguities and motives and the interpretation of events" (Wertsch, 2002, p. 44). It includes an understanding that the past is connected to the present, as well as a clear focus on the unchanging essence of the group (the nation), and it ascribes to "unquestionable heroic narratives" (Wertsch, 2002). Granatstein (1998) and Bliss (2002) have supported high school history education as Collective Memory in Canada, arguing for Canadian history to be taught as grand narratives in order to develop a shared national identity among pluralistic Canadians within the Canadian state. Other scholars (including Osborne, 2000, 2003; Seixas, 2002, 2010) have argued against such indoctrination

and for history education. They have stated that teaching collective memories fails to develop a number of analytic skills in students and awareness of cause-effect relations and of the present. It can foster racism through stimulating an "insider-outsider" orientation (Lorenz, 2006; Stanley, 2006). Teaching one narrative can impair the development of critical thinking and empathy that occurs when individuals understand that, as history is a constructed interpretation of past events, multiple narratives are possible.

This debate over the content and aims of history education is not new. Early Canadian Confederation governments deliberately chose to teach nation-building stories (or myths) in order to develop nationalism. Examples of these Canadian myths that have been identified in the past include the myths that the Royal Canadian police were staunch defenders of a lawless land, the romantization of the "North," and the myths of the importance of the CPR, of Unity, of Heroism, and of the Wilderness (Francis, 1997). The RCMP, for example, are portrayed as staunch and ethical defenders of the law and nation in most school texts. However, the RCMP were actually involved in a number of brutal and repressive actions towards workers during workers' protests in early twentieth century prairies: rather than allowing workers to protest peacefully, RCMP officers used coercion and force to break up the demonstrators.

This paper supports the assertion that collective myths were taught in Canadian schools in order to develop citizenship by describing several "progressive" Canadian stories or histories presented as social development over time (Walsh, 1972) from data collected in a study of primary and secondary historical documents, such as textbooks used in schools (texts include Cranny, Jarvis, Moles & Seney, 1999; Cranny & Moles, 2001; Jeffers, 1884; Jenkins, 1918; New Canadian Reader, 2001; McCaig, 1930; McArthur, 1927; Schapiro, Morris & Soward, 1935). This discussion is followed by a description of two significant historical events that illustrate the Canadian government's deliberate attempt to use school history for nation-building purposes, and reaction to this by scholars.

## Canadian Myths

A number of Canadian myths are presented within history textbooks that have a "progressive" conception of history, one which narrates historical facts with the aim of illustrating the continuous development of society to the present (Walsh, 1972). The current society is considered to be the most advanced (Jeffers, 1884; Jenkins, 1918; McCaig, 1930; McArthur, 1927; Schapiro et al., 1935). Textbook writers interweave the five stories described next with the aim of nurturing citizens who feel proud to be Canadians and who value and support contemporary government structures.

### 1. Democracy's Story

Threaded throughout curriculum documents and textbooks is the narrative that the development of our current form of democracy was a long and arduous process and that we should be grateful for it and for living in a nation which shows its modernity through its democratic spirit (Cranny & Moles, 2001; Jeffers, 1884; Jenkins, 1918; McCaig, 1930; McArthur, 1927; Schapiro et al., 1935). The textbook authors define democracy as "government by and for the people" and argue that democracy has its foundations in Ancient Greek times. They portray the concept as one that individuals have fought and died for throughout the ages, for example, through the initial rebellion against King John in England and the signing of the Magna Carta, which established expectations for responsible forms of governance. Difficult and dangerous advocacy by common citizens using peaceful (such as governmental reforms) and more forceful means (such as protests and uprisings) continued over the centuries and eventually led to further restrictions on monarchical power and legislation that

established the vote for all men and government by elected officials for the people. This was gradually expanded to include women at the federal level in Canada in 1918, and other groups in society such as First Nations groups (who received the vote in 1960), as a result of dedicated advocacy.

**2. Parliament**

Similarly, the development of the British parliament is depicted as a long, challenging but worthwhile process that was closely associated with the development of democracy (Jeffers, 1884; McArthur, 1927; Schapiro et al., 1935). Textbooks describe the gradual movement of power from a hierarchical monarchy to public institutions managed by and for the common good by the people's representatives through legislation (the passing of laws) and policy. They describe the evolution of the two houses (the upper house, or Senate, and the lower house, or parliament) and compare and contrast their functions and processes.

**3. Canada**

Thirdly, the development of Canada is positively presented by describing how first the French (but particularly) the English developed the nation through the establishment of government, laws, the economy, and social structures (Cranny et al., 1999; Jeffers, 1884). This myth threads together the early settlements of the French and English in Canada, with the development of gradual self government through responsible government and Confederation. It argues for the importance of the National Railway (representing the actualization of the dreams of visionary men to create a nation from sea to sea) and the sacrifices of Canadians in the World Wars to the development of Canada as an independent nation-state. Vimy Ridge, for example, is presented as a significant event that led to recognition of Canada as a state on the world stage and, thus, to its eventual and final emancipation from Britain (Cranny & Moles, 2001).

**4. Nationalism**

Texts also describe the development of national identities in order to help students conceive of their own Canadian national identity (Jeffers, 1884; Schapiro et al., 1935). They describe how various regions joined together through the association of some common features (such as culture and language) and through deliberate political actions in Europe to form new nations, including Italy and Germany. Nationalism to Canada is threaded to the development of the Canada story through the use of symbols and the manner in which historical events are interpreted. For example, changes to Canada's government structures over time are presented as the gradual evolution of a state (Jeffers, 1884). Soldiers are portrayed as giving their lives for the nation—as giving the ultimate sacrifice for their worthy home, Canada (New Canadian Reader, 2001; Cranny & Moles, 2001). More recently, the textbook's description of Canada's human rights legislation and policies, belief in equity and social security, and peace keeping work overseas are used to highlight Canada today as an inclusive, pluralistic and cultural mosaic that welcomes and embraces all peoples (Cranny & Moles, 2001). In this text, the inclusion of negative events from Canada's past (such as residential schools and early twentieth century, racist immigration policies) are used to imply that Canada has overcome these hurdles to become the (better) state it is today.

Indeed, First Nations and other groups who have been discriminated against by colonizing Europeans (including both the French and English), and who continue to be subject to unequal and racist treatment in society today by a number of Canadians, are argued to have played an important

role in the development of Canada. Were people who were already living in the land that became Canada within their own cultural groups and then subject to negative colonial experiences actually part of the historical process of building the nation that colonized them, or is this narrative presented with the aim of portraying an image of Canada as inclusive? Scholars, including Carr-Stewart (2011), Jefferess (2009), and Francis (1997) have worked to deconstruct some of these narratives. For example, Jefferess (2009) has argued that Canada as a peace-keeping nation today is a myth, through an analysis of Canada's militaristic language, its military actions overseas, and its burgeoning arms industry.

**5. Industrialization**

The fifth common and interwoven story is a description of the development of industrialization (Cranny & Moles, 2001; Jeffers, 1884; Schapiro et al., 1935). It describes the move of Britain from an agricultural-based economy to one in which income and work were largely centred in manufacturing industries. The latter is closely tied to technological "development," including steam technology which is understood to have brought economic growth to the nation and the capability (and desire) to expand overseas. This story aims to make students feel proud of the progressive and modern nature of their nation (without critically interrogating its negative impacts such as the loss of a close relationship with, and the abuse of, nature for self-interested purposes, or the colonialization of other nations for raw materials, which continues today in capitalist enterprises). It also ties in well with the development, and advocacy of, middle class (manufacturing-based) values that underlie much of public schooling, including timeliness, order, discipline, respect of hierarchy, politeness and hard work (Dunn, 1980).

All five stories are closely associated and woven together into a coherent and convincing narrative (Collective Myth) of the development of the Canadian state into a progressive democratic state worthy of its citizens' love and dedication (Cranny et. al, 1999; Cranny & Moles, 2001; Jeffers, 1884; Jenkins, 1918; McCaig, 1930; McArthur, 1927; Schapiro et al., 1935). This narrative was the product of deliberate government aims and action, as will be described in the next section.

**Evidence of the Government's Deliberate Attempt to Cultivate Nationalism**

1. *The nation building textbook competition of the late 1800s*

After Confederation, government officials at the national level voiced a desire to find a way to bring together the Canadian state, that is, to develop a cohesive and uniting sense of national identity in people. This is not surprising when one considers how a number of diverse colonies with varied needs, interests and people had just been patched together through legislation and self-interested politicking.

One of the means advocated for developing this common national identity was through the teaching of history in schools (Tomkins, 1986). Therefore, the government held a competition to encourage authors to write a textbook that would detail the development of the Canadian nation in order to help to nurture a "common countenance" in the public (Tomkins, 1986). The winner's textbook would be used in Canadian schools. The competition was successful and a number of textbooks were written that described the development of Canada using nation-building narratives that can also be characterized as Canada's carefully crafted, "collective memories." The winning text, as well as other supplemental options, were used in schools. For example, the text *History of Canada* (Jeffers, 1884) describes how Canada developed from international acts that divided up North

America and the actions of the colonial French and British. The latter are portrayed as the most important group in the nation's progress through their establishment of social, economic and political structures, including responsible government and Confederation. The textbook also aims to nurture nationalist, proud supporters of current governmental structures through the legalistic and uncontested manner in which contemporary government structures are described (Broom, 2011a). Not everyone supported such an indoctrinary use of history.

*2. Reaction on the part of university historians in the early 1900s*

In 1923, historians at the University of Toronto's History department wrote a report for the National Council of Education (Tomkins, 1986). The council supported the use of history for moral/national purposes (as described above). The university professors argued against this idea and stated that history should not be carefully shaped into nation-building narratives that aimed to teach patriotism and "internationalism" (presumably association to the British Empire and a global consciousness). History was not to be used as a moral teacher. Instead, history should be taught objectively and should give students impartial local and global knowledge which develops students' understanding of the world and their knowledge of conflict and compromise in local and international contexts.

This debate between history and collective memory has continued down to the present in Canada, with nation-building narratives persisting in contemporary textbooks in a state that continues to define its national identity through history and other means such as national symbols.

*3. Contemporary debates*

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the major aim and procedures of history continue to be subject to vibrant debate between those who support history education for nation-building and those who advocate a more critical perspective. Granatstein (1998) and Bliss (2002) have taken a Conservative ideological position by supporting the teaching of nation-building narratives (or Collective Memories). In contrast, Seixas (2002) and Osborne (2003) have taken a more critical perspective by arguing for history education that builds skills, including critical thinking, and awareness of complexity. Both positions explore how to best address a pluralist state and manage diversity—one group supports consensus-building through the teaching of national myths with the aim of building a cohesive population in an increasingly pluralistic nation fostered by immigration from around the globe; the other advocates critical reflection through the teaching of multiple histories. These continued and contested discussions illustrate the complex relations between educational aims and procedures and sociocultural contexts.

## Discussion

Both historians and sociologists of education argue that schools reflect the societies in which they are embedded. Over the last few centuries, we have seen a significant historical event: the development of democratic states as major centres of power and governance over people. Thus, it is not surprising that philosophers and government officials have grappled with the meaning of education within and for democratic states and that these states have developed educational systems which have aimed towards educating "good" citizens—the latter of which are variously defined.

Earlier educational citizenship programs aimed to develop nationalistic individuals who supported current government structures through the development and teaching of national collective myths. These continue to be advocated by Conservatives and traditionalists on the right side of the

spectrum who aim at conformity within current structures (such as Bliss, 2002; Granatstein, 1998; Leming, Ellington, & Porter, 2003). Other individuals in Western states have embraced more complex, pluralistic and transformative conceptions of citizenship education (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). These more active conceptions view history education to be inquiry-based and to aim at the development of empathetic and open-minded critical thinkers. Proponents argue that presenting students with multiple historical narratives and not collective myths is befitting of a pluralistic state and develops reflexivity, empathy, openness to multiple perspectives and a number of skills (Seixas, 2002; Osborne, 2003; Stanley, 2006).

As social institutions that embed continuity in themselves while struggling with social change, we see schools in Canada continue to teach early Canadian, nation-building narratives and individuals who advocate the teaching of these collective memories. We also see opposition to this perspective. Which position is correct?

The first perspective—that of teaching collective memories—is a by-product of young states aiming to develop a simplistic national consciousness in non-critical, passive citizens who (government bureaucrats hope) will support contemporary government structures. Teaching collective memories, that is, aims to build a simplistic national pride while dulling critical thought and critical engagement with the state. It aims to build allegiance and cohesion using more passive teaching methods such as recitation, lecture, note taking, reading historical "stories," memorization and fact-based testing. Teachers focus on having students learn historical facts and narratives as if they are undisputed truths. Perspective-taking and views of knowledge as contextual will not be emphasized, nor will critical thinking, contestation, and the exploration of issues and problems in society.

In contrast, teaching multiple stories of the past and engaging students in critically exploring them and history through the development and application of historical and critical skills develops critical thinkers able to thoughtfully explore and interrogate what citizenship means and to embrace multiple perspectives that are enriching to individuals and society as a whole (pluralism does not mean anarchy but rather the ability to live and engage with complexity). This stance is supported by those who value complicated, contested, and critical engagement with the state--or even non-state forms of governance (such as Apple & Beyer, 1998; Foucault, 1980; Hess, 2009). Its methods will include active approaches that aim to develop awareness of multiple perspectives, critical thinking skills and the ability to defend a position through activities such as: discussions, debates, issues-exploration, primary document analysis, panels, position papers, research and inquiry projects, reading and exploring multiple histories and perspectives, and collaborative-based group work. These teachers will problematize the grand narratives of the Conservative position.

## Conclusion

Historical study is understood to be an interpretation of the past developed by historians in the present through the use of historical procedures, analysis and critical-creative thought (Broom, 2008; Collingwood, 1956; Seixas, 2002; Levesque, 2008). The author positions herself in the Critical/Social Justice orientation and concludes that the "nationalistic" and the "good" citizen were conflated in early curriculum guides and texts and these deliberately aimed to develop a simplistic national identity in Canadians through the teaching of carefully developed and interwoven "collective memories" that presented Canada as a progressive, democratic nation. Further, as so many other, early educational developments captured in educational structures, curriculum guides today continue to teach students Canadian historical myths with the aim of developing this passive form of nationalism.

Both in the past and in the present, the use of school history for nation-building purposes (also known as the nurturing of collective memory) has been contested by those who have argued that

history should be taught critically with the aim of developing awareness of the constructed and tentative nature of historical interpretation. The aim is to create a more critical citizen.

This paper has aimed to add to our understanding of (and to the debate around) the meaning and purpose of history education in and for a democracy within public school systems whose roots connect to deliberate citizenship education.

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# The Militarization of Canadian Citizenship and Immigration

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**Abstract**

This paper argues that several emerging discourses and government policies link Canadian citizenship and immigration to the military, drawing evidence from three sources: (1) a previous study of the framing of 'Canadians' in two Citizenship and Immigration Canada study guides intended for newcomers to Canada, (2) a sampling of newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor gathered from twenty Canadian daily newspapers over the course of a year, and (3) decisions by the Conservative government to increase the role of military personnel in citizenship ceremonies. Using critical discourse analysis, the paper shows that, in these selected texts, military service is in some cases represented as a privileged form of civic behaviour, newcomers to Canada are framed as threats in some public discourses, and Canada is characterized as a warrior nation with military achievements in which all citizens take pride in citizenship study guides. I argue that these discursive trends represent a militarization of citizenship that has ramifications for citizenship education in that it reinforces particular understandings of citizenship over other more critically reflexive ones.

**Keywords:** citizenship education; immigrant; militarization

## Introduction

In this paper, I analyze textual representations that link Canadian citizenship and immigration to the military and national security. Evidence for this claim comes from three sources: (1) two Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) study guides intended for newcomers to Canada (CIC, 2006; CIC, 2009); (2) a sampling of newspaper articles and letters to the editor gathered from twenty Canadian daily newspapers over the course of a year; and (3) news releases and public speeches explaining relevant policy decisions by the Conservative government. Discourses in citizenship study guides, news releases, and public speeches represent Canadians as proud of Canada's military engagement and represent military service as the highest form of citizenship. Discourses in newspapers and public speeches represent refugees as security threats.

Emerging discourses linking Canadian citizenship and immigration to the military and national security have not been subtle. They include: a much stronger emphasis on military participation in the framing of 'Canadians' in two Citizenship and Immigration Canada study guides intended for newcomers to Canada (CIC 2006; 2009); referential strategies in both official and public discourse that negatively evaluate some groups of refugees, naming them criminals, terrorist supporters, and queue jumpers (Editorial, 2010b; Westad, 2010); and the description of Canadian military service as the highest form of citizenship (CIC, 2011a).

Such discourses are not without consequence; they align with government policies such as:

(1) The decision to have members of the military present at all citizenship ceremonies with the opportunity to make a short speech to new Canadians (CIC, 2011a; Friesen, 2011);

(2) The decision to allow members of the Order of Military Merit to preside over citizenship ceremonies and deliver the Oath of Citizenship—a decision Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney called "a fitting reminder that we must take our responsibilities as citizens very seriously, and that we honour the

Canadians who have served and are serving in the Canadian Armed Forces" (CIC, 2011b); and

(3) The empowerment of the Immigration Minister to designate specific groups entering Canada as 'irregular arrivals' (Bill C-31: Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act, 2012), after which, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association notes that "every person in a designated group must be locked up – men, women and children, the elderly and the disabled – even where there is no concern that the individuals present a danger or threat of any kind" (2011).

These decisions either deepen the role of the military in civilian life or increase the extent to which refugees are treated as security threats rather than a humanitarian concern.

Citizenship educators need to be aware of these recent discursive trends and examine what kinds of citizenship such discourses promote. This recent militarization of citizenship has ramifications for citizenship education in that it reinforces particular understandings of citizenship over other more critically reflexive ones.

## Rationale for Selected Texts

Each set of texts has something different to contribute to the discussion as the texts are written for different purposes with different audiences in mind.

### Citizenship Study Guides

I include the first group of texts—the two study guides (CIC, 2006; CIC, 2009)—as these documents are produced by the government for use partly in language classes intended for newcomers to Canada. This discussion draws upon an analysis of the framings of 'Canadians' in the two guides (Gulliver, 2011), in which I noted that the newer study guide (CIC, 2009) more frequently than the previous guide (CIC, 2006) represented "Canadians" as having pride in our military and being committed to Canada's military endeavours past and present.

### Newspaper Articles

The second group of texts is extracted from a larger sampling of articles and letters that appeared in newspapers between June 2010 and May 2011, inclusively. The newspapers scanned were those twenty-one newspapers on the *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies* database and *The Record*, the local English paper for Sherbrooke, QC. We—my research assistant and I—selected one day at random for each of the fifty-two weeks between June 1st, 2010 and May 31st, 2011, inclusively. Using a keyword search we identified all stories that referenced immigrants, immigration, refugees, and newcomers to Canada[1] on those days, gathering, in total, 2286 texts. For this chapter, I culled the 188 articles that mentioned the Thai cargo vessel MV Sun Sea or its passengers—several hundred Tamil refugees. While not necessarily intended for newcomer students, these discourses do enter into language classrooms as newspaper articles are often adapted for textbooks (Gulliver, 2010), students are encouraged to read widely in English outside of the classroom, and the discourses promoted in these texts may inform the daily lives of the students.

[1] Actual keywords for research: immigra* OR refugee* OR "newcomer* to Canada"

### Government Media Releases

The third group of texts is a selection of operational bulletins, speeches, and news releases from Citizenship and Immigration Canada and public remarks made by Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney or Minister of National Defence Peter MacKay (CIC, 2010; CIC, 2011a; CIC, 2011b; CIC, 2012; Public Safety Canada, 2010; Public Safety Canada, 2012). I consulted these texts as they present the CIC's rationale for changes to citizenship law and for the increased role of military personnel in citizenship ceremonies. Changes to citizenship law and citizenship ceremonies not only shape the daily lives of newcomers to Canada but endorse specific imaginings of Canada in symbolic but powerful ways.

## Method

In analyzing these groups of texts, I have drawn upon critical discourse analysis (CDA), an approach to researching and analyzing the social dimensions of texts that attempts to unsettle the ways in which texts close off other voices or hide the extent to which their coherency is a hegemonic achievement (Jäger, 2001; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001). CDA helps an analyst to trace the ways in which specific discourses enable social inequities to be textually produced, naturalized, reproduced, challenged, transformed and resisted. It assumes that texts are socially situated and socially active and that texts do not merely represent a society, but reproduce and transform it. At the same time, CDA acknowledges that texts are both produced and disseminated within possibly hegemonic structures and produced and disseminated by individuals with the capacity to endorse, question, and resist the discursive workings of the texts.

## Analysis of Data - Definitions

My critical discourse analytic method is informed by discourse historical analysis (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and the Appraisal Framework for mapping evaluative language in texts (Martin & White, 2005). I analyze texts in stages, with each stage attending to a different set of considerations. With each reading of the text, I encounter and draw out different aspects of its representations. The four stages of analysis below enable not only a careful mapping of the text and its representations, but also a critical one through which a discourse analyst can identify the representational strategies—the games the text plays—while carefully grounding any claims in the text itself.

### Actors and Actions

In analyzing the selected texts, I begin by noting the referential and predicational strategies each set of texts uses to represent social actors and actions. That is, I am looking at who is represented in the text, what they are said to be doing, and how they are represented. In this stage, I draw primarily upon Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) analysis of how identities are discursively constructed and on and Fairclough's (2003) examination of how social actors and events are textually represented.

### Argument and Assumptions

Here I look at the arguments, assumptions, rationale, legitimation strategies, and fallacies in the text drawing upon Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) outlining of argumentative fallacies, Van Leeuwen and

Wodak's (1999) research on legitimation strategies, and Fairclough's (2003) presentation of assumptions. I include here anything that goes toward the question of why, including those rationale the text attributes to actors in the text that the authorial voice disagrees with various legitimations, valuations, and denials appearing in the texts explain and illustrate numerous argumentative fallacies.

### Authority and Attributions

Drawing upon the engagement subsystem of the Appraisal Framework (Martin & White, 2005), I examine the degree of authority with which the text presents its arguments and the extent to which the text brings in other voices. A text may speak confidently for all Canadians through bare assertions or hide its own agency through the use of passive sentences. A text may assert an argument in an authorial voice or attribute it to an external authority.

### Attitude and Accent

By 'attitude' I am referring to the evaluations the text makes of actors, actions, or arguments. By 'accent' I am referring to the language used to increase or decrease the strength of other utterances or evaluative language or to emphasize or de-emphasize propositions. Here, I draw most extensively on the Appraisal Framework subsystems of 'attitude' and 'graduation' (Martin & White, 2005).

### Findings and Discussion

Citizenship and Immigration Canada issues operational bulletins in "exceptional circumstances" to provide "one-time-only instructions or to provide urgent instructions to staff for a brief period while the relevant operational chapters are being updated" (CIC, 2011c). Operational Bulletin 296—operational instructions related to the participation of members of the Canadian Forces and veterans at citizenship ceremonies—speaks of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's intention to have Canadian Forces members or veterans present on the platform during citizenship ceremonies (CIC, 2011a).

To illustrate the different stages of analysis, I use Operational Bulletin 296 from Citizenship and Immigration Canada outlining this new role for military officers at Canadian citizenship ceremonies (CIC, 2011a). Throughout the analysis, I clearly delineate the stages of analysis and discuss the findings of each stage. Afterwards, I broaden my focus to provide evidence for the militarization of citizenship from the various selected texts and organize that evidence thematically, no longer explicitly separating the stages of analysis.

## Analysis of Data[2]

### Actors and Actions

There are five social actors detectable in Bulletin 296: (1) Citizenship and Immigration Canada, (2) the Citizenship judge and local CIC office staff who are the intended recipients of this bulletin, (3) members of the Canadian Forces (CF) or veterans, (4) new citizens, and (5) 'we'.

[2] For the duration of this analysis, all citations should be accredited to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011c unless otherwise stated. This clarification is intended to streamline the section.

*Citizenship and Immigration Canada*

The bulletin is issued by the CIC and makes occasional explicit reference to the department. It communicates to local CIC office staff the department's expectations and rationale for including military personnel in these ceremonies.

*Citizenship Judge or Presiding Official*

The bulletin encourages the citizenship judge or presiding official to recognize and thank the CF member "for their service and dedication to Canada" and obliges them to "acknowledge the presence of the CF member or veteran at the ceremony in the words of welcome to the new citizens during the judge's or presiding official's opening remarks, where active citizenship through military service or during war time is referenced" (p. 10).

*CF Members or Veterans*

The CF member contributes to the ceremony largely through his or her presence. The CF member "may be asked to briefly address the new Canadians with a short 2-3 minute speech" in which they would "speak about [their] personal story, [their] trade in the military, the role of the military on the world stage, and welcome the new Canadians" (p. 24). However, they are "not at citizenship ceremonies for recruitment purposes" (p. 30).

*New Citizens*

New citizens are more acted upon than actors in this text. Citizenship is "more meaningful for new and established Canadians" (p. 2). Flags and pins are distributed to them (p. 4). They are shown "the importance of a positive military presence in Canada" (p. 28). They are barely present in the text except as the beneficiary of someone else's actions or intentions.

*We*

'We' enter the texts in the appreciation expressed to the CF member by the presiding official:

- "We are honoured to have with us here today (insert name) …" (p. 11)
- "We give thanks to the men and women who wear/wore the Canadian uniform and serve /have served our country…" (p. 11)
- "We thank them." (p. 12)

'We' would seem to be all those present at the ceremony whose inner mental processes are verbalized by the citizenship judge in giving thanks to the CF member.

**Arguments and Assumptions**

The text rationalizes the inclusion of CF members at citizenship ceremonies with the claims that the presence and participation of the CF member "exemplifies active citizenship" (p. 2), "[makes] citizenship more meaningful for new and established Canadians" (p. 2), and "[underlines] the importance of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship outlined in 'Discover Canada'" (p. 2).

The bulletin assumes a clear and obvious link between citizenship and military service when, in Annex A, addressed to CF members, it declares that "[s]ervice in the military is one of the highest

expressions of citizenship" (p. 19). It invites the CF members to talk about this link during their short speech to newcomers (p. 14).

Annex B—a selection of anticipated questions and official answers—further explains the rationale for inclusion of military personnel in citizenship ceremonies:

> Veterans and active members of the Canadian armed forces are invited to citizenship ceremonies in order to identify and publicly recognize the contributions of the military in Canada. Canadian men and women in uniform exemplify the meaning of civic responsibility and demonstrate true active citizenship. They have made sacrifices and put their lives at risk in order for us to enjoy our rights and freedoms and work to preserve them for future generations. It is also to show Canadians the importance of a positive military presence in Canada. (p. 28)

The link between citizenship and military service is made most explicit in this paragraph. The rights and freedoms guaranteed for citizens are secured by the military and, therefore, military service is a demonstration of "true active citizenship" (p. 28). Citizenship ceremonies become an opportunity to recognize these acts of citizenship and to demonstrate the importance of the military to new citizens.

**Authority and Attributions**

The degree to which each actor is made responsible for the attitudes, actions, and arguments put forward in the document varies widely. The text treats each actor somewhat differently.

*Citizenship and Immigration Canada*

While the bulletin was issued by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the department is rarely named in the bulletin. In several places, the text uses passive sentences or agentless sentences that mask the responsible actor.

- "Preference, when possible, is for a veteran or serving member who has completed a tour of duty in Afghanistan" (p. 3).
- "The goal is to have a CF member or veteran present at all citizenship ceremonies." (p. 5).

By making the "the goal" or "preference" the subject of the sentence, the human actor who sets the goal or does the preferring is not textually represented.

*Citizenship judges and CF Members or Veterans*

Citizenship judges and CF members are given suggested speaking points to adapt and speech acts, such as 'thanking' or 'congratulating,' to enact. The CF member is encouraged to share personal stories, talk about themselves, and to "talk about the link between citizenship and serving our country" (p. 14).

*New Citizens*

New citizens at the ceremony are spoken about but do not authorize any speech. Their mental processes are to be shaped by this event not represented in it. They have no voice in the text and are not expected to have a voice in the event.

*We*

Finally, the vague social actor 'we' is both the least specific of the social actors and the most specifically spoken for. Despite the ambivalence as to who 'we' will be at any specific citizenship ceremony, the citizenship judge expresses the inner voice of 'we' in thanking the CF members and in expressing the honour that 'we' feel in response to the CF member's presence.

**Attitude and Accent**

Throughout the text, little explicitly evaluative language is used except in regards to the new initiative being promoted in the text—the inclusion of CF members in citizenship ceremonies. As Citizenship and Immigration Canada's purpose for this text is to introduce and explain the rationale for this initiative, such evaluative language is unsurprising.

*Evaluation of CF Members and Military Service*

The construction of CF members in the text is overwhelmingly positive. The CF member is linked to "thousands of brave Canadians [who] have fought and died for [democratic] rights and freedoms" (p. 12) and who "have made sacrifices and put their lives at risk" (p. 28) for us to "enjoy our rights and freedoms" (p. 25). They are "role models" (p. 2); thus, the "commitment to Canada of our men and women in uniform should never be forgotten or go un-recognized" (p. 12). 'We' express gratitude towards them and are considered "fortunate" to be in their presence (p. 13). The military is evaluated as "positive," having "importance," and being worthy of public recognition (p. 28).

*Citizenship as Gradable*

In the rationale for inclusion, citizenship is graded; it is not only a legal right but an active and demonstrable performance with military service being one of its "highest expressions" (p. 19). The division of citizenship into different types also occurs in evaluating military service as "true active citizenship" (p. 28), an example of graduation through 'focus' with the adjective "true" both marking the prototypicality of military service as a form of citizenship and strongly flagging a positive assessment (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 137-139).

In this discussion of Operational Bulletin 296, I have tried to demonstrate the method I take in analyzing these texts by showing the stages of analysis separately. In the discussion that follows, I will discuss the other texts more thematically blending the stages of analysis for the sake of coherence.

