A CRITICAL MULTICULTURAL ANALYSIS OF A ROMANIAN TEXTBOOK TAUGHT IN ELEMENTARY INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

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Abstract: This case study proposes a critical multicultural analysis of a Romanian language textbook used for instructing students in grades one and two in the Elementary Language International Program (ELIP) in Toronto public schools in Ontario, Canada. Based on an analysis developed from Fairclough and Parker's criteria, this paper determined stereotypes held by middle class Romanians, revealing a postcommunist society with certain classist, religious, sexist and nationalist biases. Particular characteristic of confrontational behavior and lack of pedagogical patience often reported in Romanian schools and society were found in this text. With all of these stereotypes, this book offers admirable resistance for Romanian-Canadian community that seems to battle to build its own special identity. As this book is the first schooling attempt to identify and promote the Romanian-Canadian identity, redesigning the textbook in a multicultural, multilingual and multimodal framework is highly recommended, in order to afford a safe negotiation between various Romanian and Canadian national experiences.

Key words: multicultural education, critical multicultural analysis, critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Canadian multicultural education attempts to provide knowledge about history, immigration, culture, citizenship and participation in society and communities and empower students, parents and teachers to accomplish these goals (Government of Canada – Policy Research Initiative, 2007). Decades ago, the Canadian government officially recognized the right of each ethnic immigrant community to preserve their language. Multicultural policies started to be implemented in Canada from the end of 1970s (Cummins, 2014; Government of Canada – Policy Research Initiative, 2007). In Toronto, one of the most important partners in providing multicultural instruction is the Elementary Language International Programs (ELIP) of the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). Based on Heritage Languages programs, this program gives public school students the opportunity to appreciate other cultures and languages, other than English and French. Unfortunately, major challenges such as a lack of resources, policies and implementations are still pervasive (Aravossitas, 2010).

After several decades of multicultural and multilingual policies, there are no measurable improvement output and the funding for supporting multicultural education remains minimal (Aravossitas, 2010; Burnaby, 2008). For instance, Toronto's Romanian community displays severe difficulties in setting an adequate ELIP program. As the majority of the Romanian immigrants have recently arrived to Canada, there are major issues for these immigrants in terms of adapting to the new life, organizing themselves, and finding their identity in the new country (Bujea, 2009). For example, Toronto has more than 70,000 Romanians, yet the ELIP in Romanian was established in only three schools, and even in these schools I noticed a high dropout rate among the Romanian students. As these programs are extracurricular activities and only one hour per week, effective participating to these ELIP programs remains difficult.

There has been an ongoing debate about the content of the curriculum and the textbooks that should be used for the Romanian ELIP program. There were several pros and cons debates on this topic. Asked about this decision of the Romanian-Canadian community, some Canadian educators considered not using a textbook as an undisputable symbol of independent thinking and child-centered curriculum (Bothelho, personal communication). However the mainstream of Canadian schools is different from

the ELIP classrooms. While there are a great number of textbooks for English literacy and literature for Canadian public schools, there is a lack of resources for Heritage Languages, in particular for the Romanian-Canadian community. In addition, traditional Romanian schooling has always requested establishing textbooks for students. Consequently, teachers, students and their parents heavily count on these textbooks. This is why using a textbook for this program was important for the Romanian-Canadian community. For a period of time, the teachers did not use any textbooks. A decade ago, teachers from a Toronto ELIP program wrote the first textbooks and vocabularies in Romanian language (Colceriu, Grigorescu & Popa, 2004a). Until this moment, there are very few studies about Canadian multilingual literacy efforts focused on textbooks for immigrant children on their native language perspective. As such, this article is written with this purpose in mind.

Global movements of people in developed countries such as Canada, the US, Australia, and western European countries have changed the image of traditional education (Jewitt, 2008). There are complex challenges in revealing links among social, linguistic, and cultural varieties of schooling and communities. As such, discussing and exploring multiliteracies and multimodalities in various settings is a crucial aspect of knowledge construction in classrooms and communities (Jewitt, 2008). This article develops a critical multicultural analysis on literacy of the elementary Grade 1 and 2 Romanian ELIP textbook based on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (2003) and Parker's critical multiculturalism (1992, 1999) works. Teachers' texts, images, Romanian classics' texts, and folkloric literature are analyzed in minutiae. This paper focusses on discussing power relationships, stereotypes and biases of this textbook and tries to discuss ethnical, gender, class, and religious aspects that might potentially arise. As well, the study attempts to find whether the book offers agency for identity. More exactly, I considered the following research questions in relation to this textbook:

1. How are the concepts of ethnicity, gender, social class, and religion represented in this textbook?

2. Does this textbook offer resistance and agency?

The article is structured as follows. This first part of the article gives an overview of the research. The second section introduces a brief literature review about Romanian postcommunist society, Romanian immigration in Canada, and, tendencies that East European textbooks might display. The next section describes the methodology used in this article and a brief discussion about CDA and critical multiculturalism. The fourth section reports the findings and the final section has some discussions about power relationships, stereotypes and biases, followed by recommendations and final comments.

