April 2016

Canada's Bilingual Dilemma: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Katherine MacCormac
The University of Western Ontario

Abstract

While employing a qualitative, critical discourse analysis approach this thesis examined the discourses of official bilingualism and French as a second language (FSL) education in Canada as they appeared in stakeholder promotion efforts. The aim of the research was to gain insight into the underlying sources of tension contributing to the disconnect between the vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the reality of it within Canadian society. Through a critical discourse analysis approach, it was found that there are two conflicting sets of discourses which paint very different pictures of the actual state of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. Based on these findings, the researcher calls for a renewed effort on behalf of stakeholders to bring the real issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education out from the shadows and into national dialogue so that the objectives for official bilingualism can be realized within Canadian society.

Acknowledgments

I would like to take the opportunity to thank all those individuals who had a hand in helping me to achieve my research goals throughout this entire process. In particular, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Shelley Taylor. I am also grateful for the advice and support of my committee member, Dr. Julie Byrd-Clark. I would also like to thank my former professors in the Curriculum Studies and Studies in Applied Linguistics stream whose collective efforts throughout my time in the MA program served as inspiration for my present research investigation. Your wisdom and support of my thesis was truly appreciated.

I would especially like to thank my parents whose constant love and support made this journey possible. Thank you for instilling in me the value of education, always listening with an attentive ear when I needed advice, for your unwavering support of my educational pursuits, and for your gentle guidance throughout my entire life. Without both of you guiding me through life, I would not be the person I am today. You both are the reason I have accomplished so much in my life and I owe all of my success to you.

Finally, I would like to thank my sister whose research expertise greatly informed my research investigation. Thank you for always being there to listen to my ideas, providing supportive advice, encouraging me to keep pursuing my dreams, and best of all, for being the best and smartest little sister anyone could ask for. Watching you grow over the years into the budding academic that you have become has been truly inspirational and one of the proudest moments of my life. Thank you for always believing in me. Without you, none of this would have been possible.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1

1   Introduction

This thesis examined the discourses concerning official bilingualism and French as a second language (FSL) education as they appeared in stakeholder promotion efforts spanning from 2003 to present. By applying a qualitative, critical discourse analysis approach, its aim was to gain insight into how the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education functions in Canadian society as well as the underlying sources of tension contributing to the disconnect between the vision for official bilingualism and FSL education, as expressed in official discourse and policy, and the reality of this vision within Canadian society. The present chapter provides an overview of the present investigation. It includes pertinent background information to situate the study into its historical context in addition to an overview of the theoretical and methodological approaches, the research questions, and the rationale for pursuing this investigation. The chapter also contains an overview of how the thesis is structured.

1.1   Situating the study within the recent history of official bilingualism in Canada

Within the last twelve years, there has been a renewed effort on behalf of the Canadian government to invest in official bilingualism. These efforts have led to the development of several key policy documents tasked with the promotion and preservation of Canada's linguistic duality (i.e. *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*, *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*, and the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*). All of these policy documents share a common objective which is to preserve official bilingualism through increased investment in various sectors of Canadian society (Department of Canadian Heritage, personal communication, October 26, 2015).

1.2   Exploring the research problem

According to the *2012-2013 Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages'* (OCOL), *annual report,* despite the increased attention that official bilingualism has received over

the past few years, the goals outlined in the Canadian government's own policy documents are marginally being attained. The Commissioner of Official Languages explains that this issue is not a recent development, but instead, has been a persistent problem ever since the historic *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* in 1963. Although mostly kept out of national dialogue, the Commissioner argues that the issues surrounding official bilingualism have often manifested themselves in Canadian society as "embarrassing lapses" (OCOL, 2013, p. iii) when it comes to the full realization of the objectives outlined in official discourse and policy. For example, two of these "embarrassing lapses" (OCOL, 2013, p. iii) include Canadian institutions not fully meeting their obligations to uphold the principles outlined in the *Official Languages Act* and the inability of Canadians to find programs and services in both official languages across Canada. According to the Commissioner, the embarrassment of Canada's efforts to protect official bilingualism stems from the fact that on paper the nation positions itself as a country that takes pride in its official languages, yet in reality, there is a great reluctance to put the objectives expressed in official discourse and policy into practice within Canadian society. The Commissioner argues that this reluctance is actually undermining the very efforts that are meant to protect and preserve the integrity of official bilingualism in Canada and having a tremendous impact on attitudes towards official bilingualism across the nation (OCOL, 2013).