## Redefining Canada as a Warrior Nation

In Gulliver (2011), I compared two Canadian citizenship study guides published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, looking at how they represented 'Canadians' as social actors. The most surprising result was the extent to which the more recent study guide constructed Canadians as epic and infallible heroes and Canada as a warrior nation with a military history in which Canadians took great pride, a discursive trend journalist Noah Richler describes as contested and part of an ongoing reinvention of Canada as a "warrior nation" in his book, *What we talk about when we talk about war*, (Richler, 2012, pp. 43-45). Richler argues that the characterization of Canada as a peacekeeping nation is being disparaged and replaced by one of Canada as a warrior nation, which he calls "a wholesale

revision of Canada's reigning myths of identity and a major factor contributing to the divisive politics. of the country during the last decade" (Richler, 2012, pp. 44-45).

**Representations of Canadians in Citizenship Study Guides**

*Discover Canada* (CIC, 2009), the more recent study guide, presents military service as a central part of Canadian identity. Canadians, we are told, serve in wars, win wars, feel proud of their victories, and honour the sacrifices of those Canadians who have died. The social actor 'Canadians' is represented as unwavering in its respect for another social actor, 'those who sacrificed.'

In these texts, we learn that "Canadians that took part in the Battles of Paardeberg, or 'Horse Mountain', and Lillefontein" (CIC, 2009, p. 21) and "in the liberation of Italy in 1943-1944" (CIC, 2009, p. 23) and that "Canadians captured Juno Beach" in 1944 (CIC, 2009, p. 23). Through these discussions of military engagement, Canadians are described as willing to serve, proud of their nation, tough, valourous, and innovative: "On the battlefield, the Canadians proved to be tough, innovative soldiers" (CIC, 2009, p. 21); the capture of Vimy Ridge secured "the Canadians' reputation for valour as the 'shock troops of the British Empire'" (CIC, 2009, p. 21). Canadians are honoured for "the most conspicuous bravery, a daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice" (CIC, 2009, p. 41) through the awarding of the Victoria Cross. The text seldom identifies specific Canadians, blurring the line between individuals, those who serve in the military, and the nation. Thus, in these texts, the actions of those men and women who serve in the military become the actions of the entire nation, a generalising synecdochisation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 57). This referential strategy legitimates military engagement by investing the lives of the larger group in the deaths of the smaller group.

The most surprising difference between the two study guides is the extent to which military engagement has increased in prominence. In Gulliver (2011), I examined references to "Canadians" in the study guides and found that, in the newer guide *Discover Canada* (CIC, 2009), 21% of the references to Canadians mentioned military service. In *A look at Canada* (CIC, 2006), only 3% of the references mentioned military service, and these focused on peacekeeping: "We are proud of the fact that we are a peaceful nation. In fact, Canadians act as peacekeepers in many countries around the world" (CIC, 2009, p. 7). Table 1 compares the number of times specific words appear in *Discover Canada* (CIC, 2009) and *A look at Canada* (CIC, 2006). *Discover Canada* was a larger publication with 18844 individual words or 'tokens' compared to 11887 tokens in *A look at Canada.* However, the number of references to military engagement has increased by an even greater proportion. In comparison, references to rights, responsibilities, and peacekeeping decreased in the newer guide.

*Table 1.* Occurrences of specific words in each study guide.

| | *A look at Canada* (2006) | *Discover Canada,* (2009) |
|---|---|---|
| Tokens | 11887 | 18844 |
| Military | 0 | 12 |
| War | 0 | 55 |
| Sacrifice | 0 | 2 |
| Soldier | 0 | 3 |
| Fought/Fight | 0 | 2 |
| Armed forces | 0 | 1 |
| Troops | 0 | 6 |
| Peacekeep* | 2 | 1 |
| Rights | 54 | 33 |
| Responsibilities | 22 | 13 |

### Joining the Warrior Nation

Newcomers to Canada are invited to join the warrior nation through the increased focus on military service in the new citizenship study guide and the changes in policy that give opportunities for military personnel to speak at or preside over citizenship ceremonies. In *Discover Canada* newcomers to Canada are told that, although "there is no compulsory military service in Canada," a career in the Canadian Forces "is a noble way to contribute to Canada" (CIC, 2009, p. 9). For younger newcomers, the cadets are promoted as a place to "learn discipline, responsibility and skills" (CIC, 2009, p. 9). As of October 2011, Members of the Order of Military Merit—an honour established to recognize members of the Canadian Forces—can preside over citizenship ceremonies when a judge is not available. In that role, they are expected to "speak to new citizens about the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship" (CIC, 2011b, ¶3), which would serve, said Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney in a press release, as "a fitting reminder that we must take our responsibilities as citizens very seriously, and that we honour the Canadians who have served and are serving in the Canadian Armed Forces" (CIC, 2011b, ¶2). In these study guides, press releases, and policy changes, the act of becoming Canadian has been transformed through an introduction of new citizens into not only into a legal community—represented at the ceremony by citizenship judges and Royal Canadian Mounted Police—but into a military one. 'We' are reminded that 'we' endorse this imagining of Canada.

## Representations of Refugees

On August 13, 2010, a rusty 57 metre long cargo ship arrived in Canadian territorial waters carrying 492 men, women, and children. The RCMP boarded the vessel and, with the assistance of the Canadian navy, escorted it to CFB Esquimalt near Victoria, where the individuals on the ship applied for refugee status. Of the 2286 newspaper texts I gathered, 188 of them discussed the Tamil refugee claimants on board the MV Sun Sea. These newspaper articles framed or questioned the framing of newcomers to Canada as serious concerns to national security.

Throughout these articles, the individuals are not named due to a publication ban. A recent news release from Public Safety Canada (2012) refers to these individuals as irregular migrants—a term I will use throughout. My choice of this term is a deliberate one as public officials and journalists have called them many other things as will be discussed below. Referential and predicational strategies employed in these articles—that is, the ways the texts dealt with the 'who' and 'what' of the men and women who arrived on the MV Sun Sea—included many of the familiar tropes used in reference to immigrants.

### Irregular Migrants as Waves

An article pointing out the feasibility of integrating 496 refugees called the irregular migrants "a drop in immigration sea" and "a mere drop in the ocean amid the waves of people who seek refugee status in Canada in any given year" (Stone, 2010). An immigration lawyer quoted in the article argues that "Canada cannot stop the flow, but Canada certainly can manage the flow" (Stone, 2010). This "wave of Tamils" put a strain on officials and "swamped" a jail (Quan, 2011). Before the boat had even arrived, the government was considering new laws designed to turn back the "tide of refugees" (Greenaway, 2010).

**Irregular Migrants as Cargo**

Perhaps the water metaphors flow naturally from the mode of transportation. These are, after all, not people but "boat people" (Stone, 2010). In an editorial in the Montreal Gazette, they are not 'boatloads of people' but "boatloads of queue jumpers" (Editorial, 2010b).

**Ghost Ships**

In the same Montreal Gazette editorial, the fog adds dramatic tension to many of the reports turning the rusty cargo vessel into a "mystery ship" and a "ghost ship":

> The world is full of people who truly need succour and safety. Canadians are willing, even eager, to do our fair share to help them. But mystery ships suddenly arriving out of the fog have about them almost nothing of fairness. (Editorial, 2010b)

"Like a ghost ship," the MV Sun Sea "appeared out of the milky fog" after "riding grey seas thick with salmon and cloaked in sea fog" (Bell, 2010). Discussions about legal changes or restrictions make frequent use of this container vessel. It is not human beings that would be stopped from leaving desperate situations, but "human cargo" that should but "stopped … at home ports" (Editorial, 2010a).

**Crimonyms and Politonyms**

The referential strategies that stirred the most public debate, however, surrounded a handful of what discourse analysts Reisigl and Wodak call crimonyms and politonyms (2001, pp. 50-52). Politonyms refer to social actors in terms of political rights, position, or participation. Crimonyms refer to social actors in terms of legal status. Journalists, politicians, and the public engaged in a discursive struggle over which classifications best described these irregular migrants.

**Queue Jumping**

Of the 188 texts from newspapers, which included articles, editorials, and letters to the editor discussing the Tamil refugees, 23 characterized or challenged the characterization of these refugees as "queue jumpers," as they have arrived on Canadian shores without waiting for the frequently long application and review process required for immigration to Canada by non-refugees. To take one example from an editorial in the National Post:

> So while the voyage of the latest Tamil migrant ship to our shores may evoke sympathy, it must be recognized for what it is: queue jumping. Instead of going through normal immigration channels, or the refugee admissions process, those aboard the Sun Sea headed for the front of the line, thanks to their wallets. (Kheiriddin, 2010)

Referring to the irregular migrants as "queue-jumpers" implies an illegality or immorality to their actions and is, therefore, a crimonym.

**So-called Refugees**

Contributors of letters to the editors distanced themselves from the politonym "refugees" by naming these irregular migrants "so-called refugees," thus discounting any belief that they were deserving of political support.

- "After an elaborate display of temporarily imprisoning the so-called refugees and a futile attempt to establish their true identities, all will eventually be released." (Russell, 2010)
- "Why doesn't Canada stand up and say no to these so-called refugees?" (Letter to the Editor, 2010)

**Criminals, Terrorists, and Hijackers**

The strongest words about the refugees entered public discourse through the mouth of Minister of Public Safety Vic Toews who, according to Westad (2010), suggested that some of the irregular migrants were members of the Tamil Tigers, a group designated as a terrorist organization by the Canadian government.

He draws a sharp line between politonyms and crimonyms when he says in a statement to reporters, "Our goal is not to stall or stop political refugees, or refugees generally. Our goal is to ensure that our refugee system is not hijacked by criminals or terrorists" (Toews, cited in Westad, 2010). The metaphorical hijacking of the refugee system—an action possible of boats but not of bureaucratic processes—reinforces the framing of the irregular migration as criminal.

Liberal MP Keith Martin, a member of the official opposition, attempts to reassert the politonym and challenge the crimonym, accusing Toews of "playing 'fast and loose' with the term terrorist, to the detriment of legitimate refugees aboard the cargo ship" (Martin, cited in Westad, 2010).

**Designated Arrivals and Dangerous Departures**

The link between this set of discourses and the militarization of citizenship may seem tenuous, but referring to refugees as possible security threats or potential terrorists could be seen to justify laws that deny refugees access to a fair and humane refugee claim and protection process. Bill C-31: Protecting Canada's Immigration System (2012) received royal assent on June 28, 2012. A joint statement endorsed by over 80 organizations involved in the protection or settlement of refugees calls Bill C-31 a "bad policy [that] gives Ministers broad, unfettered and unprecedented powers" and warns "the concentration of enormous and vaguely defined powers in a Minister, with no mechanisms of judicial accountability, displays a dangerous inclination away from the rule of law and principles of responsible and democratic governance" (Justice for Refugees and Immigrants Coalition, 2012).

Under Bill C-31, the Minister of Citizenship can "designate as an irregular arrival the arrival in Canada of a group of persons" (Bill C-31, 2012, sect. 21) if the minister believes "that examinations of the persons in the group, particularly for the purpose of establishing identity or determining inadmissibility — and any investigations concerning persons in the group — cannot be conducted in a timely manner" (Bill C-31, 2012., sect. 21a) or if the minister has reasonable grounds to suspect that the arrival of these refugees contravenes Canadian law "for the benefit of, at the direction of or in association with a criminal organization or terrorist group" (Bill C-31, 2012, sect. 21b). Designated groups are automatically detained and do not have access to judicial review for 12 months. If the

group includes family members, they are separated for those 12 months. The law does not require that designated children be detained, but their parents will be.

The Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) claims that the accelerated review process provided for by the bill will not allow refugees time to gather the evidence they need to make their claim. Many of the "designated" refugee claimants will not have access to appeal any errors made in the processing of their files (Justice for Refugees and Immigrants Coalition, 2012). As well, according to the JRIC, under bill C-31, refugee claimants can be returned to their country of origin if the circumstance that led to their applying for refugee status changes (Justice for Refugees and Immigrants Coalition, 2012). Children who have spent their entire lives in refugee camps, for example, could be "returned" to a country they have never lived in after a ceasefire in a genocidal war that forced their parents to flee (CCR, 2012).

The discursive linking of groups of refugees to terrorism shifts the discussion of refugees from one focused on humanitarian concerns and obligations to one that centers on international military conflict, criminality, and national security. This shift in discourses supports a process that weakens commitments to civil liberties and diminishes refugee protection making refugees more vulnerable to abuse. The non-accompanying family members of refugees designated as irregular arrivals will have fewer opportunities to escape conflict in their home countries. Bill C-31 also subjects these irregular arrivals to possible deportation when military hostilities cease in their own country, possibly returning them to volatile situations that they spent the better part of their lives escaping.

## Relevance to Education

*Discover Canada* (CIC, 2009), the newer citizenship study guide, which is intended in part for use in government-funded ESL classrooms with new Canadians, presents Canadians as proud of Canada's military engagement and invites newcomers to become involved in the military. Discussions of citizenship and immigration in selected newspaper articles and letters to the editor from across Canada frame refugees and immigrants as a potential security threat that needs to be guarded against. The introduction of a role for military personnel in citizenship ceremonies is intended to highlight both the importance of the military to Canada and emphasize the link between military service and citizenship.

Discourses such as these are important to track and critique and, as citizenship educators, we should be aware of these discourses and how they enter our classrooms or shape the experiences of our newcomer students. Citizenship educators struggle to present a nuanced view of citizenship—one that acknowledges responsibilities, laws, neighborliness, and civic duties but also stresses rights, political awareness, and critical engagement; one that distinguishes between a commitment to a community and uncritical patriotism; one that might juxtapose the government's belief that "Service in the military is one of the highest expressions of citizenship" (CIC, 2011a) with the Vietnam war era assertion that "Dissent is the highest form of patriotism." More broadly, as teachers, we must be ready to undermine imaginings of Canadians as a cohesive and coherent group that both strives for peace and thrives in war, uniformly proud of its humanitarian intentions and its military accomplishments. We must continue to allow for imaginings of Canada as an ongoing project that is best undertaken by citizens new and established who are ethically engaged, responsible, and committed to rights and freedoms.

## Conclusion

The three bodies of texts analyzed all point to differing but intersecting reinforcement of the militarization of citizenship. These intersecting discourses are significant, affecting the lives of applicants for citizenship, refugees, and established Canadians who are their teachers, colleagues, lovers, and friends. Citizenship education needs to be aware of and engage with shifting discourses as these discourses influence students' sense of identity and belonging both in the classroom and in the larger community.

I have analyzed each of these three sets of texts somewhat briefly. Each set of texts deserves a more extensive analysis, focusing on the performances of that set of texts and the textual manifestations of the arguments, tropes, predicational strategies, and referential strategies that frame some individuals as more Canadian and some individuals as more deserving of humane treatment.

A fuller treatment of the discursive construction of the Tamil refugees aboard the MV Sun Sea could explore the ways in which newspapers construct refugee newcomers to Canada in a time in which new immigration policies allow for further restrictions on immigration. This fuller treatment would seek continuities with previous discourses on refugees and other immigrants to Canada and look at how current discourses support or undermine immigration policy.

Further research on the shifts in Canadian citizenship ceremonies, citizenship study guides, and other resources for newcomers to Canada that frame Canada as a 'warrior nation' could examine how these discourses are taken up and resisted in adult ESL classrooms, in the lives of our students, or in other resources provided to immigrant newcomers.

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# Free The Children and Popular Media: Maintaining Relations of Power and Dominance

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**Abstract**

Youth-driven organizations such as Free The Children (FTC) have gained widespread attention in current popular media. Such groups use televised events, social media and print media to promote their initiatives and fundraising efforts to their members. These organizations successfully market to youth, utilizing corporate sponsorship and celebrity endorsements. In addition, they are actively involved with school boards, colleges and universities across Canada. Partnerships such as these allow the organization access to Canadian youth, drawing on a large and captive segment of the population. Examining FTC's online promotional materials, as well as newspaper articles reporting on projects undertaken by the organization through a critical discourse analysis (CDA), this analysis will explore the dominant discourses used in relation to contemporary development work. Specifically, this project is designed to interrogate the extent to which colonial discourses which posit those in the North as 'saviours' of the recipients of aid in the South, have become, as Locke (2004) notes, normative and taken as natural.

**Keywords:** Free The Children; critical discourse analysis; post-colonial framework; non-governmental organizations; good citizen; bad activist

## Introduction

Through their international development programs, many youth-driven social justice organizations work to empower Canadian youth to find solutions to remove barriers responsible for keeping young people and their families in a cycle of poverty. While many youth-driven NGOs provide educators with teaching modules that are compatible with Character and Citizenship Education curricula, these issues are beyond the scope of this paper. Free The Children (FTC) is a youth-driven nongovernmental organization (NGO), which provides young[3] people with a platform to address issues on a global scale. FTC appears to have moved beyond the traditional 'arms length', expert-led delivery of development aid. With the assistance of thousands of young people across Canada, FTC has made the act of 'helping' through fundraising seem like an intimate relationship between individuals in the Global North and South.[4] While the mission and methods of FTC appear positive, this paper will critically analyze discourses used by the organization and popular media that construct group identities and impact the distribution of power and relationships between the groups. van Dijk (1997) states "discourse constructs identities by defining groups, their interests, their positions within society and their relationship to other groups" (cited in Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004, p. 240). Ainsworth & Hardy (2004) also highlight that organizations have a vested interest in the variety of ways identity

[3] Chana (2007) notes the varying global definitions of the term 'youth' among institutions such as the United Nations and The World Bank range between 15 and 25 years of age. Free The Children (FTC) has youth membership as young as 10 years old and employs young adults in their early 20s. Throughout this paper the term 'youth' or 'young persons' includes people from ages 10 through 26 because this is the age range of FTC participants. This wide range of ages in itself is worthy of discussion and presents a number of challenges, however, the focus of this analysis is on the construction of 'youth' in FTC discourse.

[4] The terms Global North and Global South as well as North and South refer to the socio-economic divide between wealthy developed countries and poorer developing countries. While the majority of wealthy countries are geographically located in the northern hemisphere there are exceptions such as Australia and New Zealand. Additionally, the term Global South and South focus on countries that are ex-colonies who have been subjected to colonial and imperial rule.

can be constructed. Bodies such as non-governmental organizations rely on a range of discursive resources and practices to promote certain versions of identity to justify and encourage support of their service provision mandate.

## Who is Free The Children?

As is frequently documented in any overview of FTC, Craig Kielburger founded the organization in 1995 at the age of twelve after reading about the murder of twelve-year old Iqbal Masih, a former child slave in the Pakistan carpet industry who spoke out about the horrors of child labour and slavery. After hearing about the young activist's murder, Craig was moved to action and enlisted eleven school friends to begin campaigning for children's rights. Determined to demonstrate their ability to make a difference, the group engaged in advocacy activities such as writing letters to then Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, along with other heads of states, giving speeches, circulating petitions, travelling abroad and holding press conferences (Kielburger & Kielburger, 2006). Their goal was to draw the world's attention to the abuses of human rights faced by many Third World children.

With a head office in Canada, FTC is growing internationally, with locations in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Due to the growth in active participants, FTC considers itself to be one of the world's largest networks of children helping children (www.freethechildren.com). FTC views its primary goal as being able:

> …to free children from poverty and exploitation and free young people from the notion that they are powerless to affect positive change in the world. Through domestic empowerment programs and leadership training, Free The Children inspires young people to develop as socially conscious global citizens and become agents of change. (Free The Children, 2012, Our mission: Our goals)

According to FTC's 2010 annual report, youth made up fifty-four percent of the overall involvement in funding, contributing $14,665,225 in cash and in-kind contributions.[5] To date, FTC has partnered with over fifty school boards and districts across Canada, engaging in educational and development programs involving over one million youth in forty-five countries.

Initially, FTC's focus was on drawing attention to international children's rights abuses through advocacy. Today, the organization has adopted a rights based approach to development with a focus on social and economic rights. FTC states that,

> Everyone is entitled to basic human rights, but not everyone is in a position to assert them. Free The Children takes a "rights-based approach" to its work. We focus on battling exploitation and poverty so that those who traditionally lack social and economic power, such as children and women, can make decisions about their lives. Out of respect, not pity, we work hard to give back the dignity and freedom to those who have been denied it. (Free The Children, 2012, How We Work)

FTC has implemented a development program called Adopt-a-Village that supports community development in areas that have high incidences of child labour and exploitation, providing support to women and girls that lack economic and educational opportunities. The Adopt-a-Village program

[5] According to Free The Children, approximately one third of its budget was in the form of in-kind goods and supplies that are used to support domestic We Day activities as well as health and school supplies used for its International Adopt a Village development model. In 2010, FTC received over $1 million dollars from their sister corporation Me to We. Me to We is run independently of Free The Children and considers itself an innovative social enterprise providing people with daily choices that advance positive social change.

includes four pillars deemed necessary to lift communities and individuals out of poverty. These pillars are: education, alternative income, health care and clean water and sanitation. Sustainability is an important focus of the Adopt-a-Village program and FTC works to ensure that communities are empowered and take ownership over introduced changes (Free The Children, 2012, Our mission: Our goals).

## Significance

Over the last several decades, the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs)[6] has grown exponentially (Mutua, 2006; van Tuijl, 1999; Wallace, 2003). They have been active in promoting globally sustainable development, education, gender equality, peace, environmental sustainability, and human rights, as well as access to clean water and health care. In addition, youth-driven NGOs are developing their current practices to embrace an increasingly inclusive conception of human rights, allowing them to work across a broad range of issues at a local, national and international level.

Alongside of the growth of active international, national and local NGOs since the late 1980s, there has been a corresponding increase in scholarly attention regarding the work of these organizations. Research on NGOs includes investigations of delivery methods of aid, implementation of organizational practices, theories of social justice, the impact of development work, as well as the construction of the 'saviour' and 'victim'. To date there remains a dearth of scholarship examining the ways in which youth-driven NGOs such as FTC, are specifically organized to engage young people in philanthropic activities. As will be explored, FTC uses some innovative and unconventional strategies to attract the attention of both youth and the adults who support the organization. Therefore, the aim of this research is to add to the existing scholarship drawing attention to the emerging youth-driven NGO phenomenon.

## Methods and Tools

Using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine FTC's online promotional materials as well as newspaper articles reporting on projects undertaken by the organization, this analysis will explore the dominant discourses used in relation to contemporary development work. Specifically, this project is designed to interrogate the extent to which colonial discourses, which posit those in the North as 'saviours' of the recipients of aid in the South, have become, as Locke (2004) notes, normative and taken as natural.

Two sources were used in this research: newspaper articles featuring FTC and portions of the organization's website. This included written text, images and video. Written text included titles, mission statements, program descriptions and captions associated with specific images. The images reflected the work being undertaken by members of FTC, featured recipients of aid provided by FTC, as well as celebrity and corporate endorsements. Videos depicted the efforts that FTC undertakes in Canada as well as internationally, and how recipients benefit from the work of the organization. These materials serve to represent the organization's work, as well as the social and ideological systems that guide their efforts.

CDA is a helpful investigative tool, demonstrating how discursive practices of power become normalized and naturalized. Whether intentional or not, discursive practices can have significant

[6] The term NGO refers to organizations that are private, not for profit, members of civil society (Quist-Adade & van Wyk, 2007) and are "…geared toward improving the quality of life of disadvantaged people" (Vakil, 1997, p. 2060). NGOs operate at the international (INGO), national and local level. For the purposes of this research NGO refers to organizations that are based in the Global North and provide international aid and support countries in the Global South.

ideological effects through the ways in which people and things are represented and positioned (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA recognizes that language is not neutral but rather contributes to the development of our knowledge of our social world. In other words, both language and texts construct social meanings and contribute to the ways in which social identities are formed. The power of discourse should not be underestimated, as it can be used to construct existing social relations as commonsense and natural. Once systems of domination and privilege become naturalized, we no longer recognize the inherent imbalance of power. As Tonkiss explains, the way language is used "…is rarely innocent, and discourse analysis can help to reveal how talk and texts are ordered to produce specific meanings and effects" (cited in Seale, 1998, p. 247). Therefore, CDA is a method for critically investigating, "…social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized and so on by, language use (or in discourse)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10), which includes written, spoken or visual forms of data.

Traditional sources of media, such as print, combined with new media technologies such as interactive websites, YouTube, FaceBook and other forms of social media have allowed FTC to disseminate its message and outreach material to a larger audience. For example, written text and images about FTC found in more traditional print media sources tend to be geared towards an adult audience, whereas images and video found on the organization's website target a younger audience. As Gruber (2008) and Mautner (2008) note, new media technologies expand the reach of discourse which influences widely held constructions of reality. Thus, computer mediated communications (CMC) provide a rich source of written text lending itself nicely to CDA. As in a textual analysis of print media, CMC analysis identifies meaning-making resources and places a focus on specific devices used to position readers into adopting a certain point of view (Mautner, 2008).

It is necessary to highlight some possible limitations in undertaking this particular form of analysis. While the application of CDA to traditional sources such as newspapers, reports, and interviews is considered most common, applying CDA to internet sources such as websites and social media is viewed as an emerging approach (Mautner, 2005). Mautner (2005) notes that web-based documents require special consideration. First, web-based sites are ever changing and can be removed or altered without notification. It is important to create copies of the original data via screen shots or in a printed format with the capture date recorded. Second, some websites have multiple links leading to additional text that may or may not fit into the analysis. It is necessary to be judicious about the quality and amount of data collected. Finally, the multimodality of many websites can make analysis very difficult. Sound, colour, and movement require careful consideration as to how they fit into the analysis. Information gleaned from images, videos and text on web sites does not, as Wehbi, Elin and El-Lahib (2010) note,

> …necessarily reflect an accurate picture of an organization's actual beliefs or practices. Nonetheless, considering that documents, such as reports, and newsletters, are meant to present an organization to the public, they stand as concrete textural representations of what an organization deems acceptable and important enough to share. (p. 417)

Although the content of FTC's website is continually evolving, my research is designed to reflect a snapshot of the organization's outreach material at a specific time period.

Using CDA within a postcolonial theoretical framework is useful, as it enables the development of an analysis of the ways in which Northern youth-driven NGOs' philanthropic efforts are framed. It also allows us to unpack the ways in which the inequitable flow of power between countries of the Global North and South operate. Further, a postcolonial perspective recognizes that while formal colonial relations between the North and the South have ended, it is far from a neat end. Relations between the North and the South continue to reflect a legacy of colonialism "…which can

be seen in globalization practices, development and development practices" (Wehbi et al., 2010, p. 406).

Imperial discourse based on an ideology of Eurocentric superiority still pervades society in the Global North, influencing the ways in which people work within institutions and organizations (Henry & Tator, 2006). These discourses become naturalized in Northern nations, where such systems of belief are especially appealing to citizens who are constructed as benevolent saviours of people in the Global South. A postcolonial analysis can interrogate the common discursive practices of youth-driven NGOs, which position their participants as 'good Samaritans' and 'good citizens'. As Carroll (2004) and Locke (2004) explain, the goal of critical discourse analysis is to challenge normalized images and messages that sustain the status quo, to demonstrate how discourse reflects, reproduces, or counteracts power relations in everyday life.

Postcolonial discourses in particular construct people of the Global South in ways that have real consequences for North-South political and economic relations. International development relies on the binaries of giver and receiver, superior and inferior, with the global South viewed as a problem and the global North heralded as the problem solver. However, critics such as Cook (2008) challenge us to consider how historical processes of colonialism are repeated through contemporary ideologies, practices and the organization of current international development aid agencies. This paper will apply this challenge to FTC, to question the extent to which normalizing discourses are employed that justify disguised colonial interventions via international development work and aid.

As a comprehensive analysis of the organization in its entirety is beyond the scope of this paper, the analysis will focus specifically on the discourses related to the portrayal of the organizational actors including FTC, Canadian youth involved in the organization and the recipients of its help in the Global South. Further, the analysis will explore how specific discourses of the 'Good Citizen', neo-liberalism, helping and empowerment are implicated in reproducing relationships of power and dominance.

## Literature Review

FTC utilizes discourses that affect the way in which recipients of international fundraising efforts are viewed. Canton & Santos (2009) state that the media tends to, "…construct non-Western people and cultures as Other to the Western Self. Such constructions tend to recycle classic colonialist tropes that depict the Other as mysterious, backward, sensual, deviant, and peripheral" (p. 192). These images define a group of people as less privileged and in need of intervention when viewed against the normative image of the Canadian donor. Categorizations and descriptions of people from the Global South as deviant from the Northern standard serve to reinforce Western superiority (Mills, 2004; Said, 2007). The portrayal of the 'other' in FTC's communications material is fundamental to eliciting emotions that encourage monetary contributions and capture and maintain public interest.

These depictions exemplify the disconnection between the giver and the recipient. The image of the needy 'other' coupled with international aid discourses have created geopolitical divides, creating binary terms such as First and Third Worlds, global North and global South, Us and Them, developed and non-developed and Western and non-Western. These discourses also rely heavily on negative terms such as over-population, starvation, drought, famine, poverty, illiteracy, lack of freedom, violence, and corruption (Jefferess, 2002). These terms are used liberally throughout mainstream media when addressing issues of 'non-developed' states. Much has been written about the need to acknowledge how NGOs' promotional strategies can obscure the relationship between the giver and the recipient (Batty, 1999; Jefferess, 2002; Manzo, 2006; Wirgau, Farley & Jensen, 2010). Wirgau et al. (2010) describe involvement in international humanitarian causes as, "a phenomenon

that needs to be closely examined to understand its potential effects particularly as they relate to the relationship - or lack of relationship – constructed between the giver and the recipient" (p. 622). This is important in relation to youth involvement in international development/aid organizations, as young people begin to create an understanding of a group of people that is built on particular colonial representations.

A substantial body of literature has developed around the issue of the apathetic young person and what measures can be taken to encourage political and community engagement (Banaji, 2008). Media and adult representations of youth often conjure up images of self-absorbed, indifferent young people who are disinterested in political participation and community involvement (Gordon & Taft, 2010; Kim & Sherman, 2006). This construction, however, is not uncontested and some have acknowledged the various ways in which youth are choosing to engage in social justice or philanthropic organizations. For instance, Chana (2007), Gordon & Taft (2010), Kim & Sherman (2006) and Yeung (2007) highlight strategies and methods being employed by policy makers, researchers and educators to encourage young people to engage with government and community in standard and normative ways that promote societal cohesion and good citizenship.