2. Literature Review

Textbooks are complex collective representations of societal and cultural tendencies (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977). Often textbooks (Aldridge, 2006; Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977), complex situations and aspects of the sociocultural life are avoided. Instead, the information presented in textbooks is often distorted or simplistically presented, missing the provoking parts and critical aspects (Alridge, 2006). In the following I will present a short summary of the recent sociocultural changes in the postcommunist Romanian society.

2.1. Sociocultural Aspects of the Recent Romanian History

Social and national Romanian identity has been examined from different perspectives by social researchers, philosophers and educators. Until the end of 1989, Romania had a communist totalitarian regime; therefore, the incipient democracy in Romania that started in 1990s is different from Western democracies. Being a newly accepted member of the European Union, Romania has attempted a great number of reforms (Tismaneanu, 2002). As a result, many aspects of Romanian society have changed. Yet, old communist nationalist prejudices are still present in Romanian post-communist society (Carey, 2004; Tismaneanu, 2002; Fairclough, 2007). According to communist propaganda, women were declared equals with men, all ethnicities had equal rights, and among all social classes were only peace, brotherhood, cooperation, and harmony. In fact, these were only slogans (Filipescu, 2009). Minorities were treated without considering their specificities and without taking into account their linguistic, cultural and religious differences (Filipescu, 2009; Kurczewski, 1995).

To summarize, the following main themes were reported as being persistent:

1. Centralized thinking was strongly encouraged during the socialist regime. Consequently, this weakened people' capability to make decisions and take responsibility. The people thought of the government as being responsible for their problems (Louis & van Velzen, 2012; Resnick, 1999)

2. In postcommunist societies, multiculturalism is only incipient (Schopflin, 1996; Schopflin, 2001);

3. There is a strong and unfair male-domination power resented in society (Bucur & Miroiu, 2002; Roman 2001);

4. Communist and Postcommunist Romania are strongly segregated by social classes (Georgescu, 1997). In education, intellectuals and the wealthy people took control of instruction and academic pursuits.

2.2. Communist Influences on National and Social Identity in Romania

Researchers agree that, in order to grow and manipulate peoples' minds, the communist regime appealed to nationalism (Tismaneanu, 2002; Zukovski, 2006). This might be because communism itself could not be imposed without appealing to nationalist sentiments. After 1990, the process of shifting national identity from communist nationalism to democratic nationalism became a difficult pursuit that required many years of reforms and still many things are left (Carey, 2004; Tismaneanu, 2002). Under the totalitarian socialist regimes, people maintained a "proxy" image of identity towards government. This passive attitude, researchers claim, means people were avoiding assuming any responsibility for taking their own decisions, expecting that the government or direct supervisors will tell them what to do and keep their job secure. The communist regime had a technological bias in education, reducing the humanistic and social fields for schooling and work. There were very few opportunities to study in Romanian universities (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010) and usually these studies were in the areas of technology.

During the communist regime, critics claimed that many nationalist and civic disputes were superficially solved either by freezing or ignoring them (Filipescu, 2009). Minorities were proclaimed equal with the majority, but in fact they were ignored. In the communist regime, minorities were theoretically recognized but they were treated in the same way with the dominant majority, without taking into consideration their particularities and specific needs (Filipescu, 2009). Schopflin (1995) asserts that the communist regimes destroyed civil societies and transformed communities into "civic deserts", characterized by mistrust and atomization. Religious education was forbidden. Also, discussions about ethnic national identities were the only ones that remained salient.

In the case of the national curriculum, scholars claim that educators pushed students forcefully, in order to make them acquire academic skills as quickly as possible (Rogojinaru, 1998). In these processes, the learning of social and team skills was regarded as less meaningful (Rogojinaru, 1998), as only subordination towards the center counted. As a social tendency, researchers have shown that, in general, Balkan countries might often be associated with a lack of cooperation among individuals and confrontational profiles (Fullam, 2001). Especially in communist societies, national education systems have expressed obedience towards teachers and society (Kolouh-Westin, 2004). In schools and families, newspapers reported that parents and educators use physical punishment of children although it is officially discouraged (Dolhi, 2006).

2.3. Gender Imbalance in Romanian Society

Many researchers have reported on tendencies of communist regimes to enforce masculinity. For instance, Bucur and Miroiu (2002) mention that, in communism, the concept of equality was a very abstract one: men and women were theoretically equal. The profound aspects of feminist engagements were not understood even after the fall of the communist regime. It should be mentioned that gender is a relatively new concept in Romanian society, introduced in the 1990s (Roman, 2001). Feminist orientations were introduced only after 1990s and with severe limitations, as Roman (2001) mentioned: "to be a feminist is considered even by such strong women as either shameful or

subversive in an immoral way, or as a residue of communist politics. Powerful women are also suspected of "being men" beyond metaphorical representations, or androgynous" (p. 61).