1.3   Positioning myself as a researcher

Before proceeding to a discussion of the specific research questions that my study addresses, I will briefly outline how my own personal experiences within the field of official bilingualism and FSL education led me to embark on the present investigation. My interest in examining the apparent disconnect between official discourse concerning official bilingualism and FSL education and the practice of it within Canadian society developed during my time as an FSL educator working with both elementary and secondary FSL students. During this time, I had the opportunity to interact with many of the students I worked with, as well as their parents, which gave me unique insights concerning their experiences with FSL programming.

Prior to my employment as an FSL educator, I completed an Honours degree in French during which time I was able to reflect on my own journey as an FSL learner. Subsequent to this degree, I completed a Bachelor of Education in secondary FSL education. It was during this time that I was educated in the art of teaching French and was able to see the process solely from the role of an educator. During this time, I was also enlightened about the goals of FSL education in Canada in addition to the knowledge, skills and attitudes that I should impart on my future students.

Equipped with my new knowledge in mind, I embarked on my early career and attempted to replicate what I had been taught within my own classroom. However, I soon realized that the messages I received during my B. Ed. training, and personal experience as an FSL student, were not what I was experiencing in my daily interactions with students and parents. For instance, I had been taught to foster an appreciation of Canada's unique dual linguistic and cultural heritage amongst my students and the benefits that it has for future participation in Canadian society. The more I tried to do this, however, the harder it became as I was faced with students and parents who had become increasingly cognizant of the mixed messaging they were receiving.

During daily interaction with my students, I gained significant insight into their general motivations to invest in French. For instance, on average, many of the secondary FSL students that I spoke with expressed a general desire to acquire French because they believed it would offer them certain advantages for university and future employment opportunities. Others expressed a desire to acquire French to travel and visit French-speaking countries. Some students were even motivated as a result of their French heritage to learn the language of their ancestors. However, despite these positive responses, my daily conversations also enlightened me to many of the common challenges that FSL students face in the pursuit of their goals. For instance, some students expressed frustration with the lack of opportunities outside the classroom to use their newly acquired language skills. For the students enrolled in Core French, their major frustration was that they were being forced to acquire a language that they had no interest in or could not see themselves using in the future. For the Immersion students, they felt immense pressure to abandon their studies at the secondary level because the course

offerings were not large enough to allow them to continue their studies in French while at the same time earning credits for entrance to certain university programs (i.e. medicine, mathematics, general sciences).

As previously mentioned, during my time as an FSL educator, I also had the opportunity to interact with the parents of the students I was teaching. Many of these conversations centred on certain frustrations that they had experienced with FSL programming. This was especially true for the parents of students nearing their graduation from an FSL program. For many of the parents, they felt that the messages they were presented with when deciding to enrol their children in FSL programming were not what the programs turned out to be. In general, the parents felt that their children would be functionally bilingual after completing the program and would have the same language skills as a native speaker. They also believed that these skills would give their children certain social and economic advantages later on in life. After reflecting back on their decision to enrol their children in FSL programming, many felt that overall it was a good experience, but their frustrations were the result of the mixed messaging they had received surrounding the importance of official bilingualism in Canada and the actual reality of it within Canadian society.

As a result of my conversations with students and parents, I began to see my career as an FSL educator in two different lights. For example, on the one hand, I saw myself as truly making a difference in promoting official bilingualism through the service I was providing. This side of me was more in tune with what I had been trained to do as an FSL educator and how I had been persuaded to view my work. On the other hand, I was also starting to become increasingly cognizant of the apparent disconnect between how I had been trained to view official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the actual reality of it in my daily life. This disconnect only continued to grow which eventually sparked an interest deep inside of me to seek out the answers for which I was so desperately searching. This side of me was, and continues to be, more critical of my work as an FSL educator. It should be emphasized, however, that this does not mean that I believe FSL education in Canada is inherently flawed. Instead, I believe that by adopting a critical lens through which to view official bilingualism and FSL education in

Canada, one may discover possibilities to improve how official bilingualism is approached in Canada and move the nation closer to achieving the goals outlined in official discourse and policy. It is here that I now find myself in the transition from FSL educator to education researcher having been a direct participant in the very system and discourses under examination in the present investigation.