What constitutes 'good citizenship', however, is debatable. Kennelly (2011) analyzes discourses of citizenship that posits 'good citizenship' as actions undertaken by youth that are beneficial to the community and to the nation-state and "can resemble activism" (p. 51). These actions taken by the 'Good Citizen', however, do not challenge the inequitable structural practices and policies of the state, thereby rendering their efforts ineffective in terms of effecting broad based change. Young people constructed as 'good citizens' are likely involved in adult and state sanctioned organizations, such as Free The Children. In contrast, the 'Bad Activist' is someone who challenges the state, adopts non-standard approaches of participation, is perceived as requiring surveillance and whose work is seen as undesirable and undeserving of recognition (Gordon & Taft, 2010; Kennelly, 2011). 'Bad Activists' are often involved with organizations critical of state policies, such as Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (Kennelly, 2011) and less structured bodies that lead protests against global trade and financial arrangements (Flanagan, Syvertsen & Wray-lake, 2007).

How youth direct their volunteer efforts is worthy of consideration, given the value of their contributions. Youth raise large sums of money and donate considerable numbers of volunteer hours, which have significant impact on the ability of charitable organizations to carry out their missions.[7] Further, certain young people are prepared to take action, to heed the distress calls from a world beyond their own, and to respond to social injustice and environmental emergencies with confidence, compassion, emotion and thought provoking solutions (DeCaro, 2011). As Chana (2007) states, young people are not afraid to engage with issues that many adults shy away from. However, as Charania (2011) explains, few analytical skills are provided to assist youth with the exploration of "the reasons and causes of oppression and poverty…" (p. 21). This is consistent with Kennelly's (2011) argument that many youth-driven organizations tend to promote non-critical approaches to youth activism, which do not challenge the state and are, therefore, more likely to be broadly supported. Furthermore, many youth-driven organizations position themselves to be able to capitalize on participants' enthusiasm, commitment to social justice issues and consumer lifestyles.

Although the mission of these organizations seems positive, Kennelly (2011) highlights some of the problematic aspects of youth-driven social justice organizations. Specifically she cautions against linking the positive feelings associated with 'helping' to consumerism as a form of activism. For instance, Kennelly (2011) provides an example of how young people are encouraged to donate

[7] The average donation to Free The Children is $8.00 raised by holding bake sales, walk-a-thons, garage sales and coin drives. Free The Children has provided the opportunity for youth to deliver over one million hours of volunteer service each year (http://www.freethechildren.com/ retrieved 2012).

money to charitable causes through the purchase of an organization's merchandise as a positive and accessible strategy to eliminate poverty (p. 50). Such a consumerist approach to activism common among many youth-driven NGOs exemplifies neo-liberalism. Shultz (2007) describes how NGOs grounded in a neoliberal approach embrace a dominant, singular global market as the route to societal advancement. The participants in such NGOs, referred to as "global citizens," are seen as successful in a "liberal economy driven by capitalism and technology" (p. 249). These global citizens are positioned to support aid efforts through charitable donations to "mitigate the suffering" (p. 252) of those in need. Inattention to issues of unequal power between the Global North and South, however, allows the global citizen to uncritically assume a moral position. Shultz also suggests that a neoliberal approach to aid and intervention serves to meet state interests by creating space for free market expansion. In other words, whether intentional or not, these organizations directly support the political priorities of the developed world. This approach to 'activism' is actually aligned with the current neoliberal economic trends and policies of Northern states. This alignment is significant when examining the number of youth who participate in neoliberal oriented NGOs such as FTC. Neoliberal youth-driven social justice organizations tend towards producing what Kennelly (2011) labels "desirable, stylish and chic" activists who are viewed as 'good citizens' but are involved in charitable actions that do little to challenge the status quo.

There is debate over the reliance on pop culture, branding and the use of celebrity - often associated with neoliberal practices – as a means of enticing engagement of young people in activist practices. Neoliberal practices are individually oriented, consumerist and market-focused. MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe (2010) posit such strategies as effectual, pointing out that many celebrities and corporations have been allowed to influence development policy in institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank. Further, these authors also acknowledge that using an individual's celebrity or success may be an effective strategy for "drawing people's attention to an issue for which they would otherwise all too easily avert their gaze" (p. 39). Jefferess (2002), Kennelly (2011) and Wirgau et al. (2010) counter this claim, by arguing that an organization's charitable objectives are seriously compromised when benevolent activity is attached to consumption through celebrity endorsements and brand marketing. Benevolence delivered via a consumer model keeps youth at a safe distance from the realities of global inequalities and power imbalances between the global North and South.

## Findings

### Actions undertaken by the Good Citizen

Kennelly's (2011) most recent work on youth citizenship has demonstrated that youth who engage in activism are often categorized in one of two ways. At one end of the continuum is the 'Bad Activist'. Typically this is a person who challenges the state, adopts non-standard approaches of participation (which may not be part of adult sanctioned initiatives) and who is portrayed as requiring surveillance (Gordon & Taft, 2010). At the other end of the continuum is the 'Good Citizen'. Actions undertaken by the 'Good Citizen' do not challenge the inequitable structural practices and policies of the state and are more likely to be involved in adult and state structured and sanctioned activities. For example, an image of a young man in a standoff with police during the third Summit of the Americas held in Quebec City was posted in the Globe and Mail in April, 2001. The events which took place before the image was captured were not detailed. The accompanying reporting on the event, however, included a quote from then Prime Minister Jean Chretien describing the protest as involving "small bands of extremists" (McCarthy, 2001). Such reporting, which is not uncommon, conjures the image of a

young person challenging a person of authority which creates what Kennelly (2011) refers to as the construction of the 'Bad Activist', whose intent is to challenge state authority and policy. The 'Bad Activist' is constructed as an individual whose activist work is seen as undesirable and undeserving of recognition and ultimately vilified (Gordon & Taft, 2010; Kennelly, 2011).

Media frequently reports on the efforts of 'Good Citizens', as these feel good stories are a means for establishing a positive sense of community. In 2011, a picture was posted on yorkregion.com[8] of a group of young people building a school for children in Kenya. They were part of a group volunteering with Free The Children. The trip cost individuals $5000.00 and required youth to engage in fundraising activities in their home schools and communities. One young person working on the project was quoted as saying, "it was hard work, but the students enjoyed learning, getting their hands dirty and knowing that they were making a difference for the young people who wanted to attend school" (Latchford, 2011). In contrast to the 'Bad Activist', these young people were involved in activities perceived to be worthwhile, life changing, and non-confrontational to the state.

**Free The Children and Good Citizens**

The 'Good Citizen' becomes a valuable team member for organizations such as FTC, who position themselves to be able to capitalize on participants' enthusiasm, and commitment to social justice issues. Promoting activities such as fundraising, youth are encouraged simply to get involved and feel good about their contributions. Craig Kielburger was quoted in a Halifax newspaper saying, "Youth need to realize that even the smallest choices matter, right down to whether or not they wear fair-trade clothing or not" (Stevens, 2008). In this statement, the growing emphasis on consumer-related participation is evident. Such approaches support the entrenched neo-liberal ideology of individualism which shifts young people's attention from critically reflecting on broader structural issues impacting the global distribution of wealth, for instance, thus negating the further cultivation of critical analysis. These neo-liberal practices may inadvertently end up reinforcing the status quo, as youth are simply encouraged to be more conscious consumers rather that questioning our disproportionate consumption patterns in the North. Kennelly (2011) contends that a focus on consumption patterns and rewards, often seen as status symbols, raises concerns of exclusions. Such strategies, while productive for the organization, present barriers for youth who are not from privileged middle class backgrounds or who may lack adult support or access to resources.

**Good Citizens and Individualism**

Discourses around individualism are often linked to feelings of responsibility in which young people are told that their actions will lead to substantive changes in the world. During a photo op with FTC, Ontario Lieutenant-Governor David Onley told a group of students from twelve inner-city schools that, "A torch has been passed on to you. You are exemplifying the best of what it means to be Canadian" (Buchan, 2010, p. 4). In a small town Ontario newspaper, an article featuring FTC and Craig Kielburger opened with, "What if one person could make a difference? What if that person was you and you chose to do nothing?" (Kerr, 2010, p. 1). These examples speak to the direct responsibility that is placed on youth who engage with activism. Kennelly (2011) notes that feelings of responsibility often gives way to guilt, which may overwhelm young people, leading to burnout and a

[8] yorkregion.com is an online newspaper reporting on events taking place around the York region near Toronto, Ontario.

decline in future activism. She cautions us of the psychic cost experienced by youth when they are faced with the task of fixing the world's problems.

**The Face of Free The Children**

Media coverage of FTC regularly highlights the accomplishments of the founder Craig Kielburger, providing superficial coverage of the organization's current international projects. The discourses used by various media sources reinforce neo-liberal ideologies, emphasizing the importance of individual actions. A newspaper article explains that Craig was 12 years old when he began FTC after reading about Iqbal Masih's murder as a result of his outspokenness about child slavery (Kerr, 2010). The reader is told that "Craig had an idea and took action to make it happen. He started as just one person setting out to help" (Kerr, 2010, p. 3). The article goes on to describe how he and his friends began fundraising, holding garage sales and coin drives to raise money and awareness about child labour.

The article then transitions into Craig's recent and current accomplishments, describing him as an accomplished child rights advocate and leadership specialist, an award-winning author and a popular speaker and founder of Free The Children, the world's largest network of children helping children through education. The article continues by highlighting the many awards received by Craig including the Order of Canada, the Nelson Mandela Human Rights Award and the World's Children's Prize for the Rights of the Child, also known as the Children's Nobel Prize. Finally, it mentions "Craig has traveled to more than 50 countries, visiting underprivileged children and speaking in defense of children's rights" (Kerr, 2010, p. 7)and has shared the stage with past world leaders and celebrities such as former U.S. President Bill Clinton, Nelson Mandela, the Dali Lama and Oprah Winfrey. While Craig's accomplishments are impressive, the discourse of individual effort is misleading. A focus on Craig's individual achievements shifts attention from the broader issues of social injustice with which FTC may or may not engage, while placing further responsibility on youth to 'do good' and raise money for those who are less fortunate. The images and descriptions of Craig and the authoritative presence he commands have become a normative benchmark against which young activists are encouraged to measure themselves.

**We Day**

FTC has positioned itself as a bridge that allows young people to cross into alternative forms of community and global engagement using schools as a platform to deliver their programming. Partnerships with educational institutions are valuable to the organization, as they allow FTC access to a captive audience from which to recruit new participants to the organization. FTC can then take advantage of existing friendship circles and groups of young people who share similar knowledge, standardized curriculum, and skill sets. These educational settings are adult and state sanctioned, lending credibility to FTC. After establishing FTC programming and groups in individual schools, FTC brings these groups together for an annual We Day[9] event as a way to celebrate the achievements and success of local groups. Although explicitly organized to recognize participants' contributions, this event merits further attention, as it has evolved into a cultural phenomenon which uses slick marketing and high profile celebrities to elicit an ever increasing commitment from participants in the organization.

[9] We Day celebrations are one day events held in several cities across Canada since 2007. For more information see http://www.weday.com/about.

On the Free the Children website, for example, there is a link to a video that highlights the annual Canada-wide We Day event hosted by the organization. The three minute and forty-five second video begins with a crew setting up a stage in an empty Air Canada Center. The camera pans over to banners of past hockey heroes. Craig and Mark Kielburger prepare like hockey players ready to take to the ice. A strong steady drumbeat begins to play, much like a heartbeat. The voices of a teenage girl and boy take turns narrating the video, the inflection of their voices matching the steady beat. The venue begins to fill with eager looking young people holding handmade posters and wearing hand crafted t-shirts with phrases like "We 2 can make a change" and "We LOVE Peace" scrawled across them. The beat of the music quickens. The camera shifts back and forth between celebrities and well-know public speakers preparing to take the stage and an exuberant, cheering crowd. As the intensity of the music increases, so does the cheering of thousands of young people. It is reminiscent of a rock concert. As the beat reaches a crescendo, the music explodes into the song "Firework" by Katie Perry and images of well-known celebrities and public figures flash across the screen. Appearing larger than life are pop stars Justin Beiber, The Jonas Brothers, Nellie Furtado, athletes Magic Johnson, Shaquille O'Neil, activists Jane Goodall, the Dali Lama, Martin Sheen and Mia Farrow, billionaire business man Richard Bronson and former political leaders Mikail Gorbachev and Al Gore. Suddenly the singing ends and the background music becomes soft, quiet and slow as Craig Kielburger addresses the attentive, silent crowd.

A parade of speakers then go on to deliver heartfelt messages to the crowd, with audience members hanging on to their every word, some becoming emotional and crying. The pace of the music then increases as young people share how We Day has inspired them to take action. At the same time, the speakers begin to deliver their messages in frenetic sequence, finishing each other's sentences, as text appears on the screen highlighting the ways in which young people have participated in and supported the We Day 'movement'. The text reads "Over 2200 Coin Drives," "1820 Bake Sales," "Over 1800 Dances," "The Largest Facebook Cause in the World," "3,400,000 Volunteer Hours" and "$20,000,000 for 500 Causes." At the pinnacle of the excitement, Craig and Mark Kielburger shout to the crowd "Who is ready to make a difference?" and "Who is ready to make a change?" The crowd responds in unison "WE ARE!"

FTC uses the discourse of youth as well as We Day events to harness the energy, passion and commitment that young people bring to their activist work. The overall positive and collaborative strategies used by FTC are consistent with Chana's (2007) suggested best practices for youth engagement in organizations. On the We Day website FTC states that We Day is, "more than just one day of celebration and inspiration. We Day is the movement of our time - a movement of young people leading local and global change" (We Day, 2012, About). In We Day's promotional video, young people are told they "…can't buy a ticket to We Day, you earn it through service…" and "We Day is born out of a dream for us to be better and for the world to be better" (We Day, 2012, About). These are two of many lines repeated in the video that highlight how discourse of youth and global citizenship are used by the organization to place an emphasis on individual efforts to make the world better through benevolent actions. The message is skillfully reinforced and glamorized by enlisting the help of world-renowned celebrities and speakers to build the momentum of the movement and move it forward. As Locke (2004) notes, using high profile personalities and experts is often an effective means of legitimizing the mission of an organization. The energy at We Day events is visceral and electric. As an adult, I am constantly surprised at my own emotional reaction to the video, which is consistent, despite having been exposed to it many times. It is no surprise that FTC is able to cultivate an optimistic legion of future fundraisers, ready to respond to those identified as 'in need of help'.

**The Discourses of 'Help', 'Awareness', 'Participation' and 'Empowerment'**

At the outset, it must be acknowledged that as a charitable body, FTC is constrained in its ability to engage in advocacy work.[10] Instead, the organization encourages youth participants to engage in awareness raising activities and fundraising for development projects. Inherent in these practices are discourses of 'help' which serve to entrench Northerners' position of 'helper' or 'saviour' while compelling youth to engage in 'feel good' actions, thereby reinforcing existing bases of power, privilege and domination. In other words, simply adhering to unquestioned norms, assumptions and practices, the organization and its young participants may be complicit in perpetuating colonial relations. The emphasis on fundraising also overshadows any focus on cultivating a critical awareness of the broader systemic inequalities. Visibly absent is any analysis or discussion of why these global inequities exist. Substituting awareness and fundraising activities in place of advocacy work is problematic for several reasons.

First, FTC's emphasis on awareness activities does little to create opportunities for participants to work towards substantive changes and promote critical engagement with the broader issues. FTC seeks to familiarize youth with people and cultures of the Global South through activities such as exploring other countries by trying new food, listening to music from around the world or attending cultural festivals or events, and reading the newspaper or watching the news. Canton & Santos (2009) liken this to "the relationship of colonial anthropologists to the people and cultures they studied: non-Westerners were to be learned *about*, *not* with or *from*" (p. 200). These activities exoticize the 'other' providing a superficial understanding of a group of people, reinforcing difference. Exposing themselves to new foods, music or cultures in a celebratory manner does little to help young people understand, "the complexity of the historical relationships between lower-income countries and the West, examinations that are imperative if one is to understand the impact of such relationships and to challenge contemporary global inequalities" (Canton and Santos, 2009, p. 194). Consequently, understanding people from developing countries in such an essentialized manner "elide[s] the political, economic and cultural differences of the experiences of poverty in various locals" (Jefferess, 2002, p. 13). In turn, these seemingly innocent actions construct stereotypical images and reinforce a hierarchical, binary relationship between the North and those who are positioned as the South.

Second, FTC represents itself and its members as helpers and saviours of people in the global South. FTC describes its mission in terms of helping and taking action, "both globally and locally to create change" (Free The Children, 2012, Our mission: Our goals). In this situation, help is achieved through, "dismantling simple aid, and truly empower[ing] communities to success by making them equal partners in the development process" (Free The Children, 2012, Get involved). This is relevant to understanding the ways in which FTC uses helping discourses to bring about specific actions to countries in the global South.

FTC's rights-based approach to development focuses on empowering people, specifically children, who have been marginalized and pushed to the fringes of society. People living in poverty are often outside the "flows of power and therefore lack power in advancing their human rights"

[10] According to FTC, due to restrictions by the national charity law[10], "Free The Children does not support any advocacy work…Advocacy activities include petitions, boycotts, protests, letters to government officials, etc…." (Free The Children, 2012, Get Involved: Youth). The Canadian Revenue Agency regulates the actions that may be lawfully undertaken by charitable organizations. They define advocacy as demonstrated support for a cause or particular point of view. Advocacy is not necessarily a political activity, but it sometimes can be. A charity is prohibited from contacting an elected representative or public official to urge them to retain, oppose or change the law, policy or decision of any level of government. Visit www.cra-arc.gc.ca for more information.

(MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 22). FTC employs the language of 'empowerment' to measure the success of development projects. The level of empowerment, in their view demonstrates the extent to which their interventions have increased liberation and opportunity among recipients. However, Kelsall & Mercer (2003) argue that the concept of 'empowerment' is problematic, as it often reflects a form of power that is bestowed upon the recipients of development aid from the outside. Thus contrary to popular perception, empowerment does not reflect independent power enjoyed by the oppressed. Therefore, 'empowerment' can have a negative effect on a community and its members.

Communities are often assumed to be homogenous, ignoring the fact that they are comprised of diverse groups and individuals. FTC's mission is to "Free children from poverty. Free children from exploitation. Free children from the idea that they are powerless" (Free The Children, 2012, Our mission: Our goals). As mentioned above, FTC achieves this 'freedom' through the Adopt-a-Village program which places focus on eliminating the barriers that cause poverty for children and their families, thereby positioning children from the South as the ones that will help end poverty for their family. As mentioned by Canton & Santos (2009), children are 'safe' as they do not have the authority or skills required to raise discussions that challenge cultural misunderstandings or global power imbalances. By ignoring the significance of household, age, kinships, gender, ability, ethnicity, race and nation, the act of 'empowering' groups can actually 'disempower' them by reinforcing past and existing power structures.

Acknowledging the zeal young people from the North bring to help those in need, Mutua (2002) also problematizes such noble endeavors. Specifically, he cautions that young people are unaware that their impulse to help "is steeped in Western and European history" (p. 22). Without any substantive knowledge of other cultures, young people enter into these 'helping' relationships, potentially believing that their worldview is the only one that truly matters. Spivak (1999; cited in Jefferess, 2002) notes that people often hold the idea "that if the person [they] are doing good to resembles [them] and has [their] rights, he or she will be better off" (p. 13). Hence, their mission becomes to 'help' impoverished 'others' to emulate the Global North. What is lacking is any critical appraisal of the supposedly superior ways of the North.

This thinking is reflected in the approaches many Northern-based NGOs who have positioned themselves to defend the voiceless and powerless. The result is that NGOs in the North have come to envision themselves as 'saviours' of those in the South. The image of 'saviour' has elevated NGOs and their participants to a "hallowed, if not sacred, plane as the consciousness of society" (Mutua, 2006, p. 33). Although it is difficult to criticize the work done by such benevolent organizations, it is important to examine what role the NGO and its participants play in reproducing colonial relations. By engaging in discourse that does not challenge the status quo, both the organization and its participants maintain the guise of innocence, resting comfortably in the knowledge that they are behaving as 'Good Citizens'. As Canton & Santos (2009) explain, colonialist discourse is so entrenched in everyday events that it often penetrates organizations "that exist to promote complex thinking, stereotype reduction, global awareness, and good citizenship ethic" (p. 201). It is therefore important to recognize that although the approach to development work FTC uses appears different from traditional approaches, it is not immune to an infiltration of colonial discourses.

The way in which FTC strategically uses the recipients of their helping efforts to visually demonstrate the positive impact of their efforts and encourage young people to feel good about their efforts is another example of colonial impulses. A key strategy to hook participants emotionally involves using those who have benefitted from the philanthropy to embody the gratitude at We Day events. Flown in from around the world, children such as the Kenyan Boys Choir or students of recently constructed schools entertain or share their personal stories for young people attending We

Day events. Such displays function as a powerful message of the 'good work' being done and while putting a sympathetic and human face on the issue. White & Choudhury (2007) note that it is not uncommon for NGOs to use children in a consultation or advocacy capacity, flying them "to international conferences or visiting the home country of the donor agency that sponsors their organization" (p. 537). While FTC appears as a caring and supportive patron, this form of empowerment comes with a price. Although beyond the scope of this paper, such trafficking of bodies raises a host of ethical issues, which are typically not engaged by those working in the development sector. The few children that are chosen to be the human face and voice to tragedy are progressively dissociated from the group of people for whom they speak (White & Choudhury, 2007). Often these children are used for optics only, contributing no critical reflection of the situation they face in their home country.

## Conclusion

Although a certain degree of resistance is expected, my critique of FTC is not intended to discount the valuable contributions that they make. Rather, my research is intended to explore how FTC may be implicated in producing new practices of power and domination through the perpetuation of discourses that reinforce the status quo. Engaging in methods of aid delivery that upon first glance, appear quite different from the emotionally detached, adult oriented approach of past NGOs, FTC draws attention to global issues. FTC has brought the issues of global poverty and inequality into mainstream consciousness, particularly among young people, through the use of social media, pop culture and the endorsements of school boards and educators across Canada. Despite their benevolent intentions, upon closer reflection, the practices of the organization are grounded in colonial discourses perpetuating the superiority of the Global North, rather than questioning existing structures of power.

My findings, while preliminary, demonstrate the extent to which FTC's discursive practices support and encourage Canadian youth to respond to issues of global poverty and inequality which continue to promote the Global North as saviours and identify the Global South as victims. Hence, the narratives of those helped by FTC are minimized, highlighting only a singular voice from the perspective of the grateful recipient. By maintaining the view that global poverty and inequalities can be addressed through the same system that created the situation is not only misleading to youth who participate in FTC but also denies them the opportunity to understand and challenge their own complicity in practices of power and domination. Charania (2011) notes that few analytical skills are provided to assist youth with the exploration of the causes of oppression and poverty. She suggests the following questions surrounding global justice, Western privilege, and silencing of the Third World voice as a good starting point:

> How for example, might we engage a whole body of critical scholarship by Southern activists and scholars to help reformulate or at the very least challenge our notions of global intervention and assistance?...How does an understanding of colonialism help us to better understand current trade practices, regulations, and the production of poverty? Why are so many Northerners and Northern institutions in a position to 'help'? How might we get skeptical about our own desires to feel good and innocent? (p. 23).

Given FTC's focus on engaging and empowering Canadian youth at the elementary and secondary school levels, it is imperative that these questions should be engaged by the organization to encourage participants to critically interrogate the colonial past of the Global North. The phenomenon of FTC and the altruistic feelings associated with doing 'good works' must not be taken

at face value. Instead we must look at the complexities of the messages being received by our youth and gauge the opportunities to interrupt the cycle of oppression.

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# Intercultural Journey: Understanding Students' Experiences Abroad

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**Abstract**

In the past decade Canadian universities and secondary schools alike have identified the internationalization of education as a major component of their strategic planning (AUCC, 2007, & Alberta Education, 2001). Student exchanges/study abroad programs can play a key role in this process and intercultural competence lies at the heart of its success whether in a second language, business, subject area, or culture learning program. With more and more youth experiencing international contact and schools demanding intercultural interaction, notions of citizenship also fall under the microscope. This qualitative interpretative study explores the experiences and development of intercultural competence of Canadian Junior High and High School students while on a short-term sojourn in Ukraine. Data was obtained from researcher observations written during the exchange, an analysis of students' diaries as well as a focus group discussion with the three adult chaperones. The research affirms that well-planned short term secondary school student exchanges can play a pivotal role in the development of intercultural competence of sojourners.

**Keywords:** intercultural competence; student exchange; study abroad; secondary school; junior high and high school students; Canadian students.

*"Ukraine opened our eyes to different ways of life around the world, while bringing us to be more in touch with our heritage and let us experience where what we learn comes from. This trip brought us all closer as friends and gave us an absolutely unforgettable experience that each of us will always remember"* (Brenda, Day 14, Diary).

## Globalization and Internationalization of Education

We live in a ruptured and broken-into-pieces globalized world. The end of the Cold War did not fulfill the aspiration of international peace; rather, it intensified ethnic, religious, and other conflicts (Hansen, 2008). As teachers, it is our responsibility to teach children how to live in peace and mutuality with one another even though "imagining or grasping the reality of other people is one of the hardest things for human beings to accomplish" (Hansen, 2008, p. 302), and that "the real work of our time may be defined by an ability to mediate meaning across boundaries and differences, whether those boundaries and differences be concerned with gender, race, or ideas" (Smith, 1991, p. 129). We can reach each other in seconds while being on the opposite sides of the planet; we can visit almost any part of the world, but quite often, we cannot see "with other eyes," we can neither accept nor understand others' worldview. In our new interconnected world, why can we not achieve common understanding? This is what drives the exploration of intercultural competence (Bennett, J., 2008; Bennett, M., 1986, 1993; Deardorff, 2006).

In the past decade, Canadian universities and secondary schools alike have identified the internationalization of education as a major component of their strategic planning (AUCC, 2007; Alberta Education, 2001). Student exchanges/study abroad programs can play a key role in this process and intercultural competence lies at the heart of its success.

## Background - Setting the Stage

In line with the Alberta Education (2008) international school partnership strategy, and "[i]n an effort to connect students to the world and provide them with global insight" (p. 1), the Canada Ukraine

student exchange was launched in 2008 as part of the Ukrainian Bilingual program in a large urban school jurisdiction in Western Canada. Since then, three groups of Canadian students have visited Ukraine and Canadians have hosted three groups of Ukrainians. It is a reciprocal educational study program with homestay accommodation. I have been involved with the exchange from its inception, and conducted the research reported in this paper during one of the visits to Ukraine by Canadian students.

## Purpose of the Study & Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the impact of students' understanding of Canada/being Canadian as a byproduct of the development of intercultural competence of Canadian secondary school students in a Ukrainian Bilingual Program during a short-term student exchange in Ukraine. The research questions guiding this study are: How does a short-term student exchange influence the development of intercultural competence of secondary school students in a Canadian Ukrainian Bilingual program? Can preparation and support during the exchange advance students' intercultural competence?

## Related Literature

Study abroad has a long and esteemed history "ranging from the wandering gurus of Asia and India who imparted the principles of the Hindu Vedas to scholars clustered at Bologna, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford during the Middle Ages, to the 'gentleman' of England who capped their formal education with a Continental Grand Tour" (Burn, 1985, p. 48). Following the tradition of the British affluent, wealthy young men from other countries took educational tours abroad as a symbol of belonging to opulent society and exposure to the Renaissance culture. In recent years, study abroad programs/student exchanges[11] have "become a trans-national, trans-disciplinary exercise" (Crawshaw, 2006, p. x). They are complex constructs and have to be explored from the vantage point of different scholarly fields. This project braids research from the following areas: intercultural competence, cultural and second language learning in study abroad programs, and personal development and transformation.

## Intercultural Competence

The concept of intercultural competence has been studied by scholars from many disciplines: psychology, second language education (L2), intercultural communication, anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. However, there is no agreement among scholars on the concept's definition. Interculturalists criticize L2 educators for not regarding the cultural component of second language education; conversely, L2 educators scrutinized interculturalists for ignoring the importance of second language acquisition while examining intercultural competence (Jackson, 2010). Damen (1987), Bennett, J., Bennett, M., and Allen (2003), Smith, Paige, and Steglitz (2003) advanced the work on bridging the gap between the two fields - interculturalists and language educators.

Byram's (1997) concept of intercultural competence (IC), summarized by Deardorff (2006) in her research on a "common" definition of IC, was adopted for this study: "Knowledge of others, knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or to interact; valuing others'

[11] In this paper, I do not differentiate between 'study abroad programs' and 'student exchanges'; I use the terms interchangeably, as synonyms meaning an 'educational sojourn.'

values, beliefs, and behaviors; and revitalizing one's self. Linguistic competence plays a key role" (p. 236). Furthermore, fundamental to intercultural competence is "curiosity and openness, …readiness to suspend disbelief and judgment with respect to others' meaning, beliefs and behaviours" (Byram, 1997, p. 34); and realize that all individuals are "multicultural and complex (sex, age, religion, status in society, etc)" (Dirba, as cited in Jackson, 2010, p. 32).

## Intercultural Competence and Second Language Learning in Study Abroad

### European Perspective

In recent years, European study abroad programs have been a part of a larger scale project of economic and political building of the European Union (EU). The aim was to foster youth mobility within Europe and later outside the EU to enhance the knowledge and skills of young people in pursuit of enhancing L2 learning & intercultural competence, competitive knowledge economy and prosperity for participating states. Study abroad programs in Europe, at both university and secondary school levels, enjoyed the financial support by the EU (European Commission, 2012). The topic of intercultural competence emerged from the realization "that dimensions other than linguistic are involved" in students' learning (Alred & Byram, 2006, p. 135) and in effective communication within the European community (Byram, 1989; Byram, 2006). The academic field of study abroad on the university level is well researched (Alred & Byram, 2006; Byram & Feng, 2006; Pearson-Evans, 2006), mostly as a part of second language education; however, only some studies are available in the area of study abroad in the secondary school (Gisevius & Weber, 2009; Bachner & Zeutschel, 2009).