Power Relations between Social Classes: There are many evidences reported on lack of equity in accessing educational opportunities among Romanian classes during the communist regime (Georgescu, 1997). In spite of the proclaimed equality between social classes, in fact intellectuals and communist rulers had social and educational privileges. A high level of academic success required a great amount of tutoring and knowledge for children in order to make them able to cope. Mainly, only the families of intellectuals and communist leaders afforded these efforts (Georgescu, 1997; US Congress, 1995). Students coming from these social classes were deemed to succeed academically, in order to keep up with the increasing demands of academic skills. In fact, they formed the majority of successful academic students. Not only were they better regarded by society, but also they perpetuated the composure of pool entrance in the market of high skilled jobs (Georgescu, 1997).

Religious Perspectives in the Construction of National Identity: In the construction of Romanian national identity, the Romanian Orthodox Church has had a primordial role (Flora, Szilagyi, & Roudometof, 2005; Nachescu, 2005). In past centuries, the Romanian Orthodox Church identified themselves with the aspirations of Romanian ethnicity. More exactly, while the Orthodox Church identified itself with the ethnic Romanians, the other major ethnicities, except the Roma community, had different religious orientations (Culic, 2005; Zelinska, 2009; Zuzowski, 2006). As critics have pointed out, in Eastern Europe, nationalism is mixed with religion. Tismaneanu (1998), for instance, states that presently "ethnocentric populism" and "liturgical nationalism" seem to triumph over "civic liberal nationalism".

2.4. Romanian National Identity Reflected in Textbooks

These nationalist tendencies are often encountered in all post-communist countries from Eastern Europe and former Yugoslav republics and Romania might be considered as typical examples (Culic, 2005; Kitromilides, 1996; Kolouh-Westin; 2004; Schopflin 2001). Such essentialist views come directly even from history books as, according to Culic (2005), these books and their authors from the Romanian Academy did not have the possibility to deconstruct country's national identity in nonessentialist way (Culic, 2005). Therefore, it is no surprise that textbooks and mass media keep this tendency. Examining the content of the primary school textbooks from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kolouh-Westin (2004) found that the curriculum about national identity is overloaded, very prescriptive, and burdened with irrelevant facts that do not leave educators with much possibility for using their creativity in teaching. Textbooks are saturated with patriotic feelings. Complex social aspects about democracy and peace were not well elaborated and were not entirely understood by authors. Similarly, Stojanovich (2004) describes that the Serbian textbooks are heavily loaded with cultural models of militancy and sacrifice. The past became a law in itself where the image of the enemy is projected and triggers the student to think about how to make sacrifices for the country.

Compared with these countries of the former Yugoslavian Republic, Romania has a healthier reformed society. The explanation could be found in Romania establishing socio-cultural exchanges with the European Union, as the country is a recent member of the European Union. Yet, Romanian textbooks still contain reminiscent influences from the communist period. For instance, Murgescu (2004) found that Romanian textbooks often trigger deep ancestries and are gender biased. As well, the curriculum is loaded as much as possible to accelerate the pace of learning. More exactly, the biological age of children is only partially recognized, as they are often treated as adults. Consequently, there is a strong separation based on academic performances at early ages, as many children are not able to keep pace with the expectations of the academic stream and do not have later chances to go back into the academic stream (Mincu, 2009).

2.5. Influences of Canadian Multicultural Education on Romanian Immigrants Community in Canada

According to Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT) (1997), Canadian multicultural education undertakes multiple efforts to provide knowledge about citizenship and personal participation in society and communities. As well, it promotes a culture of care towards national and local ideals, environments, others people, and self. Canadian curriculum affirms civic, cultural and ethical values of diverse communities with intersecting needs and expectations. Therefore, respecting and applying human rights are perceived to be the essence of Canadian multicultural education. Attempting to provide children and youths with agency and impetus for renewal from the demands of different families and social groups, Canadian multiculturalism endeavors to provide children with agency and the desire to address issues within schools and community contexts. In particular, Romanian-Canadian immigrants are exposed to these values in the ELIP programs.

The Romanian community in Canada consists of three important waves: a) immigrants before WWI, b) immigrants during the communist regime, and c) recent immigrants coming after the collapse of the communist regime (Culic, 2012). This last category of immigrants usually is congregated in large cities such as Toronto and Montreal, is overwhelmingly composed of skilled immigrants, and has the desire to keep their middle class status in the new country. Canadian government reported that the number of Romanian immigrants climbed the highest in 2004, when they were in the highest number of European immigrants arriving in Canada (Culic, 2012). As Culic (2010, 2012) mentioned, they often exclude and are excluded from the Canadian mainstream based on their language and culture. In addition, they face numerous difficulties as having financial and professional difficulties at the beginning of their immigration journey to Canada, as a regular number of immigrants return back in Romania or do not accomplish the middle class status. While 2004 was a peak in the number of Romanians immigrants arriving in Canada, now the number of immigrants drastically decreased. This literature review is very consistent with the atmosphere found in the Romanian ELIP programs.