1.4 Positioning the present study within previous research on the challenges facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada

In addition to the Commissioner of Official Languages' (2013) observations, as well as my own personal experiences, the issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada have become a recent topic of discussion in the literature on official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada. For example, certain research studies have focused on these issues at the level of policy. Three key studies in this area include the work of Cardinal (2004), Jedwab (2008), and Haque (2012). Cardinal's (2004) study examined how the unrealistic aspirations of government policies on official bilingualism (i.e. completely bilingual nation) are hindering efforts to increase bilingualism among the Canadian population. Jedwab (2008) cited the "lack of incentive" (p. 35) and the "lack of opportunity" (p. 35) to use bilingual knowledge throughout Canada as a major tension contributing to the disconnect between the desire for a completely bilingual nation and the low level of bilingualism among the Canadian population. In a similar vein, Haque's (2012) study found that the inability of Canada's official bilingualism policies to account for the diverse nature of Canadian society has been a persistent problem impeding certain groups from fully participating in the culture of official bilingualism. Other studies have looked at the issues from the level of education (see CPF, 2008; Cummins, 2014; Géntil & Séror, 2014; Lapkin, Mady, & Arnott, 2009; and Mady, 2012). Key topics of discussion in this area have included the integration of Allophones into FSL programming (CPF, 2008), negative attitudes towards Core French programming (Lapkin et al., 2009), the lack of support for the inclusion of mother tongues in the FSL classroom (Cummins, 2014; Mady, 2012), and the near invisibility of official bilingualism within Canadian post-secondary institutions (Géntil & Séror, 2014).

1.5   Addressing the gap in the knowledge on official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada

Although the challenges facing official bilingualism and FSL education have been discussed in official reports and academic research studies, what has not been considered is if some of the issues are actually found at the level of discourse. The only exceptions to this are Haque's (2012) study which employed a discourse analysis approach to examine the official reports belonging to the *Royal Commission on Official Bilingualism and Biculturalism* and Jedwab's (2008) study which briefly mentioned the disconnect between official discourse and the reality of official bilingualism among the Canadian population. However, in the case of Haque's (2012) and Jedwab's (2008) studies, they only looked at specific periods in Canadian history (i.e. Haque examined the *Royal Commission on Official Bilingualism and Biculturalism* and Jedwab examined the aftermath of the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages*) and did not consider discourses that were produced outside of these historical contexts. The present investigation aims to fill the gap in these conversations by investigating the discourses contained in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts spanning from 2003 to present. The aim is to see what a critical analysis of these discourses may reveal about the underlying sources of tension contributing to the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the reality of it within Canadian society.

1.6   Rationale for the present research study

It was outlined above that recently the issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada have become an important topic of discussion for Canadian policy-makers and researchers. However, what is interesting about this development is that year after year, the same issues are continuously being re-examined with only minor progress being achieved. This is not to say that the efforts of policy makers and researchers have been in vain. Instead, their efforts have managed to introduce these conversations into national dialogue. The discouraging aspect, however, is that these conversations have largely remained theoretical discussions with very little concrete action being taken to

address the issues preventing the full realization of the vision for official bilingualism and FSL education as outlined in official discourse and policy.

As I will argue in the chapters to follow, in order to remedy the situation, what is necessary is a movement beyond these theoretical discussions towards concrete action that truly promotes positive change at various levels of Canadian society. This process is imperative if Canada is to move closer towards the full realization of all benefits that official bilingualism and FSL education have to offer the nation. It is at this juncture that I have chosen to position my present research study by delving into the complex layers of the discourses surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada to see what they may reveal about the underlying sources of tension contributing to some of the current problems facing these two aspects of Canadian society. It is my belief that by deconstructing the various discourses that exist on official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, it is possible to provide renewed perspective on how Canadian society may move forward towards adequately addressing some of these challenges.

1.7   Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework guiding my investigation is a combination of the approaches of Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1991); Bourdieu and Passeron (1990); Foucault (1970, 1972) and Fairclough (2001). The reason for including all of these theories in my investigation is that they each offer unique insights into the ways in which the dominant modes of thinking and acting in a particular society are socially constructed through discourse. Additionally, they each provide perspective on how the hidden power structures embedded within certain discourses contribute to the reproduction of certain social structures and realities. Since both of these areas pertain to my present investigation, I felt that each theory would provide me with a rich theoretical lens through which to critically examine the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. In the sub-sections to follow, I outline some of main ideas that are presented in each theory which pertain to the present investigation.

1.7.1 Bourdieu on language, power, and the reproduction of dominant language ideologies

Bourdieu's (1986) theory on the varying forms of 'capital' is paramount to academics whose research focuses on understanding relations of power in society. This theory presents the possibility of three distinct forms of capital: (a) cultural capital, (b) social capital and (c) economic capital. The first form of capital is that of 'cultural capital'. In his theory, Bourdieu argues that cultural capital can come from three different sources: (a) cultural transmission through participation in society and the ascribed social environment (i.e. social cues and social norms), (b) influences of the family through cultural goods (i.e. informal learning through extracurricular activities, home libraries, family trips etc.); and lastly, and (c) institutionalized learning (i.e. formal learning in schools resulting in diplomas and academic credentials). Bourdieu contends that cultural capital is different from more concrete forms of capital (i.e. economic capital) because it does not always manifest itself in visible ways and is therefore more abstract in nature. Equally important to keep in mind is that cultural capital is not acquired instantaneously, but instead, is amassed over a life time.