### U.S. Perspective

The U.S. study abroad has a long history since the 19th century when the European Grand Tour was adopted by "sons, and … sometimes daughters, of the *nouveau riche* class who sought symbols of their status before assuming adult roles in society" (Long, Akande, Purdy, & Nakano, 2010, p. 91). To some degree, the Grand Tour endures today, as it is seen "in the demographics of contemporary international education, which generally still favor students from wealthy and educated families and affluent nations" (Hoffa, as cited in Long et al., 2010, p. 91). Furthermore, in recent decades, globalization of the U.S. economy brought a demand for graduates with knowledge of other countries and languages. It is widely believed that experience abroad "will make young people more worldly and more competitive" (Long et al., 2010, p. 91). Student participation in study abroad has more than tripled over the past two decades, and the number of short term programs is growing fast (Institute of International Education, 2012).

Short term study abroad programs have long been critiqued for "offering little intellectual content or academic rigor, and minimal language or cultural immersion," as well as being a marketing tool and "in some cases a cash cow for universities" (Vedder, 2012). However, a number of studies have inferred that even short-term sojourns can have a significant impact on the students' outlook if participants are sufficiently prepared (Long et al., 2010).

One of the ways of enhancing study abroad programs is a new method of intercultural intervention employed by a number of intercultural educators - Bennett (1986, 1993), Deardorff (2006) Engle and Engle (2003), Vande Berg and Paige (2009), and Pedersen (2009). Exposure to another culture is not enough; rather how a student understands, perceives, and responds to the surroundings is critical: "[S]imply sending students to other countries might not be enough if we are concerned about quality as well as quantity in study abroad programs" (Pedersen, 2009, p.79); there

should be intentionally designed programs which foster intercultural competence and a global perspective. While study abroad is a well-researched field in the United States, it is under-researched at the secondary school level.

**Canadian Perspective**

In Canada, provincial governments have always supported internationalization of education and study abroad. However, approaches differ from province to province. While the expansion of study abroad programs is often guided by the search for developing global understanding and peace, internationalization is also promoted by provincial Ministries of Education, "in the context of enhancing global competitiveness of their respective economies" (Desai Trilokekar & Shubert, 2009, p. 202).

International student mobility is a pillar of enlarging internationalization of Canadian universities. According to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada website, the number of students studying abroad for credit in 2006 was only 2.2 percent (2007); however, in 2009, 12 percent of Canadian undergraduate students went on sojourns. [12]

While issues of intercultural competence and study abroad programs are popular topics of scholarly studies in the United States and Europe, they have not received much attention in Canada. Pruegger and Rogers' (1994) scrutiny of the realms of intercultural sensitivity training on campus revealed that the experiential approach is more successful than lecture-based for the development of students' intercultural sensitivity. The issues of the sojourner's response to the demands of a new environment were studied by Berry (1990) whose developmental model of acculturation includes integration, separation, assimilation, or marginalization. Canadian research on study abroad is especially scarce and focuses on cross-cultural awareness (Bilash & Kang, 2007), the significance of quality home-stays (Cho, Bilash, & Gulas-Bomok, 2010; Cho & Bilash, 2010), and issues of second language teaching and learning (Bilash & Kang, 2007).

There is a lack of research on study abroad in general, and investigations into secondary school study abroad are almost non-existent in Canada.

## Study Abroad and Personal Development and Transformation

Study abroad programs are one of the ways to achieve mutual understanding amongst people of the world. While study abroad can be a life changing experience, and sometimes it is enough for a student just to go abroad to widen their horizons, with an educator's guidance, it can be a transformative experience. Such transformative opportunities, including study abroad, are often ones that begin in discomfort. Selby (2008) calls them "total confusion or epiphanic incidents" (p. 4), Bennett (2008) refers to them as "disequilibration and trigger events" (p. 17), Bilash and Kang (2007) as "perturbations" in equilibrium. Such events can and do happen every day without teachers' involvement, but during study abroad awareness can be enhanced through planned events that are likely to yield meaning, such as a homestay or attending school in another country.

[12] While the numbers are growing every year, university leaders would like more students to study abroad (Bradshaw, 2012). "Universities have been vocal about their ambitions to lure more international students to Canada, but they are quietly worried far too few Canadian students go abroad for their own formative experiences" (Bradshaw, 2012). Herb O'Heron, director of research and policy analysis at the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada elaborated that in comparison with our national numbers, 20 percent of the US students and a third of the German students participate in study abroad programs (Bradshaw, 2012). However, they are certainly gaining popularity and various programs are being developed in Canadian universities.

Meaningful learning is further enhanced through reflective thinking, a concept introduced by Dewey: "Reflection involves not simply a sequence of ideas, but a *con*-sequence—a consecutive ordering in such a way that each in turn leans back on its predecessors" (1933, p. 3). Drawing on the work of Dewey, Kolb (1984) developed the concept of experiential learning – a process of making meaning from direct experience. Crucial for experiential learning is focused reflection, as students can "cruise," hitting the tops of the hills only without going into the depth and meaning of the learning journey. Experiential learning presents many opportunities for study abroad educators to teach students "how to learn from experience" (Savicki, 2008, p. 80).

We cannot expect that an extraordinary transformation will happen to the students immediately; rather, the transformation continues as a part of a deeper process every time we encounter difference; it will vary for all of us depending on our previous experience and openness, the quality of interactions, supports, and many other factors.

## Importance of National Context in Study Abroad

Study abroad is just one part of a larger picture – internationalization of education, global mobility, and the social, political, and economic statuses of students and their respective countries. National context influences global perspectives of the sojourners (Dolby, 2008; Bachner & Zeutschel, 2009). Thus, study abroad programs carry different meanings in different countries. Canadian policy on multiculturalism can be a major factor in determining differences in meaning and value for participants from Canada, the United States and the rest of the world. We can learn from American and European scholars; however, it is obvious that research on the effects of study abroad on the development of intercultural competence is needed in the Canadian context. This study is a modest attempt to fill a small portion of the gap.

## Methodology

### Qualitative Methodology - Basic Interpretive Study

Given the exploratory nature of this study, qualitative methodology was employed as the research design. The major characteristic of qualitative research is, "up close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context" (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). The researcher focused on the meanings that sojourners made out of a complex situation, and then interpreted them through a variety of lenses – Byram's view of intercultural competence and Shaules' perspective of intercultural learning - in order to "develop a complex picture of the problem or issue under study" (Creswell, 2009, p. 176). As Merriam (2002) points out, "A central characteristic of qualitative research is that individuals construct reality in interaction with their social worlds. Here the researcher is interested in understanding the meaning a phenomenon has for those involved" (p. 37).

### Participants

Convenience sampling (Creswell, 2009) was used in the study as the number of sojourners was limited. However, the sample is representative of students in a Ukrainian Bilingual Program offered across the Prairie Provinces. Participants include two junior high and nine high school students - six females and five males. All study in the Ukrainian bilingual program in a large urban school district in Western Canada. Their knowledge of Ukrainian varied; some of the students speak Ukrainian at

home, some do not. All of the sojourners have Ukrainian roots - their parents or grandparents immigrated to Canada from Ukraine at some point of time. Thus, this trip was even more special for the students and their parents – a type of pilgrimage home. Two girls participated in the exchange for the second time; the first time being two years earlier. One boy had been to Ukraine before - to visit relatives. For the others, it was the first trip to Ukraine, their ancestral homeland. Also, for one student, this was the first trip abroad in his life.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

After ethics approval, all consent forms were signed by parents, students and chaperones. The research data was collected during the sojourn in Ukraine through students' diaries (Whalley, 1997; Pearson-Evans, 2006)[13] first hand observations,[14] and a semi-structured focus group interview with chaperones after the trip.[15]

An inductive approach was used: "Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up, by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information" (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). By means of inductive data analysis, detailed thematic coding, I identified four main themes.

All the data was analyzed horizontally, to identify common themes, as well as vertically, to explore the depth of individual changes. To ensure the reliability of the data collected, triangulation was employed: students, chaperones, and my field notes and reflections were studied, analyzed, and juxtaposed. I read and re-read the data, looking for common themes; then the themes were juxtaposed among the three data sources to ensure their validity.

Member checking was used to "determine the accuracy of the qualitative findings" (Creswell, 2009, p. 191) through taking the focus group interview transcript back to the interview participants to check for accuracy.

**Limitations of the Study**

My observations and discussions were limited to the pre-departure orientation and the time during the exchange classes and tours. While this was informative, more time and discussions with the students after the trip would have been beneficial to students as well as the research.

Minimal availability of time in the dense itinerary, jetlag and limited motivation to write in the diaries were additional limitations. Some students wrote short and descriptive 'what they did' entries, without reflection. However, some took their time to write substantial stories every day.

Finally, a mixed methods study may have yielded additional comparative data; however, it may have taken more time and may not have earned the support of all.

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[13] Diaries have been used as a tool in ethnographic research (and proved to be a valuable source of data, as they encourage students to learn and reflect on their daily experiences. As noted by Pearson-Evans (2006), diaries can provide details as to how "different variables interact or why they modify each other in different ways in individual cases...proving to be an effective method of extending our understanding of the dynamics of the complex web of variables involved in cross-cultural adjustment" (p. 53).

[14] I observed and recorded how Canadian students dealt with problems, uncertainties and the unexpected as they arose. Systematic observations during classes, tours, organized events, as well as informal discussions, helped me to gain a deeper understanding of students' intercultural experiences and see the issues from the insider's perspective.

[15] The focus group interview with the chaperones - one teacher and two parent supervisors - took place three weeks after we returned from the sojourn. We looked at the photographs from the trip, recollected some events, talked about experiences and then recorded a one-hour interview. It was later transcribed and member checked.

## Findings: Discussion of Main Themes

Four themes captured the nature of students' experiences while on this sojourn: program design; intercultural learning; linguistic competence; and personal development/transformation and citizenship. Each is addressed briefly next.

### Theme 1: Program Design

The sojourn design – intercultural training, pre-departure preparation, homestay, attendance of classes in Ukraine, reflections, and ongoing support during the trip – encouraged students to notice differences. This helped them to look beyond what was in sight; as "recognition of difference creates adaptive demands" (Shaules, 2007, p. 150); which forces responses from sojourners. Although the role of teachers and adult chaperones in facilitating students' understanding of what they saw and discussed was not mentioned by students, students and their parents (as conveyed in the focus group) noted the value of all program components. Notes from my journal confirm the value of the intention of components in the program design, as can be seen in the other themes below. For example, the daily journals and discussions with the chaperones and groups about similarities and differences between the systems of the two countries was of particular value, as Ann elaborated after one discussion: "I realized how much I've actually learned and how it changed my perspective on things from seeing what other people do" (Day 13, Diary). Comparing the systems gave the students an opportunity to think about the two countries as part of the global community.

### Theme 2: Intercultural learning – "Relativisation of one's own and valuing of others' meanings, beliefs and behaviours" (Byram, 1997, p. 35).

*Life's deepest lessons require more than looking within ourselves.*
*We must also examine the invisible chains of social mind –*
*the predictable habits of thought, beliefs and assumptions of*
*our deep cultural conditioning.* (Joseph Shaules)

To value another's values, beliefs and behaviours one must first notice that they are different. Some of the differences noticed by students include the new cultural environment of host families, hospitality and food; relationships with host peers; confusion and annoyances; and the Miss Gymnasium beauty contest.

#### *Host Families, Hospitality and Food*

The topic of host families, their hospitality and food was a central theme in student journals. Host families "went out of their way" to make Canadian youth comfortable and "at home." Ann called her homestay hostess "my mom;" then she emphasized "yes, I feel like she is my mom here" (Day 9, Diary). This description was common – all of the students reported that they felt that they were treated like teenage children by their host families, and with exceptional Ukrainian hospitality.

Unlike the findings of Jackson (2006), whose student-participants "used avoidance strategies to reduce contact with their host" (p. 142), the participants in this study, after the initial concern of meeting and living with strangers, were all comfortable with their host families. The families clearly took the responsibilities of hosting as "much more than room and board" (Cho et al., 2010, p. 44). Matching was done well and students were put in appropriate billeting conditions. The homestay

experience provided students with an exceptional cultural immersion; moreover, the exceptional hospitality of host families made the cultural exchange even deeper and more meaningful.

Students "were fed like kings" (Ned, Day 4, Diary) and talked with warmth about the everyday food their host families prepared for them. Trying new food was "part of the novelty… and it could ease communication in their host families" (Pearson-Evans, 2006, p. 46). MacDonald's was a place of comfort and a "time-out of their host culture" (Pearson-Evans, 2006, p. 46). This is a part of recursive learning: students had to go back to their comfort zone in order to move forward in their cultural learning. In the study abroad milieu food was not a show and tell phenomenon, but rather a vehicle for relationship building – through hospitality.

### *Relationships with a Host Peer/Other Peers – Quality of Interaction.*

Globalization brought opportunities to connect, travel, work and study abroad; however, this does not mean that the contact is deep and meaningful since "frameworks of meaning are necessary for communication and human relationships" (Shaules, 2007, p. 39). The homestay and school experiences offered deeper and extended opportunities for students from Canada and Ukraine to communicate and develop friendships. For Canadian students, pride in their Ukrainian Canadian heritage attracted them to their Ukrainian peers. The students found common interests in soccer, dance, computer games, music, and social media. A significant turning point in their relationships took place in the second week of the sojourn when the students went to Kyiv – a city unfamiliar to both Ukrainian and Canadian students - "They bonded much more during the Kyiv time" (Focus group interview). "They had to negotiate how to spend time together. It was … neutral territory in Kyiv" (Focus group interview) which drew them closer. They crossed boundaries and created their own shared spaces.

The quality of intercultural contacts makes a difference in developing intercultural competence. Relationships with the Ukrainian peers "creat[ed] a demand for change" - good relationships "are not only an end product of intercultural learning, they can also be seen as a driving force" (Shaules, 2007, p. 100). Student diaries and chaperone observations support the results of the study by Pearson-Evans (2006) and confirm Klineberg's (1982, as cited in Pearson-Evans, 2006) Modified Culture Contact Hypothesis, "that for cross-cultural relationships to be successful they should ideally be of equal status, involve superordinate goals, satisfy the needs of individuals and be free from discrimination and condescension" (p. 46). Both Canadian and Ukrainian students were looking for such relationships - equal status and to learn from one another.

### *Confusion and Annoyances*

There was also confusion and annoyance sometimes. For instance, Alice was puzzled by the places she went with her homestay peer and the people they met. She felt thrown into Ukrainian teenage life and sometimes she could not make sense of it. The collectivistic culture was a curiosity to Alice and, through continued participation, she moved from resistance to acceptance: "Everyone is so open with each other there. They do everything together, they hug, they kiss (as a greeting), they talk about anything, if they are feeling something, they are not afraid to tell you. Also, they put a lot of trust in friends & people" (Day 14, Diary).

While a lot of remarks in student journals were positive, and students went on the sojourn with open minds, there were a number of comments with negative connotations. For instance, Ned wrote: "One thing kind of annoying is that there seems to be small, barely noticeable steps all over the place and I've stumbled over them a few times" (Day 3, Diary). Ann elaborated on taxi drivers: "Taxi

drivers in Canada aren't friendly but they are friendlier than here" (Day 7, Diary). Such comparative comments are natural; there is no need to idealize intercultural encounters (Shaules, 2007). Commitment to respect cultural difference does not guarantee that *resistance* or the "unwillingness to change in response to the adaptive demands of a new cultural environment" (Shaules, 2007, p. 150) will not happen. Students were prepared to face the different environment intellectually; however, some experiences generated resistance. The program design ensured reflection and education to address the negative emotion and make the intercultural encounter positive.

### *Miss Gymnasium Beauty Contest*

The Miss Gymnasium[16] Beauty contest raised a lot of questions for the Canadian students; it was an experience of different worldviews on beauty, talent, values, and even power. There were six categories in which the high school girls competed; all except one focused on appearance and attire.

The Miss Gymnasium contest was discussed among the Ukrainian and Canadian program organizers prior to the sojourn. After the contest, students and chaperones realized that their understanding of this event was completely different from that of those in Ukraine. Moreover, they assumed that it would be akin to the Miss Canada contest and judge talent, appearance, and communication-values. Shaules explains this as "deep culture" differences: "unconscious meanings, values, norms and hidden assumptions that allow us to interpret our experiences as we interact with other people. These shared meanings form a framework which acts as a starting point for our sense of what it means to be human, what constitutes normal behaviour, how to make moral or ethical choices and what we perceive reasonable" (2007, p. 11). They are our hidden beliefs, and often we are unaware of our deepest assumptions and prejudice. In order to accept difference, one should be able to relativize one's experience, explain an account according to the context, and move one's perception to the larger framework of meaning (Shaules, 2007). Acceptance does not mean that one adopts someone else's ethical choices; it begins with recognition that our ethical behaviour is not superior and the only correct one, and it means an attempt to understand the standards of others without assuming superiority. Acceptance is a critical element of successful cultural learning (Shaules, 2007). Thus, although the Canadian students could not find meaningful explanation for the beauty contest at school, most of them tried to withhold their judgments; they simply stepped away and thought about it. Afterwards, they noted that in Canada, a similar event would be organized as a talent show. The school beauty contest was a meaningful experience because it triggered Canadian students to face the sharp difference in views on beauty, what is appreciated and valued in society and, through the focused guided reflection in the program design, they widened their perceptions and accepted the difference without judging it.

**Theme 3: "Linguistic competence" plays a key role in developing intercultural competence (Byram, 1997, p. 48).**

*"... in order to grasp another form of life it is necessary to speak the language in which that form of life is embodied" (Byram, 2006)*

Language plays an important role in the development of relationships in the host country. "Language is a symbolic system that represents the conceptualization of the values and worldview of its speakers and speaking a language implies membership…of a community of speakers of that language" (Shaules, 2007, p. 101). One of the main goals for the exchange was to improve students' command

[16] A gymnasium is the term used to describe an academic secondary school.

of the Ukrainian language. Some students were intimidated to speak Ukrainian at first; some felt mocked (for instance, a comment on Ann's funny accent from a Ukrainian girl and a host parent; Day 7, Diary), but all did their best and SPOKE. Further, given the choice of writing diaries in English or Ukrainian, most students composed in English with some additions at the end in Ukrainian, and two students - Pavlo and Ann - made a conscious choice to use Ukrainian in their diaries. This gave them an opportunity to break through their own limits and make the most out of the exchange.

While the participants had a choice to speak English with their peers, the demands of language at school during classes, meals at the restaurants, sightseeing, using public transportation, and meeting family were strong enough for their Ukrainian to improve. Most felt that they advanced their language speaking skills (students' diaries; group interview).

Similar to the findings of Pearson-Evans (2006), the study showed that when students felt comfortable with their Ukrainian peers and families, they were more likely to converse in Ukrainian. My field notes describe the mix of English-Ukrainian discussions by the students. The students created shared spaces where they could use both languages. When somebody did not understand, the other took time to explain the meaning of the word (Ukrainian or English). Furthermore, chaperones reported that in discussions with families parents stated that after returning to Canada, most students started to speak Ukrainian (use some words) at home. The students' attitude had changed. As suggested by Bilash (2005), their interest in Ukrainian was revitalized substantially. The chaperones noted that parents confirmed their children's new interest in learning Ukrainian (group interview). Two of them were thinking about a post-secondary one-year study in Ukraine. Alice noted: "I was planning to leave the [Ukrainian Bilingual] program after this year, but the trip made me see and become more interested in the Ukrainian culture! I have decided to stay, and finish the program" (Day 14, Diary).

**Theme 4: Personal development/transformation and citizenship – "Knowledge of self and other" (Byram, 1997, p. 34); "skills of discovery and interpretation" (Byram, 1997, p. 38).**

The intercultural encounter cultivated students' personal development. Everyone matured. Similar to the results of the research by Jackson (2006), the participants of this study gained growth in independence and self-confidence. Most noted that they appreciate their life in Canada more, especially after a visit to an orphanage in Ukraine. Citizenship education is inseparable from intercultural education; changes that were observed in the sojourns attest to the fact that the students became more aware citizens – traffic design, taxi-driver etiquette, waste disposal, the value of walking were themes noted in student journals.

The exchange, notwithstanding its short duration, opened the students' eyes to observe other ways of being in the world. "I've learned that trying new things helps you and makes you a stronger more willing person. Even if it's something little, you are still going out of your boundaries to try something new and it makes you feel good inside" (Marsha, Day 15, Diary).

Another important aspect of the sojourn's outcome was the development of tolerance for the unknown. The students successfully dealt with ambiguity. Furthermore, they became more aware of their own culture and "the possible impact of differing values and beliefs when communicating across cultures" (Jackson, 2006, p. 154). Brenda concludes her diary: "[T]his trip gave me new perspectives on others' life and learning" (Day 13, Diary). Ned asserted that the experience made him "more open and understanding towards others" (Day 14, Diary).

Adult sojourners emphasized the students' increased interest in contemporary issues in Ukraine (Day 12, Field Notes). The experience made Pavlo think about politics and society. Through

conversations with the Ukrainian peers and the host families, some students gained knowledge about other countries, like Russia and Poland (Ann, Day 14, Diary).

## Conclusion

Transformation and the development of intercultural competence is not a destination, but a life-long journey. "Subtle shifts in one's frame of reference as a result of a study abroad experience can set the stage for more radical shifts later" (Savicki & Selby, 2008, p. 348). Due to the short period of the exchange, the students may not yet have developed a deep perspective about the difference; however, they did get a good glimpse of it. It might be just enough experience of difference for children of their age to see, reflect and contemplate about other possibilities. Considering that some intercultural encounters result in negative attitudes and increased prejudice, affecting a person's future view of differences in the world, well-planned high school international exchanges can play a pivotal role in fostering intercultural competence, understanding and acceptance of difference. This exchange fostered students' ability to go beyond borders, develop understanding and acceptance of difference and learn about the world. And some students developed a better understanding of the global issues and their potential place in the advocacy for a better world – social justice.

## Recommendations

### Recommendations for Student Exchange Organizers

To help young people live well in an interconnected but ruptured world, one goal of any study abroad program should be the development of intercultural competence. Pre-departure preparation can contribute to the impact of the sojourn in many ways and should include careful matching of homestay families, intercultural training, safety orientation, an overview of program goals and activities and setting realistic expectations for students while on a sojourn, including the high possibility of uncertainty. Continuous supports during the sojourns are quite critical for 14-16 year old youths including daily reflective class discussions and/or written reflections that help them make sense of the new world around them. Program design makes a difference for a short term study abroad. Finally, strong sustainable leadership and succession planning is required to build a long term exchange that can belong to an entire school.

Despite the safety and security precautions in place, study abroad experiences are unpredictable and participants and chaperones must be prepared to manage these. For example, during a tour to Kyiv some students were waiting outside a restaurant after lunch, when a group of young men approached them with doves. The young men suggested that students hold the doves for a photo. The students were not advised, however, that this would cost money. The students paid out of embarrassment and discomfort. As a result supervisors had to talk with the men and most of the money was returned. In the end, it was an educational experience for everybody involved - for chaperones to be ready to deal with any situation at any moment dealing with students' risks/safety, and for students to be more careful and reflect openly about the possible consequences of actions, and, most importantly, that we cannot assume "at home" societal norms and values apply in another country.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

A follow-up study with Ukrainian participants coming to Canada could yield comparative data and in light of recent accusations of Ukraine being a racist nation, a study of the intercultural competence of Ukrainian youth would be timely. Also, it would be useful to interview the students from this sojourn in a future study several months after their return.

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# Factors Contributing to Current Aboriginal Language use in Canada: A Call for Social Justice

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**Abstract**

Aboriginal languages are disappearing and the contemporary view of Canadian society as inclusive conceals the destructive impact of European influences on Aboriginal communities. The lack of resolution of Aboriginal language issues remains hidden from view. This paper will reveal that language use and language rights have not yet been included in the social justice agenda, nor are they integrated into contemporary views of the good citizen (e.g., Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Using *bricolage* (Lévi-Strauss,1966; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001) we draw on legal and historic documents to reveal the multidimensional and profound ways that aboriginal language use has been intentionally violated and/or ignored.

**Keywords:** aboriginal languages; citizenship

## Canada's Linguistic Environment

Aboriginal languages are disappearing and the contemporary view of Canadian society as inclusive conceals the destructive impact of European influences on Aboriginal communities. The lack of resolution of Aboriginal language issues remains hidden from view. This paper will reveal that language use and language rights have not yet been included in the social justice agenda, nor are they integrated into contemporary views of the good citizen (e.g., Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). However, in order to grasp the problem and search for solutions to this dilemma, one needs to bear in mind several historical events and processes related to the issue as well as the context and trends of language use of all languages in Canada. Evidence regarding language use of other languages in Canada point to increased Anglicization: immigrant mother tongues typically vanish by the second Canadian born generation (Kumar, Trofimovich, & Gatbonton, 2008); only a small minority can speak both of Canada's official languages[17], the use of French outside of Quebec is declining (Clément, Gauthier & Noels, 1993; Clément, 1984; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985), and pressures within Quebec continue to push francophones in the direction of using English (Gaudet & Clément, 2009).[18] Can this now global assimilationist force be disrupted for aboriginal language use?

The focus of this paper is on the status of Aboriginal culture and languages in Canada and we argue that it is time to place Aboriginal languages on the social justice agenda. Using *bricolage*, a term

[17] The Official Languages Act forms the cornerstone of a Canadian 'hierarchy of languages', analogous to social hierarchies based on race, gender or immigration. Consequently, the Act is not simply a legal document; it is an intensely political document which projects a linguistic value system into Canadian society. This value system is exposed in that uniquely Canadian notion of 'official bilingualism': in Canada to be bilingual means to be able to communicate in English and French; no other combination is recognized. Consequently, only 17.4 % of Canadians are considered bilingual since they can speak both official languages and 82.6% are considered 'unilingual'; although at least 35% of Canadians speak more than one language. Furthermore, a francophone is much more likely to speak English than an anglophone to speak French, which reveals the relative standing of the two official languages in Canada. 40.6% of Quebecers can speak English; while in the rest of the country only 7.5% can speak French. In all, 55% of bilingual Canadians are Quebecers, and a high percentage of the bilingual population in the rest of Canada resides in the "bilingual belt" which borders on Quebec.

[18] In the workplace people may receive a bonus for their second language abilities, but this is usually defined as English-French bilingualism. Note that people with competence in a different combination of languages are not paid the bonus: a simple reminder that their mother tongue is considered inferior.

coined by Lévi-Strauss (1966), and now emerging as a multi-perspectival research methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001) we draw on legal and historic documents to reveal the multidimensional and profound ways that aboriginal language use has been intentionally violated and/or ignored.

Note that the terms used in the paper can be confusing; this is in part due to the fact that legal terminology has changed over time (e.g., National Indian Brotherhood became the Assembly of First Nations). As Saussure (1983) argued, "concepts...are defined not positively, in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system. What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not" (p. 115). Accordingly, aboriginal is an identifying term that includes First Nations, Métis and Inuit; thus when "Aboriginal" is used it refers to all three groups. Use of the term First Nations often excludes Métis and Inuit. The term Indigenous is used by international groups such as the United Nations (e.g., United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) and also by some authors (e.g., Tremblay, 2005) to refer to First Nations and Inuit. Because the bricolage draws upon historical documents and the overviews of historians, these distinctions are not always consistent.

The health of the Aboriginal languages in the immediate aftermath of initial contact with Europeans was strong; the number of languages spoken at this time is unknown but from a variety of accounts can be estimated to be well over 100 (Norris, 1998). The Aboriginal population remained rooted on their territory, and although there was some European encroachment, the French had been somewhat accommodating to Aboriginal needs and the two peoples managed to co-exist on the same territory.[19] This picture began to change when the British replaced the French. Nevertheless the greatest impact on Aboriginal population and society during this period was the introduction of infectious diseases against which they had no immunity. Estimates of the population of Aboriginal people on Canadian territory at the time of initial contact with Europeans vary from about 200,000 to 2 million. Immigration occurred under a policy of Anglo-conformity, an assimilationist model. "Immigrants were encouraged and expected to assimilate to the pre-existing British mainstream culture, with the hope that over time they would become indistinguishable from native-born British Canadians in their speech, dress, recreation and way of life generally" (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 49). In Quebec (Franco-conformity) only "a relatively small number of immigrants integrated into the French-speaking society in Quebec, and prior to the 1970s, immigration was not seen as a tool of nation-building in Quebec" (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 65).

The Report also revealed that at the time of the 1871 census the estimated Canadian Aboriginal population was 102,000, a decline of 80%. By 1815 First Nations population in the colony was outnumbered by European settlers by a ratio of 10:1 (Francis, Jones, & Smith, 2004, p. 276). The 1871 Census reported the original four provinces of Canada had a population of 3,485,761, including 2,110,502 (60.5%) of British origin; 1,082,940 (31.1%) French; 23,037 (0.7%) Native Indian and Inuit (Eskimo); and 269,282 (7.7%) of other origin (Lacey, 1983, series A125-163). At that time all 'Native Indian and Inuit (Eskimo)' would have been fluent in their mother languages (Lacey, 1983, series A125-163). Language use is a function of need. Knowing a language, that is having studied it, or having spoken a language as a child is not equivalent to using the language for real acts of communication on a regular basis (Fishman, 1991, 2001). Further, needing to use the language in order to accomplish certain tasks renders that language influential and the power of that need affects social status and overall social attitudes. One can only surmise how language use in the West might

[19] The growth of trade between First Nations peoples and Europeans brought languages into direct contact and over time saw the emergence of a new language – Michif. Bakker (1997) reports that Michif itself seems to have begun at the beginning of the buffalo robe and pemmican trade in the early 1800s.

have been different had aboriginal language groups represented a quarter of the population and not less than 10%. Might the founding nations and immigrants all have become bilingual in an aboriginal language?

Among the top priorities of the leadership of the new nation were building a transcontinental railroad to connect the British colonies on the two coasts and populating the prairies with Anglophone settlers. This course of action drew the Europeans west of the Great Lakes where they encountered numerous Aboriginal societies. The government plan was accomplished in the face of the active resistance of the Aboriginal peoples - the Riel Rebellions (1870 and 1885). The issues involved rights to the land, and to a lesser degree language rights, as well.[20]

In 1876 the Canadian federal government enacted the *Indian Act* (amended in 1880 and variously since then) which made First Nations (legally known as status Indians) legal wards of the Crown without citizenship rights and which regulated every aspect of their lives. How Canada's first Prime Minister John A. MacDonald explained the government's objectives reveals not only the colonial mentality of the time but also the government's clear intention to annihilate First Nations' cultures, and hence their languages alongside: "The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit for the change" (Miller, 2000, p. 254; Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 40).