2.6. Final Comments about the Literature Review

As concluding comments about the literature review related to Romanian society, it might be said that although Romania is today part of the European Union and perceived as a Caucasian civilization, its postcommunist sociocultural issues still persists, as gender bias, confrontational models, and patriotic propaganda exaggerations were inherited from the previous communist regime. Despite being perceived as skilled workers, Europeans, Whites and Christians, as a new community of immigrants, Romanian-Canadians are highly suffering of self-identity and efficient networking. This research attempts to distinguish whether tendencies originating from the postcommunist society are established in the textbook's content. As well, in order to understand the perspective of 'policy of correctness' from both perspectives, this analysis is made from the perspective of a native Romanian teacher immigrating to Canada, and, as well, of a Canadian immigrant teacher and researcher.

3. Methodology

This study is a qualitative research that intends to explore the content of the Romanian textbook designed for the first and second grade for the EILP (Colceriu et al, 2004). For this purpose, I develop critical multiliteracy (Parker, 1992, 1999) by using Critical Discourse Analysis approach (Fairclough, 2003; Parker). I analyze first my background and facts about the Romanian Canadian community. I will describe various texts and photographs from this textbook, in order to find messages, power relationships, and resistance evidences that are transmitted to students and the community.

My background is male, former teacher, of Romanian native ethnicity, and Orthodox believer, and, as a result, I am probably biased towards these appearances from my background. I have teaching license in both countries and, as a relatively recent immigrant to Canada, I am sympathetic to the stands of Romanian teachers and parents in terms of designing and using textbooks. As well, I am aware that Canadian teachers often disregard textbooks, in order to provide a more creative and free process of learning. In this context, it is somehow difficult to understand Romanian teachers and parents'

preferences for textbooks. To solve these challenges, I attempt to diminish these biases by taking into account different perspectives from the critical theory that I used in this analysis, comments from other immigrants, and opinions from native speakers of English. Overall, I am still struggling with my Romanian-Canadian dual citizenship and I believe that this is in some ways expected by every first generation of immigrants.

In analyzing a discourse, Gee (2014) considers that texts reciprocate with social practicality by describing a specific reality and creating new realities. In consequence, the discourse analysis of a text should tell a specific story in order to connect complex facets of reality. There are a great number of styles of developing discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2014; Johnstone, 2008; Van Dijk, 1993). In this textbook, I will apply Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Fairclough (2003) and Parker's critical multiculturalism (1999). CDA avoids speculating a simple deterministic linguistic analysis. Instead, CDA explores links among critical identification, identity development and confidence. Through the description of stereotypes and social interactions, CDA examines the way the reality and social relationships are signified in texts. Stereotypes approximate social reality and are an answer to various cultural, ideological, political, economic, and ethnical challenges of society. These consequences of using stereotypes are fully related with the way people exercise power and democracy. How are these representing and exercising the power and how are these related to attempts to discover simplified answers?

For Fairclough (2003), texts' stereotypes are used to construct more complex realities. By using CDA, I avoid seeing the textual description of the document and analysis as distinct from social analysis. Fairclough (2003) uses CDA methods to display and discuss elaborate mediations and relationships between textbook and sociocultural events, in order to explore the way different levels of abstraction of genres link in the textbook. Based on his ideas, I will try to detect social activities and identities of textbooks' characters. By assuming that language and textbooks are social phenomena, I will explore patterns of inclusions and exclusions that this textbook offers. Fairclough (2003) advise us to not oversimplify on these relations as we attempt efforts of legitimization. It is assumed that textbooks are relevant units and authors, readers and listeners are active participants to the life of the texts, and that social institutions and groups have specific values, norms and significations expressed in an organized and systemic way (Kress, 1989).

This paper develops a deep analysis of critical multiliteracy advanced by Parker (1992, 1999). Critical multiliteracy is a design based on revealing contradictions, constructions and current social practices focusing on exploring general tendencies and views revealed in textbooks. Parker avoids analyzing isolated items and words and instead, recommends grasping the holistic perspective of the discourse. By looking into the construction of texts through the CDA, I examine how the general meanings are socially constructed. What are the overall power relations across the stories? While the first steps are to find contradictory aspects of meaning and existence of the Romanian-Canadian group, deconstructing the identities revealed by the new Romanian-Canadian immigrants will help the community to better self-identify and adjust their journey between Canada and Romania.