Closely linked to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital is that of 'social capital' which is a wealth acquired by membership in social networks. For example, if an individual is seeking employment at a company, and they either have a friend or family member who already works there, one can say that this individual has higher social capital than a candidate who does not have a connection to the company. Bourdieu argues that the strength of the social network is determined by the strength of the members of its network and the types of resources that are available to individual members. Social capital is therefore not measured by how much an actor can acquire, but on the quality of the social bonds and resources that the actor has access to within his or her social network.

The last form of capital that Bourdieu (1986) describes is 'economic capital'. This represents the material wealth that is acquired by a social actor. Unlike the other forms of capital which are abstract in nature, economic capital is more concrete because of the monetary value attached to it. In some cases, economic capital can be used to purchase

access to the other forms of capital. For instance, if a family has a significant amount of economic capital (i.e. savings put away), they would be able to take their children on a vacation where they could potentially encounter some cultural experiences (i.e. visiting landmarks, taking part in cultural celebrations). These cultural experiences represent a form of cultural capital that has been acquired through the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital. The same is true for other forms of capital (i.e. conversion of social capital to economic capital).

Bourdieu (1986) describes 'habitus' as the sum of one's capital. The value of the individual forms of capital that one possesses is determined by the social field (i.e. social context, market) in which the capital is exchanged. For example, in the case of language as a form of capital, an individual's linguistic capital of language X might very high in one social field, but when that individual enters another field where language X is not a widely used language, their linguistic capital loses the value that it once enjoyed. According to this logic, when trying to place a value on capital, especially symbolic forms (i.e. cultural, linguistic, social capital etc.), one must always account for the social field through which the capital is being exchanged.

In the case of language as a form of capital, Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) theories on *The Economics of linguistic exchanges* and *Language and symbolic power* argue that languages do not exist for the sole purpose of communication. Instead, he contends that they function as a form of capital or power. Bourdieu refers to this form of capital as 'linguistic capital' and argues that its value is determined by the linguistic market on which the social actor chooses to exchange his or her capital. As Bourdieu explains, the linguistic market, unlike a traditional economic marketplace, is symbolic in nature and is regulated by social norms governing the legitimacy of certain linguistic competences over others. The linguistic market is socially mediated and made up of a complex set of social relations. According to Bourdieu, it is these social relations that symbolically regulate and give value to certain linguistic competences with some holding a higher value than others.

Bourdieu (1977, 1991) contends that individuals invest in certain languages to gain economic and social advantages. The value placed on a language by the linguistic market has a great influence on the types of languages that individuals will most likely invest in. For instance, if a language is considered a highly valued form of capital, the more competence that an individual acquires of it the greater the return of economic and social benefits. This is especially true for those languages that the market has deemed to be in high demand (i.e. official language or a *lingua franca*).

According to Bourdieu's (1991) theory of *Language and symbolic power*, the state plays a key role in establishing and legitimizing which forms of linguistic capital are given the most value in society, thus regulating the linguistic market. Its control over the market is accomplished through the granting of official status to certain state languages, a process that normally takes place during state formation. Bourdieu contends that since the state's power is primarily derived from the universal acceptance of its legitimacy, it therefore has a vested interest in making sure that its citizens invest in the linguistic market for its official language (s). In order to do so, the state must work tirelessly to carefully craft discourses and rhetoric aimed at ensuring that the linguistic market for its official language (s) remains universally accepted and legitimized by the citizenry.

Bourdieu (1977, 1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that one of the major mechanisms through which the state can legitimize and control the linguistic market for its official language (s) is through education. For instance, Bourdieu (1991) contends that education acts as an extension of the state's power in order to continually control, legitimize and reproduce societal norms. This is due to the fact that the "institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market" (p. 57). The state therefore uses education to acclimatize its citizens into the dominant language and culture of the dominant classes, and thus the education system wields an enormous amount of influence over the reproduction of core societal norms and values. Bourdieu illustrates the extent of this institution's power when he states "without [education] the social value of the [official] linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital would cease to exist" (p. 57). According to this logic, if one wants to closely examine the mechanisms behind

social reproduction within a particular society, one must therefore examine the role that certain state institutions play in the reproduction of societal norms and values.