In another speech in which he was justifying the need to create a separate Department of Indian Affairs, John A. MacDonald asserted that it was necessary "to advance the interests of the Indians, civilizing them and putting them in the condition of white men" (Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 213). The methodology of assimilation was three-pronged addressing enfranchisement, cultural practices and education. A person designated as a status Indian could gain full citizenship and the right to vote but needed to surrender their rights under the *Indian Act*. Since this entailed leaving the reserve and renouncing one's original culture only 102 individuals were enfranchised by 1918 (Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 42). Cultural practices were banned; e.g., gift exchanges, ritual dances and potlatches, a ritual system of maintaining tribal social structure and harmony (Miller, 2000, p. 254-261). The educational component of the program was the creation of the residential school system operated by Christian churches and missionaries.

As a result, many Aboriginal peoples were marginalized on their own land. First Nations land holdings in particular were reduced from an entire continent to several hundred 'reserves' which were located mainly in the hinterland. This eventually led to a myriad of as yet unresolved land claim cases. Aboriginal culture was severely restricted; many traditional dances, religious ceremonies and customs such as using natural medicine were declared illegal, and aboriginals were subject to religious proselytizing intended to assimilate them into 'Canadian culture'. Aboriginal languages also came under assault. Tremblay (2005), a First Nations leader, describes this phenomenon thus:

> In 1879, the Canadian government, looking for a way to deal with the "Indian Problem", set up an education system whose main goal was to eradicate our languages, cultures and religions (Milloy, 1999). These were the residential schools, built on government funds and managed by Christian churches. These schools, infamous for the horrendous physical, mental and sexual abuse that children were subjected to within their walls (Grant, 1996), were built far enough from Indigenous communities to prevent children from communicating with their parents. Legislation was enacted to impose mandatory attendance for all Indigenous children aged 6 to 18, giving

[20] The first rebellion involved mainly French speaking Métis, and the second involved the Métis and several First Nations, many of whom were starving due to the disappearance of the buffalo. Both rebellions were suppressed by military force.

> authorities the power to forcibly remove, even abduct, children from their homes. Speaking one's native tongue was forbidden in these schools and punished severely.... The last of the residential schools was shut down in 1986. (p. 1)

The residential school system made integration into the dominant culture mandatory and laid the foundation for the linguicide of Aboriginal languages. It broke the link between parent and child, preventing the natural transmission of the language and culture to the next generation. It has been estimated that in 1898 more than 100 Aboriginal languages were being spoken in Canada (Norris, 1998). Currently, about 53 Aboriginal languages are spoken, but only three of them have a sufficient number of speakers to give them a chance of long-term survival: Cree, Ojibwa and Inuktitut (MacMillan, 1995, p.5, 7).

Although Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized to the Aboriginal People in 2008 on behalf of Canada and its citizens for the residential school system, some scholars believe that Canada might be in breach of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which was signed by Canada in 1949 (Chrisjohn & Young with Maraun, 1997, p. 60) and passed by a unanimous vote in the House of Commons in 1952, and that there are grounds to try Canada in an international court for genocide (Chrisjohn & Young with Maraun, 1997; Restoule, 2000; Krebs, 2008; Churchill, 1997; Conrad & Finkel, 2009; Bilash, 2011).

In order to find settlers who were willing to accept frontier conditions, the Canadian Government had to look beyond its traditional source countries for immigrants. In 1895 the Canadian government initiated a massive immigration program in which agricultural settlers from Central and Eastern Europe entered the country, leading to a massive influx of immigrants from these areas. However, Canadian immigration policy continued to be implemented within a British colonial framework. The model of nation-building employed in Canada was "Anglo-conformity": the assimilation of immigrants into the Anglo-Celtic majority (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 49, 65).[21] "Britishness" was transmitted through culture; for example, the supremacy of the English language, a parliamentary form of government, and national symbols.[22]

Anglo-conformity was aimed at all classes of non-anglophone citizens: 1) First Nations Canadians through the residential school system; 2) francophones who were forced to wait 200 years (until the 1960's and 1970's) before Canada fulfilled the promise of enlightened 18th century British policies by introducing bilingualism and formally acknowledging the equality of the French language, and; 3) immigrants by discouraging the use and learning of unfamiliar languages, customs, traditions and religions.

## Aboriginal Languages in the Late 20th and Early 21st Centuries

Beginning in the 1960's, Canada underwent a transformation through which the country became what certain politicians and scholars have called a "multicultural society within a bilingual framework" (Trudeau Speech, n.d.), in which minorities would no longer be 'assimilated' but 'integrated' into

[21] Anglo-conformity is an assimilationist model of immigration. "Immigrants were encouraged and expected to assimilate to the pre-existing British mainstream culture, with the hope that over time they would become indistinguishable from native-born British Canadians in their speech, dress, recreation and way of life generally" (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 49). In Quebec (Franco-conformity) only "a relatively small number of immigrants integrated into the French-speaking society in Quebec, and prior to the 1970s, immigration was not seen as a tool of nation-building in Quebec" (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 65).

[22] Examples of such national symbols are: 1) until 1947 Canadians were British subjects and carried British passports, 2) until 1964 Canada's flag (the Red Ensign) contained a miniature Union Jack in one corner, and 3) until 1967 the national anthem was God Save the Queen. (Wayland, 1997, p 34)

Canadian society. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a clear renouncement of the program of Anglo-conformity, was established in 1963 to recommend how to develop Confederation "on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races [sic]… [and to take] into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups" (Wayland, 1997, p. 46). Quebec's Quiet Revolution in the 1960's triggered Canada's language debate and the Canadian Federal Government was obliged to address Quebec's concerns as its efforts to separate from Canada became violent (Front de Liberation du Quebec terrorism) and credible (a Separatist Party in power in Quebec and three referenda on the question). In the context of this debate, Canada's ethnic groups protested defining Canada as bicultural as it did not recognize their contribution to Canada's development. As a result, the policy of multiculturalism was announced in 1971, but only as a poor cousin of bilingualism which was enshrined in The Official Languages Act (1969) before the final four volumes of the Commission's report were tabled in Parliament.

The Canadian language debate bypassed Aboriginal languages entirely. However, in 1966, the federally mandated 'Hawthorne Commission on the Indian' reported its findings and concluded that "in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community" (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 2011, p. 207). In other words, First Nations people were to be considered "Citizens Plus" (Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 423-424; Miller, 2000, p. 328). In the area of cultural and linguistic rights the Hawthorne Report recommended that the Department of Indian Affairs should act as an advocate for First Nations interests, that the policy and program of cultural assimilation be terminated and that First Nations people have the opportunity to study in their own languages. [23]

Within months of passing The Official Languages Act, the Federal Government issued a 'White Paper on Indian Policy.'[24] This was a curious document since it ignored the recommendations of The Hawthorne Report completely and announced a policy that would "enable the Indian people to be free – free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians" (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010, p. 251). The White Paper advanced individual rights rather than the collective rights of the First Nations people as a group which reflected both the individualist bias of then Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, as well as the need to avoid creating a precedent given Québecois demands for special status for their province (Miller, 2000, p. 329; Bumsted, 2008, p. 392). The White Paper proposed that the Indian Act be repealed (this Act was frequently amended but was fundamentally unchanged until 1985), 'Indian treaties' terminated, Aboriginal Rights and title not be recognized and that the Federal Government's responsibility for relations with the Aboriginal peoples, which traces back to the Proclamation of 1763, would end (Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 424; Miller, 2000, p. 332; Dickason & Newbigging, 2010, p. 251). In other words, just as the Federal Government was establishing the 'special status' of the official languages, it was announcing its intention to remove the 'distinct status' of the Aboriginal peoples; instead of being 'Citizens Plus' Aboriginal Canadians would be the same as all other Canadians (Statement of the Government of Canada, 1969).

It was also during the 1960's that the Aboriginal peoples began to 'win their spirit back.'[25] The National Indian Council was formed in 1961 to represent three of the four groups of Aboriginal people in Canada (Treaty and Status people, the Non-status people and the Metis; the Inuit were not

[23] The report was very critical of the level of First Nation local self-government since any band decision could be vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, and less than 50 bands were considered sufficiently advanced to pass by-laws concerning money, in other words the reserves were being run by outsiders. (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010, p. 250)

[24] A 'white paper' is a preliminary government policy paper.

[25] This term makes reference to Metis activist **Louis Riel's comments on July 4, 1885:** "My people will sleep for one hundred years, but when they awake, it will be the artists who give them their spirit back." (http://www.mmf.mb.ca/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91&Itemid=60)

involved). From this point on, the First Nations of Canada (Treaty and Status people) have always had a national lobby group to represent them in Ottawa. Due to conflicting agendas the Council was disbanded in 1968 and the various sub-groups of the Aboriginal Peoples established independent organizations. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) was formed in 1968 as a national umbrella body for the First Nations' provincial and territorial organizations. It became the main vehicle through which the First Nations peoples expressed their opposition to the 1969 White Paper forcing its ultimate withdrawal in March 1971 (Francis, Jones & Smith, 2008, p. 424). The NIB also became involved with issues such as the Residential School System and Aboriginal self-government. The NIB as constituted represented a large number of organizations, but it did not represent all the Indian bands in Canada. This became more problematic when the Aboriginal peoples opposed the patriation of Canada's Constitution in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Consequently, the NIB reorganized itself into the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), adopting its Charter in 1985. The AFN is accountable to all First Nations, additionally, the Metis[26] and Inuit[27] who have their own organizations (Assembly of First Nations, n.d.).

The NIB released a statement asserting that the White Paper proposals were "designed to divest us of our Aboriginal, residual, and statutory rights. If we accept this policy, and in the process lose our rights and our lands, we become willing partners in cultural genocide" (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010, p. 251). The Indian Chiefs of Alberta responded to the White Paper in 1970 with a document called 'Citizens Plus' which came to be known as the 'Red Paper'. The proposal was viewed as a scheme to steal the remaining Aboriginal lands and condemn future generations to lives of despair in urban ghettos. It was recommended that existing treaties be entrenched in the Canadian Constitution.

The Red Paper asserted that "the only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights" (History of the Indian Act, n.d.). It refers to The Royal Proclamation of 1763 which was "the first time a government recognized that Indians had certain rights in the land because they were the first ones to live on it" (History of the Indian Act, n.d.). An unintended consequence of The White Paper was that it popularized the term 'Aboriginal rights'; however, since 'Aboriginal rights' are ambiguous at best, the First Nations leadership continued to assert 'treaty rights' and insisted on maintaining the special relationship with the Crown, a role inherited by the Government of Canada, to maintain their rights to their lands, status, culture, language and traditions. To relinquish these rights would reduce the rights and status of the Aboriginal peoples to that of other Canadians, which would accelerate their assimilation.

Action on recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism were facilitated by the patriation of Canada's Constitution in 1982. Canada was originally created by legislation in British Parliament; by bringing the Constitution home to Canada, the last legislative ties to Great Britain were terminated. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was incorporated into the Constitution Act and it formalized many of the changes which were initiated by the Royal Commission. The Constitution Act also addressed the concerns of the Aboriginal peoples, and it incorporated some of the recommendations contained in the Red Paper.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms forms Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982. It guarantees certain rights and provides recourse to the courts who can apply a remedy in the event that one's rights are breached. The Charter is made up of a total of 35 Sections, many of which deal with language rights and some with cultural rights. On the whole, the content of the Charter is consistent

[26] The Metis are represented by the Métis National Council.

[27] Today four Inuit regions – Nunatsiavut (Labrador), Nunavik (northern Quebec), Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories – are represented by the national organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK).

with the outcomes of the Royal Commission and the legislation inspired by it. One notes a qualitative difference in the way that sections dealing with official languages and sections dealing with Aboriginal Rights are written. The sections addressing the Official Languages of Canada (Sections 16 through 21) are written in an active voice and grant active and positive rights which accrue to the official languages while sections which address the rights of other languages grant negative and passive rights (regulating the actions of others).[28]

"Minority Language Educational Rights" (Section 23) addresses the question of language of instruction in the school system. This Section contravenes the principle of equal opportunity. Only French and English speaking citizens are guaranteed the right to be educated in their mother tongue; no Aboriginal or other ethnic group is guaranteed the right to learn through their native language in Canada.[29] As a result, the Charter restricts group rights in the area of non-English and non-French linguistic and cultural retention. Despite the direction to interpret the Charter in a manner consistent with preserving and enhancing Canada's multicultural heritage no mechanism was provided to implement this. No specific rights are conferred on the Aboriginal peoples or on the various ethno-cultural groups to retain their cultures; and similarly, the Minority Education Section does not promote the retention of their ancestral languages. Furthermore, no connection was made between the need for language development so that a particular culture can sustain itself and develop.[30]

The adoption of the Constitution Act 1982 required that the Indian Act be updated so as to be consistent with the equality provisions of the Charter. A new Indian Act was passed in 1985 which was guided by three principles: 1) removal of previous gender discrimination, 2) restoring Indian status and membership rights to individuals; and 3) increasing control of Indian bands over their own affairs; for example, expanded control over band membership and community life (Miller, 2000, pp. 357-359). An important outcome of the new Act was that the population of status Indians increased significantly; in 1985 there were roughly 300,000 status Indians, by 1996 the number swelled to about 600,000 (Henderson, 1996). The larger population of status Indians has increased the power base of the Aboriginal communities and has made greater resources available to them which are positive factors in the maintenance of Aboriginal traditions and customs; it may yet play a role in the retention

[28] The only Section which addresses the rights of the non-official languages (Section 22) is written in a 'passive' manner stating merely that existing rights to use non-official languages are not affected by the language rights granted English and French and no specific rights are conferred with respect to the use of any other language. Similarly, the Sections dealing with Aboriginal Rights and Freedoms (Section 25) and Canada's Multicultural Heritage (Section 27) do not confer nor guarantee any specific language rights; these Sections only provide guidelines on the interpretation and implementation of the Charter. The Aboriginal Rights Section is 'passive' stating that any existing rights will not be eliminated due to the introduction of the Charter, for example, those conferred through the land claims process and granted in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Similarly, the Multicultural Heritage Section is also passively written and only provides the guideline that the Charter shall be interpreted so as to preserve and enhance the Canadian multicultural heritage.

[29] Since public education falls under the jurisdiction of each province, some provinces have changed their school acts to enable instruction in languages other than the official languages. For example, Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan all offer bilingual programs (50% instruction in English and 50% instruction in another language) in multiple immigrant and aboriginal languages.

[30] The rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are addressed more fully in Part II of the Constitution Act, 1982, (Sections 35 and 35.1) which does not form a part of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Section 35 of the Constitution recognizes existing Aboriginal and treaty rights including rights gained by way of land claims, defines who make up the 'Aboriginal peoples of Canada' (specifically "the Indian, Inuit and Metis peoples"), and specifies that these rights relate to both genders. Section 35.1 guarantees that a constitutional conference will be held and will include representatives of the Aboriginal peoples before the Constitution Act, 1982, or the Constitution Act, 1867, are amended so as to affect the rights of Aboriginal peoples. A negative consequence is that these Sections are not subject to the guarantees within the Charter; that is, there is no recourse to the courts for remedy of a violation. However, a positive consequence is that Part II cannot be limited by other sections of the Charter such as the 'notwithstanding clause' (Section 33) by which a Canadian jurisdiction may 'opt out' of enforcing a particular right.

of Aboriginal languages. Other significant outcomes of the adoption of a new constitution include the Canadian Government acknowledging that they recognize the Aboriginal people's right to self-government.[31]

However, despite making progress on a number of issues, the Federal Government voted against adopting the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at the inaugural session of the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2006. It was argued that many sections of the Declaration went beyond what is guaranteed in the Canadian Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms, preventing the government from being able to support the resolution (Canada's Position, n.d.). However, in July 2012, Canada reversed its position and accepted the Declaration (Dearing, 2010).

Current issues which are being addressed between the First Nations and the Federal Government include Aboriginal land rights and self-government, reparations for past mistreatment particularly in the case of the residential school system and bias in the Canadian justice system (Bumsted, 2008, pp. 579-587). Furthermore, since Canada now has a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, many cases are being directed to the court system and the Supreme Court of Canada has been exercising an active role in interpreting Aboriginal treaty rights and defining the notion of Aboriginal Rights.

The Supreme Court of Canada as the arbiter of Constitutional Law has been basing their interpretations on Part II of the Constitution Act, 1982. For example, the Court ruled on the definition of 'existing Aboriginal rights': "…to be considered an Aboriginal right, a practice must have been integral to the distinctive nature of the culture prior to contact by Europeans." Clearly, such an interpretation opens up the possibility of protecting Aboriginal languages, providing education in those languages, and supporting Aboriginal culture (R. v. Van der Peet, 1996).

In another ruling on the nature of Aboriginal rights the Supreme Court demonstrated that the Canadian Constitution strengthened the status of Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal rights had existed as an aspect of common law which could be changed by legislation, even if that legislation did not address Aboriginal rights directly; for example, an amendment to the Fisheries Act could affect Aboriginal fishing rights. However, after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1982 "…the Sovereign's intention must be clear and plain if it is to extinguish an Aboriginal right" (R. v. Sparrow, 1990).

The potential for a legal and political remedy still requires the political will to apply those measures. It remains to be seen whether the Canadian body politic has the will to preserve Aboriginal languages and cultures; or whether Constitutions, Charters and Supreme Court rulings will simply amount to nothing more than further 'speaking with a forked tongue.' Might progress on this issue be made if it was placed explicitly on the agenda of social justice and views about what constitutes a good citizen (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)?

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[31] "The Government of Canada recognizes the inherent right of self-government as an existing Aboriginal right under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*…. Recognition of the inherent right is based on the view that the Aboriginal peoples of Canada have the right to govern themselves in relation to matters that are internal to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, identities, traditions, languages and institutions, and with respect to their special relationship to their land and their resources." Canada's Position: United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. (n.d.). *Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada | Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*. Retrieved August 25, 2010, from http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/ia/pubs/ddr/ddr-eng.asp

## Social Justice

The goal of any language revitalization program must be no less than to restore the prestige of the ancestral language to its rightful place in the community (Crystal, 2000; Tremblay, 2005). The reversing language shift (RLS) process described by Fishman (1991, 2001) calls our attention to the role of families, communities, literacy, education (schools and universities), media and researchers, all influential agents of power. It requires a coordinated effort among many stakeholders to take incremental steps. Can Fishman's notion of community be expanded to include the entire country, a view that would be aligned with definitions of social justice but not yet made explicit within them? Unlike the multicultural ethnic communities of Canada, there is no supply of immigrants to replenish the villages of Aboriginal peoples with native speakers, and nowhere to go to master their language skills and cultural knowledge.

Data demonstrates that the use of Aboriginal languages[32] is declining (Canada's First Nations, n.d.). Three measures particularly capture the trend: ability to carry on a conversation in a language, use of mother tongue in the home and the index of continuity.

Over the five year period between 1996 and 2001, the percentage of the Aboriginal population that reported that they are able to conduct a conversation in their language declined by 5% from 29% to 24% and those reporting an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue also fell by 5% from 26% to 21% (Norris, 2007). With the strong trends toward urbanization of Canada's First Nations peoples the conditions that support first language acquisition diminish (Norris, 2011).

The clearest indicator of what language will become one's mother tongue and the best predictor of whether intergenerational language transmission is likely to be broken is the language used in the home (Fishman, 2001). A decline in language continuity results in: 1) smaller proportions of children gaining an Aboriginal mother tongue; and 2) an accumulation of mother tongue speakers in older age categories. Data collected between 1986 and 2001 confirms that the home use of Aboriginal languages is declining, as: 1) the percentage of children (ages 0 – 19) for whom an Aboriginal language is the mother tongue declined by 9% (from 41% to 32%); and 2) the proportion of the total Aboriginal mother tongue population which was over 55 years of age increased from 12% to 17%. In 2001, only 13% of respondents indicated that that they spoke an Aboriginal language at home 'most often', and an additional 5% reported speaking it regularly; the sum of 18% is lower than

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[32] First Nations language families heard today include:

- Wakashan (Wet'suwet'en, Heiltsuk (Bella Bella), Nuxalk (Bella Coola), Nuu'chah'nulth (Nootka), Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), Comox, Cowichan, Nitinat, and Songish);
- Salishan (Squamish Salish, Lil'wat (Lillooet), Nl'akapamux or Ntlakyapamuk (Thompson), Okanagan, Chilcotin, and Interior Salish (Haklomelem);
- Tsimshian (Gitksan and Nisga'a);
- Tlingit (dialects are Tagish, Teslin, Tahitan, and Tsetsaut);
- Haidan (two dialects are Haida and Haisla);
- Athapaskan (Chipewyan, Beaver, Dene, Dene Dhaa, Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), Sekani, Kaska, Tutchone, Han, and Gwich'n);
- Kootenaian;
- Algonquian (Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Plains Cree, and Ojibwa are spoken in the Plains region. Swampy Cree, Wood Cree, Ojibwa, James Bay Cree, Odawa, Innu (Montagnais), Innu (Naskapi), Mi'kmaq (Micmac), Wuastukwiuk (Maliseet));
- Siouian;
- Iroquoian (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Erie, Neutral, Tobacco, and Huron);
- Eskaleut (Inuktitut, Invialui, Copper, Inuit, Netsilik Inuit, Caribou Inuit, Igloolik Inuit, Baffin Land Inuit, and Labrador Inuit); and
- Beothuk.

the number who can converse in an Aboriginal language (24%) or for whom it is a mother tongue (21%) (Norris, 2007).

The Index of Continuity is the percentage of people that use their mother tongue as their home language. Between 1981 and 2001, the Index of Continuity declined from 76% to 61%. Fifteen percent fewer Aboriginal mother tongue speakers were using the language at home indicating that the next generation will see a further decline in the number of mother tongue Aboriginal language speakers (Norris, 2007; Norris, 2011).[33]

Although the survival of Aboriginal languages is uncertain, and for most the prognosis is poor (Allen, 2007), acts of hope do illuminate the horizon (Bilash, 2004; Bilash, 2006; Daveluy & Ferguson, 2009; Goulet, 2001; McKay-Carriere, 2009; McKay-Carriere & Bilash, 2010a; McKay-Carriere & Bilash, 2010b; Norris, 2011; Schreyer, 2008).

## Closing

Supreme Court rulings and the stated policies of the Government of Canada support empowering the Aboriginal communities to restore their languages and cultures; however, it remains to be seen whether this can be accomplished in isolation. An isolated approach to resolving the French language issue has not stopped the drift to the English language (Clément, Noels, Gauthier, 1993; Gaudet & Clément, 2009; Lafontant & Martin, 2000; Landry & Allard, 1988; Moulun-Passek, 2000) and immigrant groups have already noted the rapid rate of intergenerational language loss (Chronopoulus, 2008; Lupul, 2005; Guardado, 2009; Palladino, 2006; Salegio, 1998; Schaarschmidt, 2008). There is no reason to believe that using the same approach with Aboriginal languages will be any more successful. A narrow focus on Aboriginal languages to the exclusion of French and other languages in Canada is not likely to create the climate suitable for language learning and retention to prevent their fading into English. And there is also the matter of time; the Aboriginal languages are dying, fewer and fewer speakers remain to transmit the languages to the next generation. It is time to bring language use and language rights onto the social justice agenda and to integrate them explicitly into the notion of the good citizen. How can we care about ecology on our planet and simultaneously colonize the very means by which ecological knowledge has been transmitted? As Vigdis Finnbogadottir, UNESCO's Goodwill Ambassador for Languages, and Former President of Iceland has said, "Everyone loses if one language is lost because then a nation and culture lose their memory, and so does the complex tapestry from which the world is woven and which makes the world an exciting place" (2004).

[33] The government of Canada has proposed to change the way it gathers data. Statistics Canada (StatCan) circulates a 'long-form' census every 10 years, and a shorter census in the interim fifth year. It is compulsory for Canadians (and non-citizen residents) to complete the form. The proposal under debate is to make completing the census voluntary. This would introduce a self-selection bias into the results and it would eliminate any longitudinal comparability of the data. Accurate and consistent information is crucial for an understanding of a country's social, economic and political development. The data we have relied on in this study was based in large part on information provided by StatCan. Data concerning the Aboriginal peoples is already inaccurate since some bands have taken the position not to participate in the census as they do not wish to share their information with the Canadian authorities. By implementing the government's proposal these inaccuracies would be magnified and the reliability of future studies on similar subject matter would be at risk.

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# Performing the Innocent Stranger: Exploring Immigrant Identities and Education

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**Abstract**

In this paper I utilize the findings from a critical ethnography to expand upon a construct of the "perfect stranger" in relation to immigrant teacher candidates (ITCs) in Ontario and their prototypical Canadian counterparts. I draw from participants' counter-stories to reveal the ways in which embedded assumptions about who is "Canadian" impedes Ontario ITCs' acceptance into the teaching force. I also explore how prototypical teachers and teacher candidates perform the "innocent stranger," protected from their own ignorance and acknowledgement of their power and privilege in our society. This paper examines the ways in which prototypical Canadians are 'excused' of their ignorance, reinforcing a conception that identity is static. This paper helps us understand why ITCs are frequently identified as immigrants and outsiders, no matter how long they have been in Canada.

**Keywords**: immigrant teacher candidates; citizenship; counter-stories; pre-service teacher education

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## Literature and Concept

In Haiti there is an expression "*Ki kote cu kòd onbilikal ou a*?" which means "where was your umbilical cord cut?" I juxtapose this question with a question often asked of people who have immigrated to Canada as well as people who were born in Canada but are not considered "prototypical"[34] Canadians: "where are you from?" The Haitian question supposes only that you were born, the where, "here or there" is yet to be determined. In contrast "where are you from?" implies the unstated "you must not be from here" and as such the question reveals embedded assumptions about who is "Canadian" (Palmer, 1997). "Where are you from?" is often considered a conversation starter, a friendly question. The question is rarely interrogated for the ways in which it Others someone. When culture is constructed as static, the implication is that eventually, those who immigrate to Canada will forgo their own cultural practices in favour of those viewed as culturally Canadian (James & Schecter, 2000). This paper will explore findings from a critical ethnographic project exploring immigrant teacher candidates' (ITCs) experiences in a consecutive Bachelor of Education program in Ontario. The ways in which the participants experienced schooling and perceived their treatment during their studies reveals numerous and complicated ways in which those who are Othered work to carve out spaces as teachers within a schooling system that continues to give preference to a workforce reflective of the dominant group and a persisting image of "teacher." As one project participant commented, "It's not the '*Where are you from?*' question itself that is the problem, but rather that this is always the first question that is asked" (Haddiyah, Focus group 1, April 22, 2009).[35]

[34] By "prototypical" I am referring to the dominant group: white, middle-class, Canadian-born, English as a first language, heterosexual. In terms of teachers, I include female in this descriptor.

[35] All participant names are parallel cultural pseudonyms chosen to be reflective of the participants' ethnicity and gender. The participants were invited to create their own, but elected to have me choose the pseudonyms which I then shared with them. The participants informed me of other associations with their names. The subtle nuances of language and embedded meanings from another culture were not available for me as an outsider and during these moments I glimpsed the repeated explaining experiences that these participants must have on a daily basis in schools and in the university.

In this paper, I use counter-stories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) to complicate and build on Dion's (2007) concept of the "perfect stranger." To clarify, a counter-story "is a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege" (p. 32). Majoritarian stories may include the stereotypical ways in which people who are immigrants are constructed in the dominant discourse. Solórzano and Yosso posit that:

> Counter-stories are a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are often not told (i.e., those on the margins of society). In contrast, majoritarian stories privilege Whites, men, the middle and/or upper class, and heterosexuals by naming these social locations as natural or normative points of reference. (p. 28)

Majoritarian stories may include the stereotypical ways in which people who are immigrants are constructed in the dominant discourse. A story may also be a majoritarian story because of what is omitted as well as what is misunderstood.

In exploring the majoritarian aspects of stories, I turn to what Dion (2007) terms the "perfect stranger" position and in doing so recognize the dangers of essentialism in both terms, "perfect stranger" and "prototypical Canadian." However, there is a tension that may reveal the complicated ways in which things are the way they are, particularly in Ontario. In the perfect stranger positionality, prototypical Canadians feel justified in stating that they know nothing about minority or disenfranchised people. In Dion's project, she exposes the ways in which Canadians feel justified in stating that they know nothing about Aboriginal people and culture because they do not know any Aboriginal people, and because Aboriginal history and contemporary understandings of Aboriginal people were not part of their schooling or because they did not grow up near where any Aboriginal people lived. Dion complicates and contests teacher candidates' position that they know nothing about Aboriginal people and are justified in occupying the "perfect stranger" position. Dion argues that,

> One way or another, teachers, like many Canadians, claim the position of "perfect stranger" to Aboriginal people … [the position] is informed simultaneously by what teachers know, what they do not know, and what they refuse to know. It is, for many, a response to recognising that what they know is premised on a range of experiences with stereotypical representations. (pp. 330-331)

The findings from my critical ethnographic project expose the ways in which ITCs encounter and respond to demonstrations of prototypical Canadians' innocence and the ways they are unwittingly drawn into majoritarian stories. There is a desire on the part of prototypical Canadians to position themselves as 'innocent strangers' to the messages embedded in their questions, ideas and actions.

In order to complicate and build on Dion's (2007) concept of the perfect stranger, I am suggesting that the perfect or innocent stranger role is perpetuated when ITCs uphold and do not, or cannot, contest prototypical Canadian ignorance; ITCs are themselves novices to experiences and accept the perfect stranger status of the dominant group. In these ways, ITCs serve as protectors of the prototypical Canadians' innocence. As such, my research project asks the following: What are the challenges that ITCs must negotiate in both the university and school settings? How do ITCs navigate and negotiate the discourses of teacher education including discriminatory practices they encounter? and; What forms of knowledge can ITCs offer prototypical teacher candidates, Faculties of Education, school boards, governing education bodies and students in Canadian classrooms?