Combining Fairclough (2003) framework and Parker's (1992, 1999) methods, the textbook's layers structuring CDA on critical multicultural debates are: a) ethnicity, b) postcommunist tendencies, c) gender, d) social class, and e) religion. As such, it is important to take into account the actual social context in which the textbook was designed and discussed, in this case, the recent immigrants of the Romanian minority in Toronto. I consider that Parker's (1999) framework on critical multiliteracy is an adequate instrument for exploring textbooks' categories of power and inclusion-exclusion relationships as well as for detecting major aspects of resistance for Romanian-Canadian community.

4. Findings

4.1. General Findings

The textbook is called Workbook and Reader. It has 120 pages and it is printed very economically: black and white, using regular printer, and manually bounded. The book starts with the Romanian

alphabet, while the content is structured into eight chapters. The first chapter recommends some safe practices in school environments and homes. The second chapter is dedicated solely to family. The third chapter is about people helping people and the next one discusses food choices. The fifth chapter is about understanding environmental changes: water, snow and pollution. The sixth chapter presents Romanian celebrations and the next one focuses on Romanian carols. The last chapter contains additional lectures from classical Romanian writers, mainly writings from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. To sum up, the content of the textbook has civic education, literature, and folk traditions. Overall, it seems that the subjects and texts are carefully selected and are part of the Canadian multicultural education curriculum. A short point of view about reader's experience in reading in English seems necessary; however, only the titles of the chapters are translated into English, so English readers cannot rely much on this textbook to start learning Romanian.

An important issue consists in the letters used in this textbook. The Romanian alphabet uses five specific letters (ă, â, î, ş, ţ) that are in addition to the letters commonly used in English. One letter, the letter ('î'), was not used at all in the textbook. The other four letters were used only once, at the beginning of the textbook. I was displeased that the textbook did not use these specific Romanian characters. For more than 20 years, there have been technical capacities to include this set of letters in any printed document. As a result, all eight chapters had only standard letters that are used in English, while Romanian-specific letters (ă, â, î, ş, ţ) were substituted with English letters phonetically closed to them (a, i, s, t). Although those who are literate in Romanian might not be disturbed by this substitution of characters, the process of reading and learning new words might turn out to be quite difficult for those who are new to learning Romanian language. This aspect already gives to Romanian students a sense of assimilation. If the use of Romanian letters was technically possible, why were these letters substituted with English characters?

4.2. Overall Comments about Pictures

The authors did not have a professional service purposely designated to process pictures. The images found in this textbook seem taken from Word Clip Art and from the free domains of the Internet. Some images are similar to Romanian traditions, others similar to Canadian or western traditions, while other images present a seemingly false modernity.

Selecting pictures for celebrations and carols appears to be challenging for authors. These images should represent religious and folkloric background. Usually, Romanian traditional religious texts rarely use realistic pictures. This might be explained by the traditions used that Christian-Orthodox traditions use stylized pictures, reduced to essential components, and so does the pictures belonging to the Romanian folklore. How should these pictures be selected for a Romanian Canadian identity so that they are not too traditional but also do not enforce modernity? This was very difficult.

For example, the picture illustrating the story "The wolf, the goat, and the cabbage" on page 101 and the pictures about Easter customs on page 80 closely follow the Romanian traditions. On page 82, instead of using Romanian traditional perspectives, modernity is enforced; the picture on this page shows standardization. More exactly, all the children look similar and have similar gestures. They are elegantly dressed and clean. It is hard to distinguish their gender, although they appear to be slightly more masculine. Children appear to belong to the upper-middle class and not from the rural area, where usually folklore originates. On page 86, we have the same problem of itemization. The children look very similar, we can mention according to the guide (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1980) that these images do not represent peasants from villages as the traditions require and do not represent distinct pictures.

Overall, it seems that the pictures of the textbook have difficulties in negotiating spiritual identity along three dimensions: Romanian traditions, Canadian-American traditions, and contemporary tendencies, and it is a struggling battle to find their specificity way as these distinct perspectives seems

to be far to be integrated and offer a coherence for the textbook. It might be for technical and financial problems that the authors did not have time and resources to offer an integrated style for this textbook.

4.3. Ethics and Social Themes

Some typical social issues were the themes identified in the textbook such as patriotism, etiquette, and aging. Together these features subordinate the students to a particular worldview. They also seem to increase the age of the targeted audience.

Views of Patriotism

Often in post-communist countries, textbooks make appeals to patriotic feelings (Murgescu, 2004). In the past, Romanians had a nationalist communist system and now they have problems finding an adequate democratic nationalism. This is fully expressed in the foreword, on the page 1. It is a pledge to preserve Romanian spiritual identity: "In this book a nation is defining among other nations". The textbook mentions the desire to keep the "Romanian way" ("Romanismul"), as beliefs, religion and traditions. It is questionable for me that the role of the current textbook is to maintain the religion. It was noticed the way the textbook promoted the attachment toward the new country. When immigrants from communist or postcommunist countries arrive in a new country, they keep a pattern of attachment typical from previous time period. In this textbook, I noticed a similar transfer from "loving Romania" to "loving Canada" when the authors discuss about the new country. However, it seems that the authors attempt to persuade students to love both Romania and Canada

Attitudes Enforced by Textbook

The textbook often reminded the readers the following attitudes: a) Children should keep quiet; b) Conform to the social rules, being polite and clean, c) Social and team skills missing.