1.7.2 Foucault on discourse and the social construction of knowledge and power

In a similar manner to Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Foucault's (1970, 1972) discourse theory also examines the intricate relationship between language and power. According to Diaz-Bone, Bührmann, Gutiérrez Rodriguez, Schneider, Kendall & Tirado (2007), Foucault's approach comes from a structuralist perspective in which discourse is viewed as a stream of statements that although shifting over time, work to shape social structures and realities in a particular manner. In other words, Foucauldian discourse theory sees discursive practice as a form of social practice. Diaz-Bone et al. explain that for Foucault discourses do not lie at the level of the individual, but instead operate within collectives (i.e. societies) across various social fields (i.e. different societal contexts). According to this perspective, the individuals within a society are in fact discursively constructed and constituted beings because their social reality, and the structures that shape it, would not exist without the influence of discourse.

Due to their influence on shaping social structures and realities, Jäger and Maier (2009) explain that Foucault sees discourses as wielding a certain amount of ideological power within society. This is because they "institutionalize and regulate ways of thinking and acting" (p. 35). In others words, embedded within discourses are certain power structures which influence how individuals think and act. Jäger and Maier argue that for Foucault discourses are "not only…expressions of social practice, but also [a means to] particular ends, namely the exercise of power" (p. 35). According to this logic, discourses therefore not only play a role in shaping certain social structures and realities, but they also serve particular agendas by reinforcing the underlying power structures that are embedded within them.

1.7.3 Fairclough on discourse and the ideological power of language

Having been influenced by Foucault's (1970, 1972) discourse theory, Fairclough's (2001) theory of discourse as social practice follows a similar line of argument. For instance, he argues that "there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship" (p. 19). Fairclough explains that discourses play a role in shaping social structures, and in turn, because discourses operate within society, the society itself has a role in shaping discourses. Consequently, "linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena" (p. 19). According to this logic, "language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society" (pp. 18-19). As Fairclough explains, when people use language, "they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects" (p. 19). This is because "language activity which goes on in social contexts is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes and practices, it is a *part* of those processes and practices" (p. 19).

According to Fairclough (2001), the relationship between language and society is dialectical in that it can shift and change over time, however, language and society still share an intricate bond because language cannot be completely divorced from the societies in which it operates. Fairclough cautions that language and society do not always share a symmetrical relationship. For instance, he explains that language is just a part of the broader structure that we call society, and consequently, not all social phenomena are heavily influenced by linguistic phenomena. However, as Fairclough maintains, even those aspects of society that are not solely linguistic in nature (i.e. economic production), may still have an underlying linguistic component to them which contributes to the social construction of society.

Fairclough's (2001) work also mirrors that of Bourdieu (1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) in terms of his analysis of the ideological power behind language. For instance, Fairclough argues that institutions, especially systems of education, often function as a means of replicating the social norms and values of the dominant classes.

He explains that one of the perceived functions of the education system is to "train children to fit into and accept the existing system of class relations" (p. 27). According to Fairclough, since these institutions have the monopoly of control over the types of discourses that individuals are exposed to, they therefore wield an enormous amount of ideological power when it comes to reproduction of the dominant social structures and realities within a particular society.

Fairclough (2001) maintains that the hidden assumptions and power relations that are contained within societal discourses often go unquestioned because, through institutional practices, they are able to remain a natural part of the everyday social reality. This is because the ideological power behind discourse grants certain institutions the ability to "project [their] practices as universal and 'common sense' " (p. 27). Fairclough contends that this power often helps to reinforce other types of power in society (i.e. economic and political power) by acting as a "significant complement" (p. 27). This is because those that have the monopoly over the production of discourse ultimately have the monopoly over the power within particular societies. According to this logic, by controlling discourse, one therefore has control over how power is exercised within a particular society.

1.8   Exploring the research questions

As has been demonstrated, the history of problems associated with official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada represents an area of interest for me as an educational researcher. In order to investigate these issues, I have chosen to employ the following research questions:

1. How do the discourses contained in stakeholder promotion efforts seek to maintain and reproduce the market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada?

2. How might a critical analysis of these discourses provide insight into the underlying sources of tension contributing to the apparent disconnect between the

ideal vision for official bilingualism and the actual manifestation of it within Canadian society?

My decision to employ these specific research questions is twofold. In regards to the first question, I believe it will help me to gain insight into how Canadian stakeholder organizations employ certain forms of discourse to attract Canadians to invest in the market for official bilingualism and FSL education. Once I have established this understanding, I conceive that the second question will allow me to critically examine these discourses in order to see what they may reveal about the underlying sources of tension contributing to the disconnect between how official bilingualism and FSL education are envisioned in official discourse and policy and the actual reality of this vision within Canadian society. By comparing the answers to these two questions, I postulate that it will provide me with a renewed perspective on how Canada can move forward towards adequately addressing the issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education within official policy and daily social practices.