## Locating Myself within the Project

It is important that I identify myself as a teacher and researcher with certain privileges. I am white, middle class, Canadian-born and English is my first language. I locate myself within many of the social markers of the dominant group. I am the prototypical teacher. Why, then, would I want to explore issues around ITCs? The factors that influence my passion for understanding the experiences of ITCs and my role and responsibilities in relationship with ITCs are complex. My positionality was significantly influenced by my own concurrent Bachelor of Education program, completed almost 20 years ago in Ontario. My program was a progressive initiative that specifically focused on the teaching of elementary students from diverse socio-economic, ethnic, racial and linguistic communities. My 12 years as an elementary and middle school classroom teacher allowed me to refine, implement and enhance my knowledge of working with diverse students in urban environments as well as in rural settings with students primarily reflective of the dominant group, all the while working with a teaching force primarily reflective of prototypical teachers.

I began teaching pre-service consecutive and concurrent education in 2005 and have taught as a full-time contract faculty member, part-time instructor and currently as tenure-stream faculty. My partner is an elementary school principal who is an immigrant, a visible minority, and for whom English is a second language. I am also the mother of a mixed-race child. I view race as a social construct and premise that racism, while tied to race, is not always acted out according to racial categories. There are multiple intersecting factors intertwined with race and ethnicity, including language, religion and culture (Kohli, 2009).

## The "Qualifying as a Teacher" Project: Methodology and Data Sources

This paper draws from a critical ethnographic project, for which tri-council ethics was obtained, exploring the counter-stories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) of ITCs in Ontario and in particular investigating current conditions and perspectives of the participants in an Ontario context. The critical ethnographic approach allowed me "to understand behaviour from the subject's own frame of reference" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 2). In this project, the primary sources of data were transcripts from multiple, individual in-depth interviews and focus group sessions with participants, as well as participants' written reflections. The focus groups and interviews concentrated on the participants' perceptions of their experiences at the university and on teaching placements. As well, participants were invited to share the reflective journals they kept during practicum, self-reflective or personal narratives from an assignment completed for a mandatory course, and additional thoughts or reflections via email.

Data analysis was performed in two phases: an 'analysis in the field' phase (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998), and an identification and categorization phase. In the analytical strategy phase I included both socio-culturally grounded speculation as well as the generation of themes I identified from the interview and focus group transcripts. The second phase involved the identification and categorization of thematic codes that I drew out of the data, including my own descriptive and reflective field-notes as well as triangulation of the data from participants' written reflections and course assignments.

The stories I heard from ITCs began to frame my understanding of "the way things are" (Simon, 1987) and led me to question issues with respect to the experiences of ITCs, several of whom are visible minorities in an Ontario B.Ed. pre-service program, and their subsequent perceived acceptance (or rejection) into dominant schooling environments, as well as their impact upon these environments. I am aware that my participants and I were not necessarily learning the same things in

the course of this project: they, as future teachers in Canada, are concerned with learning how to navigate, how to assimilate and what they need to learn to be successful. I was particularly interested in examining what Ontario ITCs know as well as what they are able to see as a result of being newcomers (such as taken for granted rules or rituals of schooling that Canadian-born pre-service teachers might not be able to see).

Drawing from the scholarship on intersectionality (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Davis, 1981; Phoenix, 2006) I began to explore the complexity of the lived experience of the participants in my project and their relationship to their work in schools. I tried to keep at the forefront of my thinking that the participants are preparing to become teachers in Ontario, an educational system which has its own specific, highly nuanced and often invisible set of codes and expectations. I also considered the ways in which ITCs' presence in schools is often contested. In particular, this paper will explore two key themes: first, the ways in which ITCs are expected to act or behave in relation to schooling in Ontario; and second, the ways in which a so-called Canadian identity is negotiated, constructed and preserved.

## Ways in which ITCs are Expected to Act or Behave

Recognizing the ways in which white privilege and nationality are expressed and assumed in many Ontario schools and universities means owning the role of having unearned privilege and examining the ways in which prototypical Canadians assume the role of the "innocent stranger" in contrast to the ways in which ITCs might occupy the role of the good guest and protect prototypical Canadians from their ignorance in terms of "the way things are" in Canadian society. In this section I will expand upon findings that illuminate the ways in which ITCs are expected to act or behave particularly in relation to the "innocent stranger" positionality through three subthemes: first, as good guests; second, in relation to their role as "voluntary" minorities; and third, by remaining silent.

### Innocent Strangers, Good Guests and the No Fault Clause

The perfect stranger is a position many prototypical teacher candidates occupy in relation to ITCs because they do not hear ITCs' counter-stories and have no alternative experiences to draw upon from their elementary or secondary schooling. The counter-stories are not typically part of the pre-service curriculum. In the courses I teach, some TCs maintain that they did not attend school with anyone who self-identified as an immigrant so they have no prior experience or understanding of diversity from this perspective. The inclusion of counter-stories of immigrant teachers and ITCs in pre-service coursework is an important component for challenging the innocent stranger stance and the dominant discourse of who qualifies to be a teacher. The following issue was posed by Haddiyah during a focus group session,

> Did anybody experience this in their placements? When you're in the teacher lounge, and someone along the line has to ask you about either your background or where you come from? I know they're just trying to be polite but they find that the subject as opposed to being, so, do you have any kids, are you married? What do you do? As opposed to: so, where you come from? I understand that they're trying to be polite by showing interest in my background but what they are really doing is just highlighting in great bright yellow that I'm different, again. I understand. I truly understand that they're trying to be nice but I am just honestly sick and tired of having to explain what the meaning of my name is. I am constantly painting a picture of who I am. (Focus Group 1, April 22, 2009)

Prototypical teacher candidates often do not understand why the "Where are you from?" question is problematic. Although it may be a good conversation starter to prompt people who have immigrated to Canada to talk about where they are from, Bhabha argues in a 1990 interview with Rutherford that,

> Although there is always an entertainment and encouragement of cultural diversity, there is always also a corresponding containment of it. A transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'. This is what I mean by a *creation* of cultural diversity and a *containment* of cultural difference. (p. 208, original italics)

In asking the "Where are you from?" question, prototypical Canadian teachers are revealing the ways in which they work to locate ITCs on a normative grid, accommodating some aspects of diversity and rejecting or questioning other aspects. I often ask my prototypical teacher candidates if they are also asked a question such as "Where are you from?" They concede, and I can concur from my own personal experience, that they are rarely, if ever, asked. As an educator in initial teacher education I ask: Where and, with whom, does the responsibility lie to disrupt so-called innocent questions and decentre normative practices?

**Navigating the System as Voluntary Minorities**

The innocent stranger role is preserved when ITCs either choose not to expose the racist undertones of the "Where are you from?" question for the social wellbeing of the group, or do not view the questioning in a negative light because of their position as newcomers, perhaps considering it a good conversation starter. As ITCs, they are in the difficult and tenuous position of working to understand and navigate the Canadian education system. The participants in my project are, as Ogbu (1993) argues, voluntary minorities, in that they have chosen to immigrate to Canada and settle in Ontario, and while they may be subjected to discrimination, "they have not usually had the time to internalize the effects of such treatment or have those effects become an ingrained part of their culture" (p. 485), and therefore may not label certain actions as constituting racism. For example, they may not assume that pre-service teacher colleagues who do not sit beside them in class or who do not wish to complete group work with them are engaging in racist practices or acts of discrimination.

Voluntary minorities, Ogbu argues, accept that they will be required to assimilate and fit in to their new society. In what ways do teacher educators ensure that future teachers can do the necessary work of engaging with ITCs? When classrooms are presumed to be homogeneous or comprised entirely of prototypical Canadians (a faulty assumption at best) teachers are reluctant to discuss racism or engage in anti-oppression work. Why? While schools are perceived to work on the basis of fairness and equality, they are sites of social domination that work to ensure dominant-subordinate positions (Dei & Kempf, 2006). Fear of upsetting people or bringing up supposed racist behaviours from the past motivates teachers to work in passive, non-confrontational ways.

As Milner (2010) suggests, it is the null curriculum (Eisner, 1994) in teacher education that dis/ables teachers and teacher candidates from engaging in proactive conversations and transformative action. If discussions and opportunities to hear the stories of ITCs are not part of the university preparation program then there is no legitimate way to bring up the topic of race, which people of all races need to discuss. Further, it becomes more challenging to see the ways in which the dynamics of power are enacted in schools and in society and even more challenging for prototypical teachers to listen to the multiple ways in which power relations are enacted. As Haddiyah comments,

> It gets so complex because if you're the one immigrant person who is constantly saying, "Well, you need to be more conscious of our race; you can't really say that," everyone is going to look at you, you're like, "Mmm hmmm". They are like, "Well, if you are in this country you better start acting like it." Because that is the kind of response that you will get. (Focus group 1, April 22, 2009)

Haddiyah is not only commenting on the issue that racism is a topic that is usually raised by those who experience it (so, by default, prototypical TCs equate racism as an issue only of importance to those who directly experience its effects, not those who casually benefit from it) but also on the pressure to assimilate: good immigrants, or "model minorities" (Suzuki, 2002) do not reveal the cracks and fissures in our society. The message that is being felt by the ITCs is: if you are having an issue, perhaps you have caused it, perhaps by not fitting in, perhaps because you are different (or perhaps you lack a sense of humour).

**Remaining Silent**

Nigel shared a story that supports the pressure to ignore a racist situation and to hide the ways in which the situation made him feel uncomfortable and Othered. Nigel's counter-story recounts the creation of a good-bye card made by the students in his practicum class and a supply prep-coverage teacher (that is, not his Associate Teacher and probably someone whom he had not met previously). He explains,

> There was a replacement teacher for the prep class and she thought to have the kids prepare a thank-you for my presence there and the thank-you, I wasn't sure what to make of it. They made me a big post-card in the form of Shrek. I chuckled, I didn't know what to make of it. It wasn't something I would do, but in the form of Shrek and having the experience of being in school, you get to appreciate that some people probably wouldn't want to work with you and in my estimation I would put her in that category. I mean, I wasn't offended, if anything, if there was any concern it was that you'd get kids to do this? (Interview, July 30, 2009)

The choice to use the character of "Shrek" in a good-bye card might be explained as the utilization of children's popular culture. And yet, what else might Shrek represent? Shrek is an ogre who does not fit in to his society, who is shunned because he is a misfit and as such lives as a hermit in a swamp. Shrek is also perceived as a character who has a soft-side, is a loyal friend who is caring and misunderstood. What was it about the use of Shrek that Nigel was responding to? Nigel's counter-story reveals ways in which a seemingly "innocent" act might be interpreted negatively. As a Black male, Nigel questions the teacher's motivation in encouraging or directing students to create this particular card for him. Nigel sees the power dynamics at play yet chooses to ignore, or does not have the critical language to disrupt the implicit Othering. He is not in a position to address the situation with the occasional teacher and even if he did he may come across as being unappreciative of the students' efforts to create a card for him. Nigel rationalizes his response to this experience as "you can't get along with everyone" and perhaps there is a little "go along to get along" embedded in his response. In other words, there is the connotation that an ITC might not stand up for his/her principles in order to preserve harmony. Nigel also recognizes his position as "student" on placement. Nigel does not want to be constructed as difficult. Nigel has been put in a position in which he is required to ignore and/or accept the racism implicit in the situation, and dismiss the hurtful actions, again not drawing attention to the ways in which racism is perpetuated. Rather than suggesting that

the creation of the card might have had racial undertones, Nigel puts himself in a power position by appreciating that not everyone wants to work with him.

The language and concepts needed to discuss and critique the incident may not have been an aspect of Nigel's coursework at the university. The evasiveness of the language used by ITCs to describe racist encounters in the classroom is evident in Nigel's counter-story. It is of significance that Nigel questions the teacher's motives. His response provides a glimpse into the ways in which seemingly "innocent" acts and gestures might be perceived by those not in the dominant group. Nigel certainly does not specify if he means the teacher does not want to work with a Black male. Nigel is put in a position that many of the ITCs have shared: to protect the perpetrator of the racist situation.

There is a desire on the part of prototypical Canadians to be ignorant of their racism or to position themselves as the "innocent strangers" to racism and discrimination and, in some ways, ITCs are required to enable them by ignoring the racism and not pointing it out. ITCs are expected to ignore discriminatory or hurtful actions because otherwise they would have to reveal how the prototypical Canadian behaves in racist ways. ITCs are expected to accept the excuses of ignorance: "I didn't know what I was saying/doing would be hurtful" or "it's not my fault I haven't had any exposure to diversity" or "I didn't mean it in a mean way," which reflects the ways in which the language to talk and discuss racism and racist practices is either not occurring in the university or does not filter down into the public schools. In addition, by not exposing racism ITCs can hold on to the view of the system as less racist and therefore able to support them in achieving their goals. After all, if ITCs think the system cannot support them, what hope is there to hold on to? There is a need and a desire to believe that the system can create opportunities for them.

This section has focused on what the participants' counter-stories reveal in terms of how ITCs are expected to act or behave in relation to the prototypical counterparts in schools. Next, I will explore the second key theme, the ways in which a so-called Canadian identity is negotiated, constructed and preserved.

## Negotiating, Constructing and Preserving Canadian Identity

In a sense, prototypical Canadians use a "no fault" clause to defend racist actions and inactions. The no fault clause is exercised by both immigrants and prototypical Canadians to either excuse or defend racist behaviours, albeit often unconsciously. Sometimes when racialized questions are asked, the question might be excused because of a perceived lack of education. Prototypical Canadians suggest they have limited education in terms of understanding diversity and that discussions of race are taboo. Many proclaim that diversity education was not part of their schooling, or that they have limited experience with people from races and faiths different from their own. Children are excused for their questions because they are children and are asking innocent questions. They are simply curious. How else will they know if they do not ask? Where, and with whom, does the responsibility lie to make things otherwise? When and how can educators receive the education they need to understand their own biases and racism? The following four subthemes will explore the ways in which ITCs negotiate, construct and preserve Canadian identity in relation to prototypical TCs' expectations: first, in relation to "time"; second, in terms of dialect; third, in relation to TCs' fears around job security; and, fourth, navigating the complications of a "Canadian" identity.

**The Complications of "Time"**

Multifarious time-related issues often plague new teachers. With respect to ITCs, additional aspects of "time" were discussed by the participants. The ITCs spoke of a hierarchy of expectations that they had experienced based on the length of time they had been in Canada, both in relation to acceptance by their colleagues and in terms of their non-standard Anglo dialects. Khayrah, who lives in close proximity to the university, approximately two hours from Toronto, explains the issue regarding "newness":

> The fact was, I was more accepted if I was a new, than if people thought that I had been here longer. OK, she's from Toronto or where she grew up, and she's here, but she'll go back there. I got this, that if I explain to them that I am new then, OK, they would be tolerant, not, 'she's not meeting our level'. (Focus Group 1, April 22, 2009)

Contrary to deficit constructions of immigrants as "fresh off the boat," Khayrah and others suggested newness worked to their advantage. Associate Teachers, professors and TC colleagues were more accommodating to ITCs who were viewed as recent arrivals, as opposed to those ITCs who are perceived to have been in Canada for a longer time and therefore should demonstrate greater evidence of their ability to assimilate into so-called "Canadian" culture in terms of dress, language, dialect, and epistemologies. Newness translates into "less of a threat."

Being positioned as "new" means prototypical Canadians can occupy the helper position in relation to the immigrant TC. Khayah explains, "you can't be an immigrant if you were born here, you're really trying to compete with me and that's something different than the 'yeah, you're fine, you're still down a level'" (Focus Group 1, April 22, 2009). Racialized Canadian-born TCs are seen to be in a competition with prototypical Canadian TCs, whereas recent immigrants are "down a level" and therefore not an immediate threat, particularly in light of many school board mission statements and brochures that espouse a cultural mosaic vision and use visible demographics as proof of how diversity is embraced and celebrated – a sea of brown, white, black, red and yellow faces balancing the representation of male and female faces, yet the same demographic diversity is not fully evident in the teaching workforce.

**Navigating an "Acceptable" Dialect**

Embedded within Khayrah's "down a level" comment are issues of linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). A reoccurring issue for ITCs, in particular those who speak English with a non-Anglo Canadian dialect, is the questioning of the role that their non-standard dialects (what is referred to as "accent" by the participants) play in terms of their suitability to teach. The connection between academic underachievement and standard versus non-standard dialect has long been debated as have the inequities and obstacles encountered by speakers with non-standard dialects (Cazden, 1988; Edwards, 1989; Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici & Carpenter, 2006; Siegel, 1999). As Myles, Cheng and Wang (2006) argue, the presence of non-Anglo dialects further complicates the perceived legitimacy of ITCs. At the pre-service level concerns are raised at all teaching divisions regarding the teaching of children and adolescents by teacher candidates who themselves are acquiring English language skills. Research on dialect diversity in the classroom, much like the research on ethnic and cultural diversity in the classroom, is predominantly concerned with challenging existing negative associations held by teachers in regard to students who speak stigmatized dialects (Godley et al., 2006). The classroom teacher is presumed to speak with a standard dialect.

The ITCs also spoke about the ways in which their non-standard dialects are constructed as a disability. Makarim comments, "It's like having a disability, in a way. So it's one barrier. Like for instance if you had not a very beautiful face, like a very strange face some people would stare so it's teaching around reaction" (Focus Group 1, April 22, 2009). ITCs are judged as not meeting some elusive criteria to become a teacher because of their non-standard dialects when speakers of Standard English strain to listen to them, challenge their authenticity in the classroom, and question their proficiency to deliver curricular content or to teach English. ITCs continually strive to prove themselves as effective because of their non-standard dialects. As Bakhtin (1986) posits, speech embodies "varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of our-own-ness" (p. 89). The challenge for ITCs is to have their "own-ness", as it is revealed in their speech, valued. While ITCs want to refine their understanding of English and cultural speaking norms and want access to resources that would enable this to occur, they should also be recognized for the ways in which they are expanding their world views and frames of reference and becoming increasingly more cross culturally and multi-linguistically savvy, more so perhaps than their prototypical counterparts.

**Navigating TCs' fears of job security**

Permeating many of the interactions related to the participants' status as immigrants is their feeling that they are a deep-seated threat and will take jobs away from prototypical Canadians. In my interactions with teacher candidates in the coursework that I teach, I have discovered that many believe there is a great demand for diverse teachers in the profession and as such feel threatened by ITCs. As Elke explains her perception,

> [The teacher candidates] made it feel like they were thinking, "What does she want here? She can go back if she wants to teach, you can go back to your home country, why is she taking our places in our jobs?" Or maybe they were just jealous. I don't know. They were probably thinking, "How is she doing that? Single mom and she's having her grades and I'm straining all by myself don't have to take care family." You know maybe like that, too. But there was something about being not Canadian. (Elke interview, July 30, 2009)

There is a perception that ITCs will want to, or be able to, return to their country of origin and therefore have access to job prospects both in Canada and abroad, a positionality that is somewhat reinforced by terms such as "voluntary" minority. Elke feels the pressure to work harder, to prove herself alongside her colleagues and to ignore discriminatory comments. In a climate of fewer job prospects for teachers, there is added resistance toward the ITCs. The perception of ITCs as a threat is really a questioning of their legitimacy – questioning their citizenship affiliations and suggesting that they might have greater job prospects because they can "go back home." Likewise, Khayrah experienced a situation in which her Associate Teacher erroneously assumed that she was from a larger urban centre, only teaching in a rural environment to obtain her B.Ed. and would be moving to a larger urban centre to find a teaching job after graduation so that she would be more "comfortable." From the prototypical TCs perspective, ITCs are possibly seen as taking away teaching positions. As Khayrah explains,

> So you would be looking for jobs there but the expectation was, okay, maybe I've come from Toronto to study you know, I'm doing my B.Ed. and I've come here from Pakistan, so that's why, for example, I've come from a bigger community that's there where I'll be getting a job. (Focus Group 2, July 29, 2009)

When it is assumed that ITCs will be viewed as a commodity in larger urban centres this viewpoint is used to excuse and rationalize ITCs' struggles with placement in less diverse, more homogeneous communities. Unfortunately, the statistics do not support the idea that ITCs will be hired at the same rate as their prototypical counterparts in larger urban centres (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). According to the Ontario College of Teachers (2011), "First-year new-Canadian teachers in 2011 report 75 per cent unemployment – three in four of them who were on the job market could not even get a foothold in daily supply teaching" (p. 4). Similarly, Benyon, Ilieva and Dichupa (2004) have argued that the former British Columbia College of Teachers has operated as a gatekeeper, ensuring that the teachers hired transmit the cultural capital of the dominant group.

**Navigating "Canadian" Identity**

The ITCs in my project are in a position to see how power is enacted in our schools, as Makarim poignantly describes,

> The system of thinking is really for the Christians in the school actually. They are not very tolerant. They don't tolerate immigrants that much, especially in schools that are more white. So they're really nice. They don't say anything but if you're not in their circle, if you listen to their circle, it would be another story. So that's one thing, like my eye-opening thing. I have to be really careful. So maybe I shouldn't have talked that much [in class] and I bored them because it was kind of boring for them and [my experiences are] not on their radar basically. Although on the surface they're really nice people, but [immigrant experiences] are not in their interest, I would say. And this is something that, I realize that although on the surface Canada is very nice and everything and multicultural but it's not at all. It's like we're living in different sectors and everybody lives in their sectors happily and say "hello" to the neighbours, at most. I can say I have a neighbour right now in my neighbourhood, the neighbour next door, she doesn't even say hi and she's a teacher, her husband is a teacher and her husband can't say hi to me or my husband. But I mean, there is, especially in the teaching positions, there is a lot of discrimination. (Makarim interview, July 30, 2009)

Makarim's counter-story reveals many complex levels. She outwardly names her perceptions of the religious underpinnings of public school, something her prototypical counterparts, in my experience as an instructor, are reluctant or unable to identify. Second, the conception that because someone is a teacher he/she is more inclusive and accepting of difference is exposed as farcical by Makarim's interactions with her TC colleagues and her teacher-neighbours. Membership in the teacher group appears to be strictly controlled and maintained, working to exclude ITCs. Makarim has also learnt through her interactions with her colleagues that she should "be really careful." Her telling of this counter-story reveals how she has been silenced, dismissed and possibly ignored by her TC colleagues and certainly by her teacher-neighbours.

In multiple ways, ITCs seem to be required to participate in preserving and maintaining dominant racial ideologies. ITCs, as Makarim reveals, are caught in a difficult space. They want to choose the path of least resistance, often making concessions for poor behaviour and racial discrimination. Racism in today's society can be very subtle, as Makarim explains, "It's like more silent discrimination I would say. Mostly I found Canadians are so, in particular, they're really polite. They might not like you but they don't say it, they just ignore you" (Makarim interview, July 30, 2009). For the prototypical Canadian, being ignored might not seem like evidence of racism or discrimination based on religion, political affiliation, values, social class, etc., but the act of ignoring could be perceived as a way for prototypcial TCs to maintain their social, linguistic and cultural dominance. As

Solomon (1992) has previously argued, same group solidarity is a way for those who are Othered to find community support. For example, when Makarim first immigrated to Canada, she was able to find solace within her community in the first Canadian city in which she lived. She explains,

> I only had time to socialize with my own community, in the Indian community and some very few immigrants so it was quite an experience like, in the last 13 years but I've never learned as much as this year but I learned about Canada, like you know, the Canadian culture because I wasn't that close. (Focus Group 1, April 22, 2009)

This statement reveals the power of the public school system to socialize and create Canadian citizens. Makarim attended university in Ontario and yet it was not until her B.Ed. year that she felt she became more immersed in Canadian culture. As Bourdieu (1977) suggests, schools are sites of cultural reproduction, and so it is interesting to hear a newcomer's characterization that the culture of public schooling is the epitome of being Canadian. The experiences and ways of knowing transmitted throughout the Bachelor of Education program, unlike her undergraduate program, reinforced and magnified a particular cultural frame of reference, which all children schooled within the public education system in Canada are exposed to. It is through the mechanism of public schooling that the Canadian identity is transmitted and solidified. It should be through this same mechanism that diverse identities and epistemologies can be learnt and affirmed, which would entail drawing from Thompson (2003) to decentralize whiteness and white guilt in order to (re)imagine the teaching landscape.

## Conclusion

This paper began interrogating an "innocent" question asked of many non-prototypical Canadians - "Where were you born?" - and posits what this question reveals about the process of becoming a teacher in Ontario. It is through the question that ITCs are asked to explain their identity in an environment that is questioning their presence, exposing embedded assumptions regarding the construction of the Canadian teacher identity and the ways in which school systems may work to maintain a teaching workforce more reflective of the dominant group. While schools are perceived to work on the basis of fairness and equity, they are sites of social domination that work to ensure dominant-subordinate positions (Dei & Kempf, 2006). As Britzman (1986) contends, the process of "becoming teacher" involves many facets of cultural reproduction commensurate with the socializing of pre-service teachers into the profession. However, prototypical TCs come equipped to Faculties of Education and practicum schools with valued cultural capital and tools for navigating the education system. In part, this project has explored the homogenous ways in which the human component of teaching is understood. Having future teachers and current gatekeepers recognize the complexity of the human condition as a core responsibility for being a teacher is paramount to addressing the possibilities that might serve to expand diverse representation in the teaching workforce.

This paper explored some of the ways in which project participants experienced schooling and perceived their treatment during their studies. The participants' counter-stories reveal numerous and complicated ways in which those who are Othered work to carve out spaces as teachers within a schooling system that continues to prefer a workforce reflective of the dominant group and a persisting image of teacher. In particular, the project was shaped by the following questions: What are the challenges that ITCs must negotiate in both the university and school settings? How do ITCs navigate and negotiate the discourses of teacher education including discriminatory practices they encounter? and; What forms of knowledge can ITCs offer prototypical teacher candidates, Faculties of Education, school boards, governing education bodies and students in Canadian classrooms? An

analysis of the data revealed several key themes, including the two discussed in this paper. The first theme explored the ways in which ITCs are expected to act or behave in relation to both schooling and the prototypical construction of teacher in Ontario. Within this theme, three subthemes were identified particularly in relation to the "innocent stranger" positionality. The first subtheme explored the construction of ITCs as "good guests," such as responding to probing questions that serve to maintain participants' status as "immigrant." The second subtheme explored the ways in which participants' counter-stories reveal tensions in relation to their role as "voluntary" minorities, working at times to strip themselves of markers of difference and having to acquiesce to those aspects they cannot easily forego, such as their skin colour. The third subtheme explored the ways in which ITCs might choose to remain silent and ignore certain situations. By remaining silent they will not be viewed as "difficult" and they do not have to suffer the humiliations of having to explain how they are being treated as an outsider.

The second key theme explored in this paper concerns the ways in which a so-called Canadian identity is negotiated, constructed and preserved. Within this theme, four subthemes were identified. First, the complications of time were discussed with ITCs caught in a tension of either being perceived as "too new" with gaps in their knowledge regarding the culture of the dominant group or being viewed as competition because of a perceived desire on the part of school boards to hire a more diverse teaching workforce. In terms of dialect, the second subtheme touched on some of the challenges experienced by ITCs and the ways in which their suitability to teach is questioned because of their non-Anglo dialects. Prototypical TCs' fears around job security and the suggestion that ITCs have an advantage in terms of being able to teach in Canada or in their country of origin was examined in the third subtheme. Lastly, the fourth subtheme explored the ways in which "Canadian" identity is safeguarded within the teaching profession. In the same way novice teachers are often presumed to be on a continuum in terms of praxis, so too should ITCs. Instead, many ITCs, especially those who are racialized seem to be constructed as deficit. One challenge is focusing on the assets and not trying to fit ITCs into a preconceived mould of teacher. They are individuals who bring a wealth of varied and diverse experiences and who may also have areas for growth. Another challenge is recognizing unexamined biases in relation to the construction of teacher and how assumptions and relationships might be played out in stereotypical ways.

Some aspects of teacher preparation are attended to with great detail and explicitness, such as the extensive and explicit criteria established by the various provincial governing bodies with respect to practicum requirements. Examining and understanding the richness of teachers' social location (i.e. race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, citizenship, socio-economic status, ability, sexual orientation and age) might begin a conversation regarding the ways in which power permeates, thrives and effects the very real experiences of students in elementary and secondary schools and also how it informs teachers' approaches to difference in their classrooms and among colleagues. The inclusion of ITCs' counter-stories might be one way to begin a conversation (de)centering whiteness and unpacking the challenges revealed within experiences that are not majoritarian stories. Other jurisdictions across Canada, including Ontario, have begun to explore bridging and transition programs for ITCs. What would it take for faculties to address the ways in which institutional and systemic processes can work to make the teaching profession more inclusive and expose the ways in which systemic racism functions in the teaching profession and in society? A specific requirement to address anti-oppression work in the university has the potential to translate into all teachers' work in schools and may have the effect of creating politically attuned educators. Teaching and learning using an anti-oppressive lens requires acknowledging unearned privilege and exploring the ways in which stakeholders are implicated in the maintenance of the status quo. This work is also not limited to Faculties of

Education but also has implications for school boards in terms of examining hidden biases in hiring practices and the retention of teachers who do not fit the prototypical mould.

This project has been situated in Ontario and as such invites complication from other institutions and experiences across Canada. In what ways are the counter-stories of teachers in pre-service education, who have experienced racism and discrimination first hand, utilized in other jurisdictions? Further exploration of future teachers' ability to create a more inclusive school system is definitely warranted.

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# Justice-orientated Citizenship and the History of Canadian ESL and Literacy Instruction

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**Abstract**

This article reports the findings of a qualitative study conducted with eight experienced English as a second language (ESL) and literacy teachers in Ontario and British Columbia. Over the course of their careers, these teachers developed a keen awareness of the importance of bringing critical perspectives to their curriculum work, particularly as it pertained to citizenship instruction. The article argues that the critical orientations that these teachers adopted reflect the histories of the two fields and that the beliefs that they held about the goals of teaching reflected what has been termed a *justice orientation* within the academic citizenship education literature.

**Keywords:** justice-oriented citizenship; citizenship education; literacy education; English as a second language

## Introduction

This article outlines the findings of a study I recently conducted with eight experienced English as a second language (ESL) and literacy teachers in Ontario and British Columbia. The study examined the career trajectories of these eight teachers as they negotiated the shifting parameters of adult ESL and literacy education. The findings indicate that over the course of their careers, these teachers developed a keen awareness of the importance of bringing critical perspectives to their curriculum work. Much of what these teachers volunteered had to do with how they viewed their work in relationship to Canadian nation building. I argue, in part, that the histories of the two fields show that the critical orientations towards citizenship that these teachers adopted are no accident. Furthermore, I contend that the beliefs that these teachers held dovetailed nicely with the theoretical literature related to justice-orientated citizenship education.