The textbook tries to enforce good behavior among students. On the page 14, when going to school, the student mentions that he is happy because he will learn reading, writing, and good manners. These good manners are often reduced to the attitude of being quite; it doesn't specify how the student will interact with others, get along each other, or make new friends. Therefore, I found the text is presented more from a parental perspective.

On page 20, the textbook asks students to draw the school's yard. After, students are asked to "Sketch with red the students who did not properly use the equipment." Also, the entire textbook asks students to be polite and clean. This reminds me of Romanian school traditions, where, especially at primary level, the attitude of respect and humility toward the teacher is strongly emphasized.

There are no messages about the importance of socialization and making friends in class. Requests about working in teams occurred only three times in this textbook. Therefore, taking into account that it is a two-year textbook, I am concerned with this small number of times when children are asked to work in groups.

4.4. Age Issues

The Chinese student mentioned before told me cases when, in the ELIP classes for Chinese students, teachers used a high level of literacy skills, usually required for advanced students and native speaker grown-ups. This tendency is similar with Romanian traditions (Rogojinaru 1998) and was found in this textbook many times.

First, the textbook starts with the Foreword. The text is written from an adult perspective. Also, there is a problem with the diacritics, mentioned before. Because the book did not use Romanian diacritics, the book was very difficult to read, especially for young readers who recently began reading and writing. In addition, the book is loaded with words difficult to understand for children less than eight-years-old. For instance on page 18 narrate "relateaza", on page 22 terms were more for teacher or parents' vocabulary: "consecutive" ("consecutive"), "manufacture" ("confectionati"). While these words might be of a reasonable difficulty for students who live and study in Romania, for the Romanian-Canadian students this vocabulary might be too challenging.

On the page 44 the authors use the word "ingredients". On the page 14, it asks without any explanation to detect the cross-rhymes and linked words. What chances are for a grade one student to know about rimes and cross rimes? How will a grade one student know what linked words are? Especially when these students are taught only one hour per week, these requirements appear unrealistic. At the page 16, a story describes firefighters' characters. This story is in a Canadian context. When the firefighters said that there was a problem with the alarm, the student mentioned that they quieted down and went to bed seeming to leave the story described from the adult perspective. The language of instructing children is designated for greater ages.

On the page 41 is a story about Red Cross. Here, the book starts to mention historical data, facts that are difficult to grasp for children until about the fifth grade. On page 19, at the assignment seven, the solution is already inserted in the body of the text, which seems somewhat insulting for students' intelligence, since they don't have to think about it. Why not make a separate section containing solutions? Another exercise for students is to join in groups of four and design an internal set of rules ("Regulament interior"). In this textbook we often meet vocabulary difficult to understand for children. The vocabulary and the language are not appropriate for the first or second grade. Rather, is for students at the intermediate level, or for their parents.

The textbook also uses words whose significance could not be found in the Canadian educational context. For instance, on page 18, it asks to write the catalogue ("catalog) for the class. What do students know about cataloguing? This notion is introduced in the Romanian education system, not in Canada. Without detailed explanations, we could expect children will have problems in understanding these words. In consequence, using notions from the Romanian context without explaining to students might let students reject them later.

It is unclear if the authors deliberately tried to insert complicated words or if they introduced them without pedagogical deliberation. Unfortunately this custom is often encountered among Romanian authors of textbooks. They are used to introducing a high amount of difficulty on purpose into their textbook. In this way, the textbook has an elitist target, of high level achievers (Georgescu 1997; Mincu, 2009).

4.5. Gender relationships

This textbook dedicates an entire chapter to family. A text called My Family on page 26 shows strong gender stereotypical issues. The text is about a four-member family, the classic family, having parents, an elder son, and a younger daughter. In this story, the mother is described as "good and beautiful". There is the hardworking father who, in order to go to work, leaves the house early in the morning and comes back late. The sister is younger than her brother, but she knows many beautiful poems. "Together we make a family." Sometimes the language is too declarative, stereotypical and propagandistic. The boy is the one who tells his perspective of the story. As well, the pictures shown emphasize more importance to the son and his father, as they images are represented more detailed. On the same page, the requested assignment might enforce stereotypes such as suggesting teaching for women and engineering for men.