1.9   Overview of the methodological approaches guiding the research study

The main methodological approach guiding my investigation is critical discourse analysis. The particular approach that I have chosen comes from a combination of Foucauldian discourse analysis, as outlined in Jäger and Maier (2009), and Fairclough's (2001) theory of discourse as social practice. The reason for employing these two strategies, which will be explained in greater detail in chapters to follow, is that both approaches are concerned with examining how power is expressed through discourse and how the deconstruction of discourse has the potential to shed light on the origins of certain societal problems.

1.10   Overview of the main chapters

The present thesis is divided into six chapters. In this chapter, I provided an introduction to the research problem, research questions, previous studies in the area, and the main methodological and theoretical approaches informing the investigation. Chapter 2

consists of a detailed overview of previous literature in the fields of the economics of language and official bilingualism/FSL education in order to situate my present investigation into the previous conversations that have already taken place in each body of literature. In Chapter 3, I describe the main methodological approach that was employed in my research study. This includes an overview of critical discourse analysis as well as the specific research design that I employed in order to answer my research questions. Chapter 4 presents the main findings from the critical discourse analysis that I conducted on the discourses contained in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts. The chapter is divided thematically and explores the various images, messages and key uses of language that were employed within the discourses. In Chapter 5, I provide a critical commentary on some of the significant findings from my analysis of the discourses. This includes a description of the hidden elements I uncovered within the discourses themselves which I believe are contributing to the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the actual reality of it within Canadian society. In the final chapter, I provide a summary of my research study, the answers to my research questions, the limitations of the study, recommendations for policy makers and FSL education advocates, as well as potential avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

2   Literature review

The present investigation seeks to contribute to the literature on the economics of language and official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada. This literature review is divided into two major sections (a) the literature on the economics of language and (b) the literature on official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada. Its aim is to provide an overview of the types of conversations that previous scholars have engaged in within each body of literature. The information is provided in order to situate the present study within these broader conversations.

2.1   The economics of language

Grin (1996) defines the economics of language as "the paradigm of theoretical economics [that] uses the concepts and tools of economics in the study of relationships featuring linguistic variables" (p. 18). As Marschak (1965) explains, the economics of language developed as a separate field of economics in response to the rapid societal changes brought on by globalization. According to Marschak, these changes had a profound effect on language and ultimately transformed it from a marker of one's linguistic and ethnic identity into a "bankable asset" (Lamberton, 2002, p. xiii). Grin (1996) explains that the transformation of language into a form of economic capital has become a source of interest for researchers from a wide variety of research backgrounds including education, economics, sociology, and linguistics.

2.1.1   Legitimization of language

One area that has received significant attention in the field has been the legitimization of language which gains its inspiration from the theoretical work of Bourdieu (1977, 1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). This particular area looks at how languages become 'legitimate' in the eyes of the state and its people. It also concerns who has the authority to impose these languages as legitimate. According to Shenk (2012), "In language contact settings, the status of a language variety depends on various factors, including those

related to legislation, educational policy, and the speakers' sociocultural identity" (p. 93). Shenk explains that the process of legitimization "takes places through daily activities, whereby participants socially and discursively construct ideological perspectives in favor of or against a particular language variety" (p. 94). In other words, it is a socially constructed process that results in certain languages gaining the 'authority' to be known as the 'legitimate language'. According to Hanks (2005), once a language is 'legitimized' within a particular society, it becomes "the measure by which other [linguistic] varieties are evaluated" (p. 76).

Studies concerning language legitimization have mainly looked at the various ways that state power is able to maintain and reproduce the 'legitimacy' of certain languages over time (see Hanks, 2005; Haque, 2012; and van Dijk, 2001). For instance, in van Dijk's (2001) work, he argues that having access to political or media discourse acts as an effective means of directing citizens to accept certain languages as 'legitimate'. In her (2012) study, Haque builds on this observation by stating that languages often gain their legitimacy during state formation whereby they become a means of achieving social cohesion. Finally, Hanks (2005) work follows a similar line of argument to that of van Dijk (2001) and Haque (2012) by arguing that the underlying political power structures involved in the process of language legitimization often give rise to the language of the dominant class gaining sole 'legitimacy' within particular societies.

The question of who has the authority to possess certain forms of linguistic capital has also become an important topic of discussion among researchers focused on understanding 'authenticity' as it relates to the process of language legitimization (see Ghim-Lian Chew, 2009; Heller, 1996, 2003; and Jaffe, 2001). Although this area of research employs ideas from Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) theoretical work on the concept of authenticity, it expands upon the concept to explore how it relates to multilingual societies. Researchers in this area focus primarily on situations where there is increased language contact between linguistic groups, which in some cases, has resulted in the challenging and resisting of dominant language ideologies.