This article begins with an outline of the two theoretical frameworks used for the basis of this study: justice-orientated citizenship and critical literacy. I then examine the historic background for those unfamiliar with this context. In this regard, I first treat the history of Canadian literacy instruction and then that for Canadian ESL instruction. These two histories are provided as a way of demonstrating concretely that there has been a long-term relationship between both fields in terms of their citizenship foci. Understanding these histories is important if one is to grasp the overall context for the study. This section is followed by an outline of the findings that are pertinent to my discussion here. In the interests of brevity, these findings are presented in summary form primarily through the use of appendices. I then discuss theories related to justice-orientated education and how they relate to the orientations towards curriculum that these teachers endorsed, arguing that these theories reflect the general orientation that these teachers adopted in their pedagogical practice. I conclude with some thoughts on the parallels between citizenship theory, classroom practice and the history of ESL and literacy education.

### Theoretical Framework 1: Justice-orientated Citizenship

Lankshear and Knobel (1997) argue that meaningful citizenship education can only take place within second language and literacy education when teachers deliberately adopt justice-orientated paradigms.

This study's findings indicate that the linkages Lankshear and Knobel recommended find resonance with veteran teachers. The majority of my respondents clearly saw the need to emphasize these links, but did so in the contexts of the needs of their learners. They emphasized the diversity of learners within their classrooms and saw the challenge they faced in terms of finding ways of building upon the private, everyday concerns of learners and using critical literacy to promote social justice orientations towards concrete issues within the broader community. As Papen (2005) noted and as my participants confirmed, one starts with what is personally meaningful for the students. Then, as Morgan and Ramanathan (2005) have stressed, critical teaching helps students make their own connections between the larger community and the need for societal change. In this way, "learning to read both the word and the world critically, adult literacy learners regain their sense of themselves as agents who can change the social situations in which they find themselves" (Janks, 2008, p. 185).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have argued that education for citizenship should encourage students to become critical citizens who explore the causes of social problems in order to work for substantial societal change. Within their framework, three different types of roles are possible as part of one's civic identity: the *personally responsible citizen*, the *participatory citizen* and the *justice-orientated citizen*. The personally responsible citizen is honest, self-disciplined and hard working. A citizen with this type of orientation may contribute time or money to charitable causes and do such things as volunteering at a food bank over a holiday period. Voting is the quintessential activity that this form of citizenship takes. The second form of citizenship, the participatory citizen, is distinguished by the attributes of the first type, but is more involved and has a greater understanding of the inner workings of government and civic institutions. This citizen organizes charitable activities such as food banks and develops relationships that feature common understandings and commitments. A citizen with this type of orientation might seek political office for the purposes of making a contribution to existing institutions and traditions in uncritical ways. The third form of citizenship, the justice-oriented citizen, has the attributes of the other two, but has also developed a critical understanding of civic institutions and overall societal contexts. This type of citizen seeks fundamental change that addresses social inequality and redress in the context of pressing current issues but does not limit his or her activities to voting. Instead, citizens of this sort work to connect a critical analysis of pressing social issues to collective social action. As Westheimer and Kahne (2004) put it, justice-oriented citizens "critically assess social, political and economic structures and explore strategies for change that address root causes of problems" (p. 29).

**Theoretical Framework 2: Critical Literacy**

As Street (1984) points out, literacy is more than a simple set of skills centered on coding and decoding text. Rather, it is a form of social practice in which multiple forms of text are negotiated and critically examined through explorations of the relationships between language practice, power relations and identity. In general, Papen (2005) has noted that it is important to understand how literacy is practiced within everyday life beyond the institutional restraints of school and work. Literacy practice takes place at the personal level in the home, family and community. In addition, a critical examination of contemporary literacy practice must also take into account the enormous change and variability exhibited by the emerging globalized and digital age (New London Group, 1996). At the level of concrete practice, Dionne (2010) recommends that teachers follow a set of guidelines originally formulated by the literacy theorist Lenski (2008):

- Examine the representation of various groups in the text.
- Understand that texts offer a particular view of the world.

- Analyze the methods used to transmit the message.
- Take into consideration the power of the language used by the author.
- Read the text from different perspectives.
- Encourage students to take a stand on the author's statements.
- Provide students with the opportunity to consider and clarify their own points of view.
- Provide students with the opportunity to take social action.

In recent years, the influence of critical literacy theory has been felt within second language education literature. Morgan and Ramanathan (2005), for example, recommend that ESL teachers should adopt a critical orientation towards literacy and "advocate a pluralized notion of literacies and multiliteracies [in order] to help students negotiate a broader range of text-types and modes of persuasion, not only via print, but also sound, images, gestures, spaces, and their multimodal integration" (p. 152). Others within this literature note that pluralized notions of literacy should be viewed as being "socially and historically constructed within particular relations of power" (Norton, 2008, p. 49) and that the ultimate goal of looking at literacy in this way is to enhance learner empowerment (Pennycook, 2007).

## Citizenship and the History of Literacy Education in Canada

Literacy education, as an aspect of adult education, has always been very closely associated with citizenship, second language training, social reform and nation building (Tight, 2002). This has been especially true in Canada, as has been stressed by most of our more influential literacy organizations. Alfred Fitzpatrick, the founder of Frontier College, for example, made it very clear that one of the principle aims of his work was to assimilate immigrants into the new Canadian nation state (Walter, 2003).

As Tight (2002) makes clear, the nation-building goals that many have had for literacy education should be seen in view of the fact that the field has long been associated with organized labour and attempts at political reform. In England, for example, literacy education was a major aspect of the Luddite movement in the early 1800's and the women's temperance and suffragette movements of the 1850's. Formal forms of labour education for adults, in fact, developed quite rapidly in the second half of that century. By the advent of the First World War, up to 150,000 adults were enrolled in adult education programs organized by labour unions and other workers' organizations in the U.K. Untold numbers of people also attended informal educational programs, discussion circles or lectures.

This trend also occurred in the United States. Although labour organizations were instrumental in the formation of what were called labour lyceums, mechanics' institutes or innovative institutions such as Myles Horton's Highlander Centre, adult education in the U.S. was more marked by individualistic self-improvement movements that never really challenged the status quo. The hugely popular Chautauqua Movement in the 1870's stands as a good example of this (Tight, 2002).

Early adult education in the U.S. was subject to much greater government support than in Britain. Beginning with the Hatch Act in 1887, the federal government poured a significant amount of money into industrial training for poorer, immigrant and rural citizens. This money supported programs for individualized skills training and did nothing to upset the economic order. This funding expanded greater still in more recent times, beginning with the Johnson administration in the 1960's (Tight, 2002).

In Canada, literacy education borrowed more heavily from British models than American ones due to the heavy involvement of the labour movement, through lyceums or mechanics' institutes, the women's movement or such social democratic or Marxist organizations such as the Farm Radio

Forum, the Citizens' Forum, Fogo Island, the Centre for Community Studies, the Antigonish Movement, and Frontier College (Perry, 2008).

Canadian government involvement in literacy education tended to be crisis driven, as when considerable government resources were devoted to retraining returning servicemen at the end of the Second World War. Government funding for literacy education, as documents reveal in the history of university extension programs in the 20's and 30's, were established explicitly to counter the perceived influence of Bolshevism on adult education that was linked to the labour movement's struggle for union rights (Cray & Currie, 2004).

Literacy education, then as now, has been marked by intense ideological struggle. A good example of this struggle is what occurred within the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). Radical union activists and intellectuals struggled against and with academics for control over who taught the courses and curricular content. Sometimes these activists won, as is evidenced by some of the courses that featured explicit Marxist and practical organizing content. More often than not, however, liberal and social democratic content were ascendant, as is evidenced by the progressively more prominent role in the WEA played by J. S. Woodworth (the first leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) and well-known liberal professors W. L. Grant, R. M. McIver and W. S. Milner (Morrison, 1989).

These struggles for curricular control also took place in Frontier College, the most prominent literacy organization in Canada. Its dedicated and dynamic founder, Alfred Fitzpatrick, was nevertheless a social conservative who inculcated a racialised vision of Canada within the organization. As Walter has put it, "Frontier College, in providing literacy and citizenship education to laboring immigrant men on the resource frontier, was the quintessential embodiment of the grand project of Anglo-Canadian nation building" (2003, p.1). At the same time many left-wing activists, such as Norman Bethune, cut their political teeth within the College.

Governments in Canada only began to develop a systematic approach to adult education in the mid-50's. This approach was designed to be completely divorced from labour education through funding the construction of adult orientated collegiate institutes through school districts (most notably in Toronto and Vancouver). These were essentially high schools in which adult and teenaged students studied work and skills-related subjects in the same setting. At this time, however, most jurisdictions did not separate adult and teenaged students. Unlike today, adults simply went to day school if their scheduled allowed for it. Night school was established for students who worked during the day, regardless of age (Ashworth, 2001).

In the mid-60's, these institutes were rapidly replaced by community college systems which specialized in the vocational training of adult students. In this period, Canadian high schools offered programs and courses exclusively to minors and adult pedagogy developed as a specialization all on its own. Whereas educational theorists of Dewey's time made few distinctions between childhood and adult education, this became a hallmark of new theoretical models such as andragogy (Knowles, 2000) and conscientization (Freire, 1970). In recent years, over 35% of all Canadian workers aged 25- 64 undergo some form of job-related each year training (Statistics Canada, 2003).

## Citizenship and the History of ESL Instruction in Canada

In contrast to literacy education, Canadian ESL and second language instruction has long been a form of pedagogy under government control and has enjoyed little involvement from the labour movement. Government policy historically has stressed the value of acculturating and assimilating new immigrants. This was certainly true for the first school in what would become Canada, founded

in 1632 by the Jesuit order in Quebec, which exposed its multicultural student body to explicit Christian indoctrination (Tomkins, 1978).

The assimilationist trend in much of Canadian second language education has many parallels with residential schools, the notorious system in which aboriginal children were forcibly taken from their parents and communities for the express purpose of eradicating their languages and cultures (Abele, Dittburner & Graham, 2000).

This trend has also been evident in mainstream schools. In 1844, for example, Egerton Ryerson's rationale for founding the public school system in Ontario was explicitly to assimilate the newly arrived Catholic Irish and promote protestant and Anglo-centric cultural values (Tomkins, 1978).

On the prairies, one of the most influential educators of new Canadians, James Anderson (1918), emphasized the need for teachers to adopt what he described as a missionary spirit for the task of stamping out bilingualism and promoting Anglo-Canadian values and culture. Anderson, later elected premier of Saskatchewan, headed a notoriously conservative government that restricted French and minority language rights until being defeated at the polls in 1934, accused of corruption and having links with the Ku Klux Klan.

The systematic provision of ESL Education by government did not commence until the 1970's, two decades after similar measures for literacy education (Ashworth, 2001). The impetus for its provision was the two major policy initiatives undertaken by the Trudeau governments to remake the modern Canadian nation-state: bilingualism and multiculturalism. The first of these, bilingualism, is a central part of the federal strategy to maintain national unity in the face of one of the greatest political challenges facing the modern Canadian nation state: Quebec separatism. The second, multiculturalism, is designed as a way to integrate increased numbers of immigrants (Esses & Gardner, 1996).

As Ashworth notes (2001), official multicultural policy quickly opened the door for programs that promoted heritage languages for children, but did not lead immediately to the systematic provision of adult ESL. Many difficulties arose over conflicts between federal and provincial jurisdictions. Under the Canadian Constitution, education is primarily a provincial responsibility. Immigration and citizenship is predominately federal. Both jurisdictions have claimed that adult second language education was the responsibility of the other. Ontario and Quebec developed provincial funding formulas that allowed various bodies, such as school districts, colleges and community agencies to provide limited access to English and French language education, respectively. This led to some innovative and far-reaching program planning, most notably by the Toronto School Board, which had to cope with the enormous demographic changes of a city subject to a massive influx of immigrants. Few other jurisdictions in the country acted (Ashworth, 2001).

Major changes to Canadian second language policy and planning have been undertaken in recent years in an attempt to overcome previously identified financial barriers to participation. The federal and provincial ministries concerned have also invested considerable time and effort in significant program, assessment, curriculum and materials development. Despite this, no more than a third of adult newcomers to Canada take advantage of ESL programming (Fleming, 2007).

Space does not permit a detailed account of the policy development associated with current ESL provision within the country. For this the reader should consult a number of other texts that are listed in my references (Burnaby, 2002; Cray & Currie, 2004). It is suffice to note here that ESL provision was by and large haphazard until 1990, when the federal government formulated its first four year Immigration Plan (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1990). The Plan was a major change in direction for the federal government and came at a time when major demographic changes in Canadian society were becoming more evident and was framed within the context of the

constitutional negotiations then under way between the federal and provincial governments. Significantly, the document gives prominence to the need to integrate ESL training with "building a new Canada" (p. 3).

As I have outlined elsewhere (Fleming, 2007), most current ESL training is done through Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and its provincial counterparts. Through a complex set of contractual agreements, the federal government has, for the most part, devolved the responsibility for integrating immigrants (and the significant amount of money associated with this: in excess of $300 million) to the provinces. For my purposes here, I wish to emphasize that the policy documents associated with LINC stress that language instruction is meant to take up only one half of the goals for programming. Immigrant integration is meant to be the other (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006).

## Eight Veteran Teachers

### Methodology

The research question guiding the overall study was "How do veteran ESL and literacy teachers understand the purposes of ESL and literacy education?" The eight participants were recommended to me by the supervising managers of two large continuing education departments: one in Ontario and the other in British Columbia. The interviews were first audio taped and transcribed and then coded through the use of NVivo Qualitative Research software. The University of Ottawa's Ethical Review Board approved the ethical protocols for the study and informed consent was obtained from all eight participants.

Although an initial start list of questions was utilized, the interviews were conducted informally. The participants were first asked to describe the highlights of their careers and then encouraged to provide definitions of ESL and literacy. The interviews then focused on what the participants believed to be the overall purposes of these forms of education. Finally, the participants were asked about how their understandings changed over time and encouraged to provide concrete examples from their teaching practice.

### Findings

In the subsections below, I provide quotes from the interviews for each of the eight respondents.

*First Participant*

My first interview was with a long-time literacy practitioner who at the time of this study was serving in an executive capacity for one of the largest provincial literacy organizations in the country. This practitioner had been involved in ESL and literacy education for over 15 years as a teacher, program director and curriculum writer.

This participant noted that a recently published research report (Ontario Literacy Coalition, 2007) identified serious confusion and overlap in the knowledge base related to the fields of ESL and literacy education around definitions and terminology. Unfortunately, as my respondent stressed, the confusion associated with this overlap is nothing new. She, in fact, remembered discussing these issues at the beginning of her career. She stressed the need to make distinctions between these types of programs.

This respondent noted that the confusion related to the overlap between the two fields has had serious practical implications in terms of how citizenship is treated. Although "citizenship is extremely important" in both ESL and literacy education, she felt that one should tailor-make curriculum development and programming appropriately for the two fields. Learners born in Canada and immersed in the predominate culture have different citizenship education needs than those born elsewhere. She argued that clear definitions could streamline how citizenship is treated in both fields, stressing "we have to make a lot more connections between different kinds of programs and citizenship."

For this participant, justice-oriented citizenship lay at the core of literacy education. As she put it:

> This is what the value of literacy is. It is about citizenship. It is about how you get involved, how you understand what your community is, what it is as a citizen, what you are entitled to, what you should be giving back and the whole concept of citizenship at large. (Interview 1, 2009)

Moreover, according to this participant, learners from disadvantaged backgrounds need to be shown that their desires for social change were "legitimate."

In terms of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework, this teacher strongly endorsed a justice-oriented notion of citizenship and a critical orientation towards literacy along the lines recommended by Street (1984).

*Second Participant*

My second participant taught elementary school for six years before entering adult ESL and literacy education. She then taught employability skills at a community college level before taking on a supervisory role in literacy programs at the school board. She had several decades' worth of experience in literacy programs. At the time of our interview she was concluding 5 years experience in a program designed to assist foreign trained professions gain the credentials needed to access the Canadian labor market.

This participant corroborated many of the things my first respondent noted, especially in terms of the importance of making a differentiation between the needs of ESL and literacy learners. She told us that when she was first employed at the school district, "we were fortunate because there was a distinction between literacy and ESL." This meant that literacy students could be streamed into classes that more effectively met their needs.

In connection to this, my respondent had significant things to say about the links between literacy and citizenship. She noted that for many students who lack literacy skills, issues related to citizenship are "really foreign to their personal lives. [Citizenship] is something they haven't considered because they are in a day-to-day struggle, so they don't see things from other perspectives and what their role or responsibility is as a Canadian" (Interview 2, 2009). My respondent thus noted that the economic pressures on these learners and their limited access to more sophisticated forms of media gives them a restricted sense of the overall forces at play in society. By implication, then, she noted that limits to literacy are limitations on citizenship.

My respondent stressed that literacy education must not be limited to reading and writing skills, but must also engage learners in an awareness of what is going on in society. As she put it, "it's a consciousness raising kind of thing." My respondent stressed that this would mean, for example, that teachers must find specific ways to discuss voting rights in the classroom through the context of the concrete issues affecting one's learners and their community. My respondent thus closely linked critical forms of literacy to justice-oriented forms of citizenship.

Similarly to my first participant, in terms of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework, this teacher strongly endorsed a justice-oriented notion of citizenship and a critical orientation towards literacy (Street, 1984).

*Third Participant*

Although my third respondent had been trained as an ESL teacher, most of her twenty years of work experience in programs was as a supervisor of joint ESL/literacy programs. As part of her duties, she was conducting a multitude of training workshops for instructors.

My respondent noted that in her estimation second language literacy learners do not simply lack graphic language skills. They also quite commonly have limited vocabulary and an incomplete command of syntax in the target language. In addition, these learners lack an understanding of the culture of the surrounding social environment. Literacy learners whose first language is English, on the other hand, usually possess a command of common vocabulary and have few problems understanding anything that an interlocutor says to them. Significantly, these other learners identify themselves as belonging to the surrounding culture. For these reasons, this participant believed that it was important to cover citizenship explicitly for the foreign-born learners in her classes.

Although this respondent conceptualized literacy as being more than a set of decoding skills, she did not stress critical notions related to the interrogation of the underlying assumptions inherent within texts. Significantly, in terms of my focus here, she did not emphasize justice-oriented forms of citizenship.

*Fourth Participant*

My fourth participant had over ten years teaching experience in both ESL and literacy education. In addition, at the time of my interview she had worked for five years as an editor of a national magazine that focused on literacy. This participant started her career as a volunteer tutor in the school district's ESL program and only gradually moved into literacy education through a pilot program designed to strengthen the writing skills of second language learners. Her employment became permanent when that pilot was expanded into a full-scale literacy program.

This respondent told me that many beginning ESL classes typically developed focus on broadly-based notions of literacy because of the needs of particular learners, noting that many immigrants from poorer backgrounds or warzones often have had limited experience in formal classroom situations. Literacy could not be conceptualized in these circumstances simply in terms of skills. She provided me with an example of a class from the start of her teaching career that was designed to develop the oral English skills of Gambian immigrants. By necessity, my respondent found that her students lacked the ability to attend to classroom tasks, goals setting, cognitive restructuring and self-evaluation. My respondent felt that she could turn to skill-based instruction only after her students had "learned how to learn" in a classroom setting.

My respondent made the link between literacy and citizenship explicit by noting that literacy helps you clarify:

> [h]ow you feel about yourself as a part of this community and a part of this place, it is about the stuff that happens around the learning to read. As people learn to read, they start to analyze class and privilege. One of the things that people do in literacy programs is they start to make connections. (Interview 4, 2009).

In ways that were similar to my first and second participants, this teacher strongly endorsed a justice-oriented notion of citizenship and a critical orientation towards literacy.

*Fifth Participant*

My fifth respondent had taught extensively in both the ESL and literary components of her District's Continuing Education Program before becoming its administrator. She possessed a Master in Curriculum Studies and was working on her doctorate at the time of our interview.

She emphasized that an ESL classroom is "a very complex classroom environment to teach in" because one is not only dealing with "the nuts and bolts of the English language" [but also with the] very really needs the students have in terms of settlement, day to day life, frustrations and struggles." Given the diversity of needs of the learners in these classrooms, covering literacy involves helping them such basic skills as the physical mechanics of writing as well as deciphering the messages contained within advanced technological media.

Dealing with citizenship meant helping learners make an "inquiry into the culture of being Canadian and what it means to be a Canadian." In her program, as she expressed it, "we most certainly do not limit ourselves to teaching to a citizenship test" that focuses on such objective facts as the names of provincial capitals or the date of Confederation. Rather, teachers should interweave principles related to "participatory citizenship into everything they do," so as to help students who are becoming Canadian and "attempting to navigate in our culture and sort of juggling their own culture at the same time" (Interview 5: 2009).

In terms of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework, this teacher endorsed a participatory notion of citizenship. Although it might not be termed fully critical in the way in which Street (1984) uses the term, this teacher had an orientation that went beyond a skill-based notion of literacy.

*Sixth Participant*

My sixth participant started her career 34 years prior to the interview as a high school teacher in Kuwait where she taught grades 11 and 12 English. At the time of the interview, she had lived and taught adult ESL in Canada for eleven years. One thing that this respondent stressed was the extreme variability of the learners that the teachers in her milieu faced in their classes. There were "a lot of challenges [because] the needs [of these students] were quite different." This meant that teachers in this context have "to have different preparations for different students." For some students, "holding a pen or pencil was pretty challenging." Others "could read perfectly well but needed conversation skills."

Literacy programs, like the one in this respondent taught, were designed for students who "didn't really get the kind of education they needed." As a result, these students needed a "place where they could come and have a safe learning environment." Thus, literacy teachers had to spend a lot of time paying attention to the special needs of these learners and avoid developing curricula in which language was rigidly defined or linear. Such classes had to be flexible both in terms of content and delivery.

Part of this teacher's mandate was to prepare students for the multiple choice citizenship tests that featured the set of normative "facts" that my fifth participant described. However, in a similar fashion, my sixth participant stressed the need to go beyond these tests in order to develop their own thinking about what it means to be Canadian. This participant gave a multitude of examples from her classroom practice in which she organized debates and mock elections.

Just prior to our interview, she and her colleagues had invited actual local candidates for the upcoming provincial election to speak to the student body. She and her colleagues had then organized an election for student council that featured debates on local issues of real pertinence to the students in her program. These activities, which took about a month of class time to complete, were for the purpose of helping students explore the meaning of:

> [B]eing a good person, being a good citizen, and being a role model for others and bringing in the compassion and the generosity to help others, the vision for future… You need to have basic knowledge of what it is you are looking into, what the country needs… a good citizen would be a person who is doing his or her best for the betterment of humanity. (Interview 6, 2009).

In terms of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework, in my estimation this teacher endorsed a participatory notion of citizenship that came very close to being justice-oriented. Again, although it might not be termed critical in the way in which Street (1984) defined it, this teacher had an orientation that clearly went beyond skill-based notions of literacy.

*Seventh Participant*

My seventh participant had been teaching full time in an ESL program for about four years at the time of the interview. Previous to this, she had taught extensively on a part-time basis in a literacy program for the same school district and been a teachers' aide in a local elementary school for about eight years.

When asked about whether there is a skill component to literacy, this teacher strongly emphasized that "it is more than that" (Interview 7, 2009). Literacy instruction does have a skill-based dimension, but there is a second level that "is like trying to invent a third language" in which students learn self-confidence and autonomy. As this teacher expressed it, "confidence, yes, because if learners feel they are less competent… they cannot articulate their rights and needs" (Interview 7, 2009).

This teacher had an orientation that went beyond a skill-based notion of literacy and clearly linked this to a justice-oriented notion of citizenship.

*Eighth Participant*

My eighth participant had been teaching in literacy and ESL programs for 21 years at the time of our interview. The class that she taught was expressly designed to meet the needs of learners who were at the basic levels of English language proficiency and/or literacy skills. Most of her students had no prior knowledge of English whatsoever. Some spoke English as their first language but were not proficient in the physical mechanics of writing. Others had very few literacy skills in their first or second languages.

This teacher noted that the multiple needs of her particular students led her to focus her class content on writing skills. As she put it, she was "making [her] lessons more towards formal practicable skills that they can immediately use: life skills." This is because the literacy students in her class either had not or would not "do well in the regular school system or have dropped out for one reason or another" and needed more practical and less abstract content in their classes.

It is important to note that this teacher also took her class to the school's computer lab once a week for the express purpose of exposing her students to different modes of writing. She assigned basic readings and writing tasks that made systematic use of Internet and word processing technology. Thus, although it could be argued that she had a skill-based notion of literacy, she encouraged the development of these skills in multimodal directions.

This teacher placed a lot of emphasis on teaching the factual content of the Canadian citizenship test discussed above by my fifth participant and, in fact, taught a special half-hour class most mornings that focused on memorizing the answers to the multiple-choice questions that constituted that test. Nonetheless, this teacher participated fully in the activities described above by the sixth respondent above that were designed to inculcate a participatory orientation towards citizenship.

Given the needs of her particular students, this teacher had adopted what she felt by necessity was a skill-based definition of literacy. However, her classroom practice included activities that were designed to expand the skills of her students into technologically based modes of expression. In addition, her classroom practice, by virtue of her involvement in the school activities around elections described above, also emphasized a participatory orientation towards citizenship. At first glance, this teacher could be characterized as having imposed limits to how both literacy and citizenship were treated in her classroom. However, I think it important to emphasize that this teacher believed that these limits were a function of the basic proficiency and skill levels of her students. She did not believe that these were universal or static limits.

**Summary**

- Half of the participants in this study (1,2,4,7) endorsed justice-oriented versions of citizenship and critical orientations towards literacy. They also made strong links between the two.
- Two respondents (5,6) endorsed participatory notions of citizenship and adopted positions that went well beyond skill-based orientations towards literacy.
- One respondent (3) conceived of literacy as being more than a set of decoding skills. However, she did not did not emphasize participatory or justice-oriented forms of citizenship.
- Another participant (8) had a skill-based definition of literacy and a "fact-based" notion of citizenship. Nonetheless, this teacher conducted multimodal literacy activities and was involved in school participatory citizenship education projects.

In the interests of clarity, I have summarized the main points that each of these respondents made and matched them to their backgrounds in the two appendices that appear at the end of this article.

## Conclusion: Implications for Future Research and Practice

As indicated above, citizenship has been a common programming component historically in both ESL and literacy education. As this study indicates, the critical tradition within this history continues today. The majority of the veteran teachers who participated in this study believe that this critical tradition can be productively used for the promotion of justice-oriented citizenship. Although the teachers in this study might not have explicitly referred to the theoretical models espoused by such theorists as Westheimer and Kahne (2004), the majority adopted very similar curricular orientations to the ones these academics recommend.

This relates strongly to the question of how theory relates to practice. I find it unfortunate that these two domains are often said to operate in separate worlds. I believe that this is a false dichotomy. I echo Freire's (1970) endorsement of the notion of *praxis*, a meaningful balance between theory and practice. This notion emphasizes that relevant theory is a distillation of successful practice and that meaningful practice is informed by grounded theory. They are two sides of the same coin.

It is unfortunate that the teachers in my study were not aware of the theoretical models I outlined above. As all of the eight noted in the course of my interviews with them, teaching in

nonstandard milieus such as ESL and literacy is often an isolated and lonely task. As a long-time practitioner in this milieu myself, I can well imagine how they could have gained greater strength by being made aware that their beliefs found support in the academic literature.

Given these contexts, I see the implications of this study as two-fold. The first is that researchers and theorists must pay more attention to and learn from successful practice. The other is that more effort must be put into distilling the lessons we learn from our research and bring it back to the learners and practitioners we serve.

Concretely, this means that when we conduct research we should be asking teachers for reasons that they give for their choices in terms of treatment options and take serious their rationales for accepting or rejecting the abstract models that we in academia often hold so dear. It is not enough to say that teachers don't "get it" when we present academic work to them. We should acknowledge that we are in a partnership in which one or the other half of this divide can lag behind the other.

There have been many cases in which theory has lagged behind pedagogical practice. In second language education, for example, the most notable example in my own experience is in how grammar has been taken up or rejected as a necessary curriculum component. At one time (around the time I was taking my own teacher training), grammar was firmly rejected theoretically. Teachers were strongly advised to avoid explicit grammar instruction at all costs. Practice (my own and others) proved that this position was far too categorical and found that grammar has an important role to play in adult ESL. Theory has caught up to this position through such orientations as the Focus on Form Approach, which calls for a measured and strategically placed role for grammar.

In the case of this study, my veteran respondents instinctively expressed views not too far off the justice-oriented models that are espoused in academia. However, the fact that the veteran teachers I interviewed were unaware of the theoretical models I outlined above shows to me that we have to do a better job of making these reciprocating connections, especially to novice teachers and teacher candidates. Concretely, this means that we have to systematically take what we have learned theoretically and from these veteran teachers to our teacher education and professional development programs.

As I myself have experienced both sides of the divide, the connections between theorists and practitioners are often tenuous and strained. Concrete measures around professional development and training are important but really point to the need to develop a new and more integrated relationship between academic researchers and practitioners in which we take one another's points of view more seriously and respectfully.