Overall, the main personages are usually male characters. Therefore, it is expected that stories are from the males' perspective and it seems to me that in this textbook, males are stereotypically shown as more powerful. The stereotypical activities are heavily represented in the other parts of the textbook. In another story, My Favorite Food on page 49, the mom is the one who knows innumerable kinds of foods, while the father is the one who knows how to break walnuts. On page 32, the grandma is helping her nephew to learn making cookies, while the grandfather is teaching his nephew how to fish. In the chapter seven, about carols, the pictures on pages 82 and 86 illustrating Carols are also gender biased: the singers are all boys. On page 34, mom is "good, beautiful, smart, generous, and in charge of cleaning the house". Therefore, it can be perceived the enforcing of the stereotypical representations for women.

4.6. Views on Social Classes

I noticed that recent Romanian immigrants coming to Canada came largely from the Romanian middle class. They are usually highly qualified in technology or science. Usually, their expectations are to get a professional job that will bring them into the Canadian middle class. These tendencies of promoting middle class were found in this textbook. The story My Family, discussed before, has also some social class bias. Family pictures stereotypically show a middle class background. Also, when it speaks about jobs, I noticed only middle class jobs (e.g. engineering, teaching). On the page 36, the parents are, again, in stereotypical middle class jobs, with father being an engineer and mother being a teacher. The authors ask the student to learn "in order to be somebody". On page 34, everyone is special in the family (only) because they have certain qualities and jobs.

On the page 28, the boy praises his family for living in a two-level house. They used to rent before building apartment. Now, they live in a nice house: "We live on a quiet street". The story ends by asking the students about their houses, thereby excluding those who live in apartment buildings. In another text, at page 32, "At grandparents" ("La Bunici"), one grandmother helps their children and grandsons, a new family of Canadian immigrants coming to Canada, to help raise their family. The other grandparents are living at their home, in Romania, in a rural area. Attached to his homeland, the grandson would travel and spend all summer vacations in Romania, in order to help his grandparents and listen to wonderful fairy tales: "We help my grandmother to feed the chicken and clean the land. Before going to sleep, we hear from the grandfather untold stories. I love my grandparents". The story seems traditional, idealistically viewed, and conceivably artificial. The associated assignment tasks ask students to give descriptions of the members of their families. Also, as a family model promoted in this book, this story is emblematic, as in this textbook all described families are traditional, with both parents (mother and father).

4.7. Views on Ethnicities and Religious Minorities

In this textbook, nothing is mentioned about other ethnicities living in Romania: Hungarians, Roma, Germans, Jews, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Serbians. The carols are entirely from the Romanian Christian Orthodox tradition and the writings are mostly from the Romanian classic writers from the 19th century, and very few from the beginning of the 20th century. No poem was found from other religious orientations or translated from other religious or ethnic minorities. Also, Orthodox customs that are mentioned in this textbook could raise concerns here, as sometimes it is a difficult attempt to split folkloric poems from religious ones. As well, the Romanian literature after the WWII is missing.

5. Conclusions

Using CDA in a critical multiliteracy framework has the purpose to explore and debate relations between language and micro-society, in our case the way a textbook describes the relations of a recent postcommunist immigrant minority in an English speaking country. Discussing about multiliteracy by using CDA might add additional levels of complexity and challenges. As researchers (Kandiah, 2005; Phaala, 2010) found, the global and hegemonic use of English might threaten the subsistence and fluency in other languages, in particular the language of the new communities of immigrants coming in an English speaking country. I deeply agree to Aravossitas (2010), that the lack of educational resources in the heritage programs in Toronto holds serious concerns for the wellbeing of the new immigrants. Therefore, as improving the ELIP program is vital. As such, I view the act of designing a textbook in a foreign language as a creative and emancipatory contribution to the local community of new immigrants.

Several themes from the Canadian multicultural education curriculum, such as concerns for environment, community, and immigration, were recognized in this textbook. As well, there were many characteristics and aspects related to the culture of care, share, and involvement to the problems of family, schools and local community were establish in this textbook However, as expected, the main theme was the dual citizenship identity of students and parents from the Romanian-Canadian

community. Reading my intermediary conclusions, some Canadian teachers and professors confirmed that this textbook brought typical biases from an Eastern European society, not only from the present but also from the past. Maybe the Romanian teachers themselves might hold these biases. However, this is not always a reason to abandon the writing of a textbook. Especially in this case, where the lack of educational resources is very severe, we agreed that this textbook should receive the required corrections and not be dismissed. This is why these efforts to reform this textbook are worthy. Along with other textbooks from Romanian immigrants, people will have more resources that will make them easily find their spiritual backgrounds. The sense of what it means to be Romanian and what exactly it means to immigrate to Canada in the twenty-first century will be obtained in time, through deliberations and interrogations. Inevitably, writing a textbook shows the component ethnic characteristics (Ritter, 2005).

What does it mean to love both countries? Is it an unbearable contradiction to love both? This textbook should express this concern and make the students comfortable to feel that there are not ultimate or necessary contradictions between these two identities. Although it is good to express our loyalty to Canada, this should be expressed in a more sober way. Also, our attachment to Romania should be expressed also during the entire textbook and not stated only in the Foreword. Probably more texts are required to express these trajectories of Romanian-Canadian who successfully explores both ways.