In Heller's (1996), and Jaffe's (2001) studies, they found that within multilingual classroom environments, there is often a certain jockeying for power that takes place where "standard language ideologies" (Shenk, 2012, p. 94) become tested, questioned, and in some cases, resisted by classroom participants. Heller (1996) and Jaffe (2001) argue that it is this jockeying for power that often leads to a questioning of who has the right to access and possess knowledge of legitimate languages as well as who counts as an authentic user of these said languages. Additionally, they contend that these types of social interactions have also led to questions concerning what the legitimate languages of education should be and who has the authority to impose them as 'legitimate'.

Heller's (1996, 2003) work on authenticity and language use also highlights the tensions between linguistic groups which have resulted from individuals seeking access to various forms of linguistic capital. For instance, Heller (1996) contends that with so many individuals choosing to invest in languages other than their mother tongue, this has caused heated tensions between traditional linguistic groups and those seeking access or membership to these groups. As an example, she cites the case of French in Canada. Heller contends that with so many Canadians wanting access to knowledge of French to participate in the Canadian labour market, it has caused substantial debate in Canada over who owns the right to possess knowledge of French and be considered an authentic French speaker.

Finally, Ghim-Lian Chew's (2009) work looks at the issue of authenticity from the perspective of globalization where the ability to control access to certain forms of linguistic capital is continuously being challenged through the process of linguistic migration. According to Ghim-Lian Chew, due to the globalized nature of the world, and the permeability of international borders, it is not always easy for linguistic groups and nation states to control which forms of linguistic capital individuals choose to invest in or who has the right to access certain forms of linguistic capital. As an example, she cites the global phenomenon of foreign nationals traveling around the globe in search of what she terms "linguistic gold" (p. 33). Ghim-Lian Chew argues that this global phenomenon has brought questions concerning the ownership of languages, conditions for linguistic

community membership, and authenticity to the forefront of current debates in the field of the economics of language.

2.1.2   The Commodification of language

The other major area of study within the field of the economics of language is the commodification of language. Scholars in this area closely examine the functioning and regulation of linguistic markets, language as capital, the development of language education industries, and the global demand for linguistic knowledge. One of the key researchers in this area is Heller whose combined body of work has transformed the way researchers view language-related issues in the era of globalization (see Heller, 2003, 2006, 2010). In a similar manner to the previous research presented on language legitimization, this area of research also expands upon the theoretical work of Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) in order to understand the underlying societal and political processes contributing to the commodification of language.

Heller's (2003, 2006, 2010) work on the commodification of language has been instrumental in providing a basis for investigating the transformation of language into a valuable commodity. Heller explains that through the process of globalization, languages have transitioned from being simply a feature of human identity towards lucrative forms of capital that can be exchanged for material wealth. She attributes this societal phenomenon to the global spread of capitalistic thinking throughout the world (i.e. upward social mobility through the accumulation of capital). According to Heller (2010), linguistic knowledge, which was once a sign of "good taste, intellectual competence, good schooling, or rational thought" (p. 102), is now positively associated with being "exchangeable for material goods, and especially for money" (p. 102). She contends that these societal transformations have ushered in an era of intense global competition as individuals compete with each other to acquire linguistic capital that they can exchange for economic wealth (i.e. higher paying job, higher socio-economic status).

Besides Heller's (2003, 2006, 2010) instrumental work on the commodification of language, this topic has also been discussed by other international scholars. For instance,

in the case of Spanish-speaking English language learners in California, Liang (2012) found that the expression of the students' biliteracy inside and outside of the English as a second language (ESL) classroom was a sign of their preparation "for participation in the multilingual marketplace in the internationalized new economy" (p. 1). Additionally, Ghim-Lian Chew (2009) found that the elevated status of English around the world has caused an increase in foreign nationals migrating with their children to acquire the linguistic skills needed to compete in the global economy. Similarly, in their study of official bilingualism in Canada, Christofides and Swindinsky (2010) found that knowledge of English and French had the potential to result in higher earnings among Francophones living in Québec, thus fueling demand for English language knowledge among Québec's Francophone population. Finally, Grin (2001) found that the economic value of English in the era of globalization has led to the creation of linguistic markets within countries that do not traditionally have a connection to the language. For instance, he found that in Switzerland the high rate of return on knowledge of English, a language that is not native to the country, highlighted the international prominence of English as the language of international communication and business.