## Appendices

*Appendix 1: Ontario-based Participants*

| Participant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Experience | 15yrs+ as a teacher, program supervisor, curriculum writer and director of a literacy organization. | 6yrs elementary teaching experience; 20yrs+ adult literacy, ESL teaching and supervisory experience. | 20yrs+ years as teacher, professional development trainer and supervisor in joint ESL/literacy programs. | 10yrs+ experience in both ESL and literacy education; 5yrs+ as editor of a national literacy magazine; 5yrs+ as volunteer community tutor. |
| Emergent theoretical stance | Explicitly stated justice-oriented notion of citizenship that was linked to a critical orientation towards literacy. | An implicit justice-oriented notion of citizenship and a critical orientation towards literacy. | Although conceived of literacy as more than a set of decoding skills, did not stress critical notions or justice-orientated forms of citizenship. | Explicitly stated justice-oriented notion of citizenship that was linked to a critical orientation towards literacy. |

*Appendix 2: British Columbia-based Participants*

| Participant | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Experience | 10yrs+ ESL and literary teaching experience; 6yrs+ in a supervisory role. | 21yrs teaching high school and 11yrs+ in adult ESL and literacy. | 8yrs+ as ESL and literacy teacher's aide and 4yrs+ as an ESL teacher. | 21yrs+ in adult ESL and literacy. |
| Emergent theoretical stance | Endorsed a participatory notion of citizenship and an orientation that went beyond skill-based definitions of literacy. | Participatory notion of citizenship that came very close to being justice-oriented; a definition of literacy that went clearly beyond skill-based notions. | An orientation towards literacy that went beyond skill-based notions; clearly linked this to a justice-oriented notion of citizenship. | Although defined literacy as skills and citizenship as factual knowledge, engaged in activities that stressed participatory citizenship and multimodal forms of literacy. |

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# Capacity Building: Teaching from a Global Citizenship Perspective[36]

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**Abstract**

In 2007, UNICEF published a report entitled, Charting Global Education in Canada's Elementary Schools. This study produced a snapshot of the challenges faced by Canadian schools and teachers to implement global education initiatives in the classroom. The central finding of the report confirmed that educators need to pay attention to opportunities for sustained collaboration, innovation and information-sharing about global citizenship education. Developing a Global Perspective for Educators/Educators/Développement d'une perspective globale pour enseignants et enseignantes (DGPE/DPGEE) is one organization that has paid heed to this advice. As a Faculty of Education program at the University of Ottawa, the DGPE/DPGEE aims to integrate the themes of peace and justice, human rights, environmental sustainability, and international development into educational curricula and practice. Our study analyzes the multiple meanings of a single event, the Fall Institute, which comprises workshops, films and lectures. Based on our analysis of the structure, content, formation of the candidates' learning with regard to the timing of the Institute and their prior educational studies, our findings highlight the significant impact of this experience on the students' own holistically defined capacity to consider how to incorporate themes of global citizenship into their future classrooms.

**Keywords:** capacity building; global education; citizenship; teacher education; curriculum

## Introduction

In 2007, UNICEF published a report entitled *Charting Global Education in Canada's Elementary Schools*. Importantly, this study was designed to produce a snapshot of the challenges faced by Canadian schools and teachers in their efforts to implement global education initiatives in the classroom (Mundy, Manion, Masemann & Haggerty, 2007, p. 107). The central finding of this report is that "actors at all levels need to pay much more attention to opportunities for sustained collaboration, innovation and information-sharing about global education and global citizenship education" (Mundy et al., 2007, p. 107). Developing a Global Perspective for Educators / Educators Développement d'une perspective globale pour enseignants et enseignantes (DGPE/DPGEE) is one organization that has paid heed to this advice. As a Faculty of Education program at the University of Ottawa, DGPE/DPGEE aims "to integrate the themes of peace and justice, human rights, environmental sustainability, and international development into educational curricula and practice" (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2012b). DGPE/DPGEE's Fall Institute is the first forum of the academic year that aims to operationalize these goals and in September, 2011, 212 pre-service candidates and 33 volunteers participated in the various activities and workshops promoting a global perspective.

Since its inception, DGPE/DPGEE has served as a knowledge mobilization and dissemination portal for both pre-service teachers and educators. Always expanding, DGPE/DPGEE

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has brought pre-service teachers together with practicing teachers, faculty members, community partners and non-governmental organizations to share research and materials related to global education and to establish a professional learning community for the 2011-2012 school year.[1]

The Fall Institute *Engaging Youth as Global Citizens: Activate Learning* was the first in a series of mobilization and dissemination opportunities planned by DGPE/DPGEE during the 2011/2012 school year. Significantly, the Institute was purposefully designed to support the integration of global themes with both the existing provincial K-12 curriculum and the teaching practices of individual teachers. Over 30 bilingual hands-on workshops covering a wide range of global citizenship themes were offered at the Institute. Presented by NGOs, community groups and faculty members, these workshops, film options and a panel of keynote speakers provided participants with a rich source of classroom-ready information and easy-to-access web-based resources that support pedagogical practices emphasizing a global perspective. As such, the Institute was designed to aid in capacity building for both pre-service and practicing teachers in the areas of curriculum design, pedagogy and assessment skills (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2011). Accordingly, this paper will examine the Fall Institute in context with DGPE/DPGEE's mandate to encourage the "development of critically reflective professionals who personify an ethic of caring, knowledge and commitment to issues of diversity and equity through education" (DGPE/DPGEE Website 2012b). As such, it will strive to answer the following research question: How did the Fall Institute mobilize global citizenship knowledge to build awareness and capacity among pre-service teachers?

## Participant Profile

All students enrolled in the B.Ed program at the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa come with at least one undergraduate degree and some have also completed graduate studies when they commence the program in September. The age range of this majority female population varies approximately from twenty-two to fifty-two, although most students are in their mid to late twenties. Over half of the students are racialized white and most are able bodied; however, the population of students has become more diverse in recent years. Within the B.Ed. program there are two sections of students – one in the primary/junior division (Kindergarten-Grade 6) and another in junior/intermediate division (Grades 4 to 10)– who can be classified as part of the developing a global perspective cohort. Upon receiving their admission offers, candidates are invited to indicate on their acceptance form whether or not they are interested in being placed within the global cohort stream of courses. Across the entire spectrum of teacher candidates who attended the Fall Institute, some are well versed in global citizenship issues and are committed to them through previous first hand experiences, while others have had little knowledge or direct encounters with international issues. Many are somewhere in the middle of this continuum, knowing of and understanding some components, but often concluding that they have limited scope to incorporate this area into their own teaching.

## Conceptual Framework

As previously stated, the goal of this paper is to understand how the Fall Institute mobilized global citizenship knowledge among a group of pre-service teachers at the University of Ottawa. Given this intention, a systems analysis framework, supported by a theory proposing that "nothing can be fully understood in isolation but must be seen as part of a dynamic, multi-layered system," (Pike & Selby, 1988, p. 6; Young, 2010) is well suited to this research because our framework considers three major components of the students' experience: subject specialty and orientation of their prior education; the

candidates' degree of previous experience with global education; and the nature and duration of their studies in teacher education at the time of the students' participation in the Institute. Further, as Young explains, systems thinking presents a unique "epistemological and ontological positioning: one with students as embedded and embodied in the world they study, one where understanding is found in the relationship between and among actors in multiple, dynamic systems. This conception expands global education beyond the limits of the international and intercultural and thus expands the students' perspectives, understandings, skills, and agency" (Young, 2010, p. 144). As such, a systems analysis framework affords this study the ability to approach the dissemination of global education among pre-service teachers with an appreciation for the complex and dynamic nature of our world and our place within it. Thus, this framework enabled us to analyze the Fall Institute's ability to build capacity and mobilize global citizenship knowledge among pre-service teachers in a manner that accounted for the larger system that pre-service teachers find themselves engaged in.

**How Did the Fall Institute Mobilize Global Citizenship Knowledge to Build Awareness and Capacity among Pre-Service Teachers?**

Also serving as a theoretical lens for this research is a holistic perspective of capacity building that includes education, empowerment and engagement of individual pre-service teachers. Similarly, according to Michael Fullan, capacity building is threefold and must therefore address competencies, resources and motivations to be successful (Fullan, 2008, p. 57; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2009). To accomplish these goals, Fullan asserts "individuals and groups are high in capacity if they possess and continue to develop knowledge and skills, if they attract and use resources wisely and if they are committed to putting in the energy to get important things done collectively and continuously" (Fullan, 2008, p. 57). Given the central nature of capacity building to this paper, Fullan's definition will serve as a useful lens through which to analyze the outcomes of the Fall Institute.

## Methodology

The research presented here is comprised of a single case study centered on the 2011 DGPE/DPGEE Fall Institute. Given that this research strives to comprehend the ways in which the Institute mobilized global citizenship knowledge among the pre-service candidates, it has the added dimension of being seen as an *instrumental case study*. The approach utilized by the Fall Institute can be replicated by adopting similar strategies and applying them to future endeavors aimed at mobilizing global citizenship knowledge (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p. 408).

This report was conducted using a *mixed methods* framework. Notably, the underlying premise of mixed methods research is that the combination allows for a better understanding of a research problem than can be achieved using a single method (Plano-Clark, Huddleston-Casa, Churchill, Green, & Garrett, 2008, p. 1546). Given that quantitative and qualitative approaches have different strengths and different weaknesses, a mixed methods researcher can help to improve the quality of his or her research by combining complementary strengths while being mindful not to overlap weaknesses (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p. 51).

## Data Sources

A total of 212 participants and 33 volunteers attended the 2011 Fall Institute. Shortly after attending the Institute, participants were emailed a self-administered electronic program evaluation survey and asked to provide anonymous feedback. A total of 144 – approximately 70% of attendees -- completed

this survey. Significantly, this survey was designed to gather both qualitative and quantitative data regarding individual participant experiences. As such, participant observations represent the primary data source for this research paper. Additional data for this paper was also collected from the DGPE/DPGEE website and the Institute's program which detailed a listing of workshops and film options. Finally, the authors of this paper have the unique ability to provide supplementary data as they have first-hand experience as attendees and observers; one of the authors kept a journal throughout the Institute and a second author participated in the Institute as a keynote speaker and workshop leader (Cresswell, 1998). Taken together, this data creates the foundation for the critical analysis of the Fall Institute presented below.

## Research Question

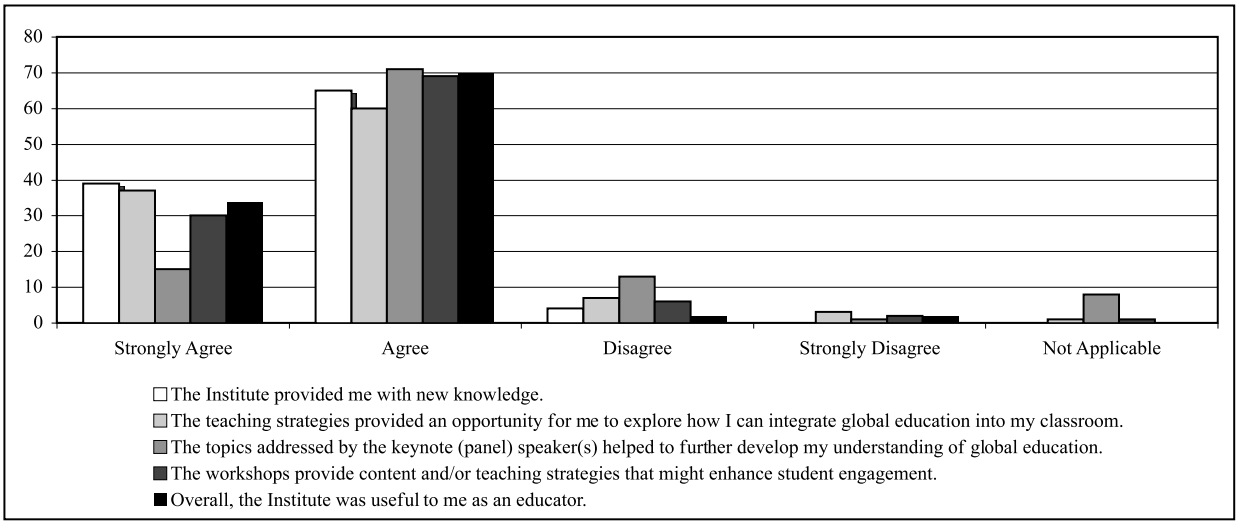
*How did the Fall Institute successfully mobilize global citizenship knowledge among pre-service teachers?*

### New Knowledge

UNICEF Canada defines *global education* as "an approach to learning that helps students to build knowledge about some of the most pressing social issues facing our society and empowers them to create change for children at home and around the world" (UNICEF Canada, 2012). Accordingly, successful global education endeavors must not only disseminate knowledge, but also strive to incite change (Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005; Holden & Hicks, 2007; McLean, Cook & Crowe, 2008; Merryfield, 1990; Reimer & McLean, 2009). This distinction is important as it highlights the difference between *soft* and *critical* forms of global education. Originally coined by University of Calgary professor, Dr. Vanessa Andreotti, *soft* forms of global education are seen to "promote concern, compassion, and empathetic understanding of distant others, through the promotion of a deeper understanding of their plight" (Bryan, 2011, p. 262). However, as Tormey and Batteson assert, such forms do not challenge learners to explore their personal connectedness to the systems that are responsible for these inequalities and injustices (2011, p. 5). Conversely, *critical* forms of global education are seen to compel individuals to act in relation to global inequalities (Tormey & Batteson, 2011, p. 5) and drive students to question their own "complicity in enabling or perpetuating inequitable and unjust relationships through their ordinary actions or inactions" (Bryan , 2011, p. 262).

The DGPE/DPGEE initiative strives to encourage the "development of critically reflective professionals who personify an ethic of caring, knowledge and commitment to issues of diversity and equity through education" (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2012b). As such, it can be seen that the DGPE/DPGEE embraces a *critical* approach to global education. Thus, the Fall Institute was designed to both educate and empower attendees with specific regard to issues of environmental sustainability, social justice, equality, diversity, human rights and international development (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2011). In order to understand how students responded to the Institute and to interpret how the workshops, films and keynote speakers imparted new knowledge, several pertinent survey questions were examined (Shultz, 2007; Zong, 2009; Campbell & Crowe, 2012; Hébert, 2010). As can be seen in figure one, the vast majority of participants either agreed or strongly agreed that the Institute provided them with new knowledge and furthered their understanding of global education. Similarly, the majority of respondents also agreed or strongly agreed that the Institute was useful to them as educators, offered content and teaching strategies to enhance student engagement, and provided them with an opportunity to explore the integration of global education into the classroom.

*Figure 1*: Knowledge dissemination




While the responses discussed above are overwhelmingly positive and indicate that the Institute was successful in its efforts to advance the students' global knowledge, the quantitative nature of their responses does not adequately address whether or not the Institute inspired a *soft* or *critical* understanding of global education. As such, a careful examination of the qualitative participant responses was undertaken to determine the "type" of global education provided by the Fall Institute. One such question asked participants to provide examples of facts, issues or pedagogy that they now see differently following their experience at the Institute.

Respondents cited an array of facts, issues and pedagogy that they saw differently after attending the Institute. Many of these responses could be easily categorized as embodying a *soft* (non-reflective) or a *critical* (personally reflective) understanding of global education. For example, an attendee who commented that she/he "met amazing presenters who have done (or) are doing amazing things to advocate global citizenship" (Survey Response Form, 2011) did not demonstrate an engagement with her/his own role in the global system when noting the remarkable achievements of others. This comment was therefore classified as *soft*. However, in another instance, a *critical* engagement can be clearly seen in the response of another attendee who stated that "in terms of human rights, I had not thought about situations where I would be deciding between religion and safety… where in either case, both are priorities and both are important, but one must rule out the other… a true dilemma" (Survey Response Form, 2011).

In other circumstances, it was difficult to classify some responses as being either completely *soft* or completely *critical*. Accordingly, these responses were categorized as *transitional*. In order to be placed in the *transitional* category, responses had to indicate a degree of critical thinking about global education but not fully articulate an understanding of their own personal connectedness. Thus, a respondent commented that there is "so much more you can do with your class than raise money. [You] can raise money to buy items for developing countries, [you] can make mats for Haiti," was classified as *transitional* because she/he demonstrated a critical dimension to his/her own ability to personally contribute and effect change in other parts of the world; nevertheless, the participant's use of the second person prevents this response from being coded as purely *critical*.

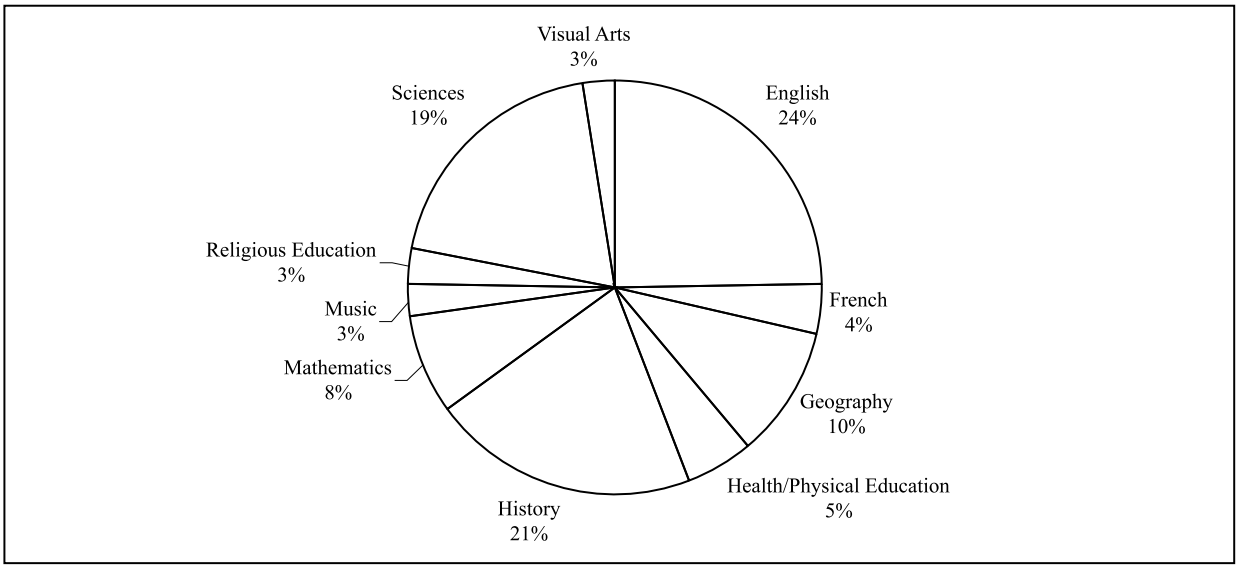
The facts, issues and pedagogy that participants confirmed that they saw differently because of the knowledge that they acquired from attending the Institute are relatively evenly distributed among s*oft*, *transitional* and *critical* engagement. Given the two-fold nature of global education to both impart

knowledge and incite change, we might conclude that a person must first be made knowledgeable before they can begin to critically engage. Therefore, the fact that the Fall Institute was held early in the year, when pre-service teachers had only a limited opportunity to interact with issues of global educational, may account for the *soft* responses.

**Barriers/Improvement**

Among the intermediate and senior (I/S) division respondents, the largest contingent (based on teachable subjects) was from the humanities, followed by those who studied science and mathematics. The smallest contingent was from the visual arts, music and religion.

*Figure 2*: Teachables identified by Intermediate and Senior B.Ed Students




When the I/S pre-service teachers were asked if there was anything discussed in the workshops that they thought might be difficult to integrate into the classroom (or what barriers might prevent them from teaching global citizenship related topics), many of the students were confident in their abilities to infuse the curriculum with global issues. Indeed, only one third of the respondents listed problematic subjects or issues for teaching from a global perspective.[1] Despite this apparent confidence in teaching global issues, upon closer examination of the types of courses that students deemed suitable or that they associated with teaching from a global perspective, the list of courses included mostly humanities- and social science-based subjects amongst the I/S division candidates. Moreover, with the exception of the thirty percent of candidates who indicated that "all subjects" were suitable or provided a lengthy list of courses that they considered adaptable for teaching global education, only a few candidates indicated that mathematics, science, visual arts, music or religion would be considered as subject areas for teaching global issues.

It is perhaps understandable that visual arts, music and religion courses might not have been included in the list of courses to teach from a global perspective because only a few of the respondents taught in those subject areas. Conversely, pre-service teachers from the sciences and to a lesser extent mathematics were well represented in the population of pre-service teachers who responded to the survey, yet they did not list these courses as possible venues for teaching from a global perspective.

The omission of mathematics and science courses as subject domains for teaching global education suggests a certain ambivalence among the pre-service teachers as to the role of global issues within these subject based curriculum courses. As educators we are gratified to observe that this population of pre-service teachers attended the Institute. At the same time, however, their mixed feelings regarding the instruction of global themes raises questions about the candidates' perceptions of how to go about formulating and implementing lessons in their classrooms.

Several comments from students offer further insights into how they perceived the dilemma of balancing the demands of their subject discipline with teaching from a global perspective. With reference to science, one candidate remarked tentatively, "I may be able to apply on my Biology teaching," while a second student of mathematics was concerned with "How can I use this information in a Grade 12 Calculus class?" Similar observations were echoed in the Institute report prepared by the graduate student observer who remarked on the number of pre-service teachers who "were unsure about how they could bring some of the ideas into the classroom 'across different curriculum requirements' with math and science being cited most often as problematic" (Lalonde, 2012, p. 6). While it is encouraging as global educators to think that the students attended the Institute despite their misgivings in order to learn how to integrate global issues into the curriculum, it is worth exploring why students face these barriers when integrating a global perspective into subjects such as mathematics and science.

In research based in Australia, Horsely, Newell & Stubbs (2005) examined how the formations of pre-service teachers' prior knowledge acquisition (e.g., undergraduate degrees) influenced the way they responded to integrating new knowledge, specifically global perspectives, into their teaching. In so doing, these researchers took up the issue of why secondary teachers responded differently to teaching from a global perspective than elementary teachers. These differences, they claim, are the result of prior academic training. Specifically, the learning experience of intermediate and secondary teachers was shaped by subject based knowledge formation (e.g., chemistry, mathematics, etc.), unlike pre-service primary/junior teacher candidates who frequently held undergraduate degrees that were often interdisciplinary in nature (e.g., psychology, sociology, etc.). From their analysis, Horsely, Newell and Stubbs concluded that discipline based learners (predominantly, intermediate and senior division candidates) were less able to incorporate new knowledge into their subject schema without actually having a model to demonstrate how to go about integrating the new material. Conversely, the interdisciplinary-based students (often primary and junior teacher candidates) more readily adapted to this new knowledge and saw ways to infuse a global perspective into their teaching, regardless of the subject.

To expand on this argument further and to investigate why science and mathematics students face challenging pedagogical barriers, we explored the insights gleaned from several studies on curriculum and development education (Campbell & Crowe, 2012; Bryan, 2011). From Bernstein's perspective, which is extensively explored in Campbell and Crowe's article (2012, the origin of the production of knowledge is a key variable in determining the legitimacy of that knowledge within the disciplinary domain. As a case in point, mathematicians decide what constitutes mathematical knowledge along with the appropriate language, terminology and instructional discourse that should be used to convey meaning. Behind the issue of legitimacy of knowledge is what Bernstein describes as a classification system that is influenced by such variables as standards of grading and required program subjects (e.g., teachables). Given how subjects are classified within a hierarchy of status, Bernstein asserts that subjects which demonstrate a high classification and a strong power dimension to the subject content may lead students to feel "less able to tamper with the subject content as it may appear to be strongly confined or bounded" (Campbell & Crowe, 2011, p. 95). The following comment recorded by a pre-service teacher exemplifies the quandary that some candidates face when

attempting to integrate a global perspective into high classification subjects: "teachables [such as] chemistry and physics... will take some shoehorning to get global development into those subjects."

**Controversies**

A second response from pre-service candidates regarding whether or not there was anything discussed during the workshops that they thought would be difficult to integrate into their teaching focused on concerns related to teaching controversial issues, addressing politically charged topics sometimes referred to as "sensitive issues," which might raise the wrath of parents or administrators. As one student explicitly stated, "Some subjects need to be addressed in a certain way to not offend students' parents, etc." The receptivity of administrators and parents was addressed in the comment that "[n]ot all schools/classrooms will be receptive to exploring such diverse and potentially controversial topics."

New teachers are justifiably cautious in taking on some of these topics in their classrooms, and their comments signaled an awareness of the need to acquire the skills and confidence necessary to do so (Appleyard & McLean, 2011; Holden & Hicks, 2007). Along with many of her/his elementary colleagues, one pre-service teacher cautiously noted how "a teacher of primary classroom has to be careful as to how these issues (e.g., human rights, environmental sustainability) are presented to the students so as not to overwhelm them. Building resources to integrate social issues into the classroom is still going to take some time" (Survey Response Form, 2011).

Not surprisingly, elementary teachers were particularly concerned about what is an appropriate topic for an elementary grade level, how to approach teaching these topics and the availability of age appropriate topics and resources (Merryfield, 1990; Schweisfurth, 2006). Comments such as, "trying to integrate some information into primary grades would be difficult" (Survey Response Form, 2011) were frequent among the elementary teachers' responses.

Specifically, among the 47 primary and junior students who responded to the question regarding the teaching subjects that they associated with global citizenship education, social studies was the unanimous choice among most candidates along with history, civics and geography. Of particular note, unlike the secondary candidates who were reluctant to identify some subject areas as suitable for global issues, almost half of the primary/junior respondents stated that all or many subjects including mathematics and science were appropriate domains for global topics. As a case in point, one candidate asserted, "It can be incorporated in any subject really, because let's just say one is talking about food and nutrition, this can be looked at in a global aspect and can be incorporated in math and language and in health." Likewise, another candidate stated enthusiastically, "math, science, social studies, language: all subjects are related in some way." Thus, despite the fact that each pre-service primary and junior teacher candidate is familiar with the demands of an extensive compilation of expectations and learning outcomes among the six Curriculum Guides that they are studying in the program, many were receptive to integrating global issues within their classroom teaching.

Two significant factors may account for these responses. First, as stated previously, often pre-service teachers have completed prior undergraduate degrees in interdisciplinary studies such as sociology or psychology where there is often a blurring or overlap among the interdisciplinary base. This previous knowledge acquisition schema, as some scholars have identified, can play a significant role in influencing future knowledge acquisition. Second, within the classrooms of primary and junior schools, teachers have greater flexibility and fluidity in determining when subjects are taught than in mid-level and secondary schools. Moreover, within primary and junior classes' scheduling of courses, integration of subject material is frequently recommended as a pedagogical strategy for meeting multiple curricula expectations.

**Capacity Building**

According to Michael Fullan, capacity building is comprised of three main components; competencies, resources, and motivation (Fullan, 2008, p. 57). As such, it can be seen that "individuals and groups are high in capacity if they possess and continue to develop knowledge and skills, if they attract and use resources wisely and if they are committed to putting in the energy to get important things done collectively and continuously" (Fullan, 2008). Thus, the Fall Institute's ability to address the pedagogical needs of pre-service teachers in the area of global education has been analyzed using Fullan's three-part model of capacity building.

Three quarters of the students who attended the Institute were not part of the global cohort, thus confirming that the Institute attracted a wide spectrum of teacher candidates. Interestingly, roughly 90 percent of the attendees stated that they had no previous experience with global citizenship education. As such, the Institute provided a critical opportunity for many pre-service teachers to both develop and enhance their knowledge and skills with relation to global citizenship education. Although new knowledge was discussed in detail above, it is worth noting that 96 percent of respondents agreed, or strongly agreed, that the Institute provided them with new knowledge. When asked, participants associated global citizenship pedagogy predominantly with constructivist methods of teaching. In particular, participants linked global education with interactive, student-directed, collaborative, inclusionary, and inquiry-based teaching methods (Holden & Hicks, 2007).

DGPE/DPGEE is committed to providing strategies and resources that enable both current and future teachers to bring global education into their classrooms. Accordingly, the DGPE/DPGEE website is designed purposefully to act as an "interactive forum for resource and idea sharing that is organic and responsive to teachers' changing needs and interests over time" (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2012a). Likewise, the workshops, lectures and plenary sessions offered at the Fall Institute featured "practical ideas and diverse applications for educators at all levels" (DGPE/DPGEE, 2011). Although many of the teaching activities provided at the Institute were developed in collaboration with NGO partners, the Institute was careful to also provide "strategies for future teachers to both use and further develop these activities to meet the needs of the increasingly diverse population of students entering Canadian Classrooms" (DGPE/DPGEE Website, 2011).

To ensure that all participants had an opportunity to reflect on their learning through attending the Institute, the post Institute survey asked for suggestions for future Institutes. While the majority of participants made general observations about their experiences at the Institute relating to topics, logistics, teaching strategies, and materials/resources, some enlightening comments about the mobilization of knowledge emerged. While participant responses spoke with optimism and confidence about teaching strategies and materials available, when asked for specific examples of things they would like to see more of at subsequent Institutes, participants requested concrete teaching strategies that they could use to integrate global education into the classroom as well as more classroom ready materials and resources specific to grade level and subjects (Zong, 2009).

Although no direct questions regarding motivation were asked in the survey, general workshop comments provided by participants shed some light on the motivational capabilities among those who attended the Institute. For example, one respondent commented that the Free the Children workshop "renewed my interest in this organization and I strongly feel that I will incorporate their resources in my classroom." Another attendee excitedly asserted that students would "eat-up" the Oxfam World-Trade game and that she/he "ran after" the ImagineAction presenter to get more information and to sign up for the website. Additionally, given the voluntary nature of attendees (the exception being two required courses that included optional assignments on the Institute), we

concluded that Institute attendance itself equated with motivation. Participants gave up part of a weekend (Friday afternoon and evening and all day Saturday) to learn about and to expand their knowledge of global citizenship education. Thus, it can be seen that the Institute achieved its objective of capacity building as it fostered the development of knowledge and skills, disseminated resources and required participants to demonstrate a certain level of motivation.

## Conclusion

This paper represents a snapshot of the DGPE/DPGEE's Fall Institute that has allowed us to examine quantitatively and qualitatively the multiple meanings of this single event through our analysis of the teacher candidates' responses. Our study of the structure, content, and formation of the candidates' learning with regard to the timing of the Institute and their prior educational studies have highlighted the significant impacts on the students' own holistically defined capacity to consider how to incorporate themes of global citizenship into their future classrooms. Both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis indicate that the Fall Institute has contributed to the capacity building of its pre-service teachers through improving personal competencies, providing resources and offering motivation through keynote addresses by global citizenship *exemplars* (Fullan, 2008, p. 57; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2009).

The analysis of the study's qualitative survey responses also has implications for the design of future Fall Institutes. In regard to the goal of encouraging the development of a *critical* perspective to global education as well as mitigating against some of the perceived subject based barriers (e.g., in math and science) of incorporating global citizenship topics into the curriculum, future Institutes may consider expanding the number of explicitly targeted introductory keynote addresses in order to explore these specific issues with all attendees. In considering the challenges faced by educators "in their efforts to implement global education initiatives in the classroom" (Mundy, et al., 2007), we recall the rhetorical query posed by Graham Pike in his article on recent trends in *Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship*: if educational institutions cannot be catalysts for teaching global citizenship education, "from where is that impetus likely to come?" (Pike, 2008, p. 236).

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