This textbook maintains different types of biases from Romanian society such as gender, class, ethnicity and religious choice and represents more the average of the Romanian-Christian immigrants, which is Romanian, Orthodox, middle class, and male perspective. Also, eliminating confrontational attitudes and exaggerate elitist attitudes often recognized in Balkans is important. More others materials should be brought into this textbook to cover different identities. Families, friends and people from Romanian community should be presented more complex. For instance, examples and names of people who live from Romania, Canada, or other countries and have different ethnicity, race, religion, sexual values, and family orientation should be presented in this textbook.

Regarding curricular issues, I already expressed my concerns that this textbook tried too intense to make children literate in a short number of hours. Therefore, it is quite predictable that having a short time and fast pace, students might not have enough time, motivation, and energy to perform with the same success as in a regular school. In consequence, many of them could feel disconnected and, therefore, are likely to stop attending these inheritance language programs. To prevent these anticipated challenges, the expected teaching and learning outcomes should be different. Perhaps, the process of becoming literate in Romanian should be kept flexible for more years. Nevertheless, the outcome of achieving Romanian literacy should not be abandoned. Also, in order to make the reading more accessible, Romanian specific characters should be used in the next editions. Also, the vocabulary should be selected more cautiously and according to the pupils' ages.

Regarding the last question, I believe that with all of these flaws the book still is consistent and offers a reasonable level of resistance and agency. Children can find helpful dialogs, poems, and carols. The book might help in constructing the specific identity of Romanian immigrants. As it was mentioned already, this textbook does not propose a textbook-oriented curriculum. These should be received for them only as a starting point that have to be approached according with the local Romanian community. Next version and a larger feedback could help the next versions of the textbook.

Trying to see whether this book offers any resistance, I found that this book clumsily offers a strong resistance for Romanians immigrants. This book rebellious affirms Romanian identity and entitlement of prosperity for the new Romanian immigrants. The main narrative is that Romanians need to keep their identity, remember their roots, and keep their middle class status. While the Canadian government is accused of doing minimal efforts to accommodate them, the members of community feel new challenges to substantially support each other. They would ultimately help them and have an individual path for prosperity. Because Canadian-Romanian members do not have themselves a clear perspective of their dual citizenship, it is expected that these barriers in designing proficient textbooks capable to solve these identity issues might continue. As such, I avoid proclaiming myself as having the answers to these experiences. Consequently, this is a reason for me not to reject this special

textbook and to patiently wait until the community, authors and other teachers will become aware on their special experiences and roles. According to Bothelho (2004), "critical multicultural analysis focuses on the processes of gaining power, instead of static power relations" (p. 92). In consequence, I see the role of these deliberations of the textbook as a way of helping the community regaining the power. Reflecting, negotiating and working on building their distinctiveness would give teachers the desired clarity in perceiving the identity for the textbook and for themselves.

These findings are not isolated as other researchers found similar difficulties of acculturation of people immersed in multiple cultures (Lenski, Mack & Brown, 2008; Robila, 2007; Shedivy, 2007). As we have already noticed, many members from the community are still new immigrants in Canada, so many of them might encounter problems in finding and negotiating their experiences and values. Maybe achieving the desired balance between values and attitudes of these two countries, it is a life long struggle. More than that, achieving the dual ethnicity is an ongoing process that the Romanian community has to deal with. Romanian traditional texts have to be seriously and systematically brought into discussions to see their relevance in the new context. Consequently, there would be an inevitable degree of collision. As the literature review showed, there are social and educational differences between Romania and Canada.

Regarding pictures, I noticed that due to financial, technical, and time constraints, the textbook did not offer original images; instead, it tried to alternate images of modernity with images of tradition, images from Romania with Western civilizations. There were some text and images having stereotypes, itemization and gender bias. I would say that a better accuracy and a more conscious negotiation between tradition and modernity are still required. In addition, pictures from different religious and ethnic backgrounds should be inserted in the textbook.

Due to inherent difficulties of authors' backgrounds and of the difficulty in creating this new curriculum that will negotiate the dual Romanian - Canadian identity, it was expected that this book would have consistent issues. However, it is preferable to offer this study to show some inherently biases instead of being a passive, overcritical or indifferent researcher toward the Eastern European culture. By analyzing the textbook, I do not intend to view Canadian textbooks as the objective models for this textbook. In contrary, I believe it is important examining, criticizing and appreciating this textbook from different cultural perspectives. As mentioned before, Eastern European realities still remain very little known in Canadian society (Culic, 2012). With this facts and reasons in mind, redesigning the ELIP program and, subsequently, creating the pedagogical resources, would serve these inspiring multicultural goals of Canadian society.

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