According to Grin (2008), the emergence of language as a form of capital, and its effects on language investment, has traditionally been an important topic for economics of language researchers. Breton (1998) argues that in today's global economy, one of the major influences on language investment is the rate of return that an individual can expect to accrue from their investment. This is especially true of languages that are considered to be the *lingua franca* as they often hold a higher value than other languages. Wei and Milroy (2003) explain that when languages enter into social relations, they take on a certain level of power because they can be exchanged for economic capital. Although many groups are competing in the marketplace, all of them have the same goal in mind: to gain control over the linguistic market and have their capital (i.e. linguistic knowledge) emerge as the most sought-after resource. Wei and Milroy argue that since linguistic markets are competitive, there will always be winners and losers and different groups will have to continuously weigh the costs and benefits of either maintaining their language or shifting to another language (i.e. a language that affords more economic, social, and political benefits). According to this logic, individuals will make a conscious

decision to invest in a language if they believe it will maximize their chances of achieving financial and personal success.

As researchers such as Ghim-Lian Chew (2009), Heller (2010), and Smala, Bergas Paz, and Lingard (2013) have found, the heightened importance of acquiring linguistic capital in today's globalized world has caused an increased demand for language programs aimed at providing consumers with access to highly sought-after languages (i.e. English). In a sense, language education has become a lucrative business with schools competing with each other to offer the best language programs for those seeking to acquire skills to compete in the global market. According to Ghim-Lian Chew (2009), English language instruction has become an industry in itself with many individuals choosing to invest in it to acquire increased economic and social benefits. In Canada, one of the most popular models of language education is the French Immersion program. According to Heller (2010), the Canadian French Immersion program was created for Anglophone students in Québec to acquire adequate French language skills to compete in the Canadian labour market. However, although beginning in Québec, the program has since spread across the nation as a means for Canadian children to increase their chances of future economic success and their social status within society. As Smala, et al. (2013) contend, the Canadian French Immersion model is not the only form of immersion education that has been marketed to individuals in order to acquire sought-after language skills. Smala et al. explain that another very successful model of immersion education is the Australian immersion model which was developed to provide school children with sought-after language skills to compete in the global economy. Smala et al. argue that 'distinction' is a major factor which influences the decision of parents and children to enroll in Australia's language immersion programs because the acquisition of a second language is perceived as leading to future economic and social benefits.

The emergence of linguistic markets, and the societal tensions that they create, has also become a focus of study for those researchers studying the effects of state and international regulation of languages on the language maintenance goals of certain linguistic groups. For instance, Wei and Milroy (2003) explain that due to the

competitive nature of linguistic markets, some language groups might get pushed aside in favour of more dominant languages. As they contend, not only do these marginalized groups have to protect themselves from external pressures from other groups, but they also have to face pressures from government language policies and programs aimed at shaping the linguistic market in a certain manner. This is because, in the interest of promoting social cohesion, the state will often intervene if the linguistic tensions between groups pose a threat to national unity. Wei and Milroy argue that this is especially true of multilingual societies where increased diversity often leads to divisions along linguistic and cultural lines. In this case, Breton (1998) explains that some governments will promote second language learning, especially bilingual education, as a form of social cohesion if the preservation and promotion of these languages is valued by the state and society. He argues that in terms of minority language development, this can have both positive and negative effects. For instance, when minority language protection is a priority for the state, this can aid marginalized linguistic groups in maintaining the integrity of their linguistic capital. However, it can also have the reverse effect when certain minority languages are not seen as valuable in the eyes of the state and therefore do share the same protection as more dominant languages.

Heller's (2003) work also examines the regulation of linguistic markets and the effects it has had on the survival of certain linguistic groups. However, her research focuses specifically on the international regulation of linguistic markets (i.e. standardization of languages). She explains that the global demand for languages has led to the standardization of certain languages which have become managed in a business-like fashion. Heller maintains that this has often led to the alienation of certain linguistic groups who have seen the authenticity of their languages diminished in favour of controlled regulation of the linguistic market. She argues that instead of a focus on local and regional solidarities, language skills are increasingly being acquired and utilized on national and international markets. This in turn has resulted in their affinity to local communities being eroded away at a rapid rate. According to Heller, these social processes have ushered in debates over who has the right to possess certain languages in addition to who has the authority to deem one variety of a language to be more legitimate than another.

Another line of inquiry into the tensions created by competing linguistic markets comes from researchers who have closely examined this phenomenon within multilingual contexts (see Jaffe, 2001; Omoniyi, 2014; and Rassool, 2014). For instance, Omoniyi's (2014) work looks at the case of sub-Saharan Africa where he argues post-colonial development goals are challenging Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) notion of 'linguistic capital' and the reproduction of dominant language ideologies. Omoniyi (2014) argues that Bourdieu's theory focuses too heavily on macro level analysis (i.e. only applies to the analysis of one standard form of language and does not account for varieties of a standardized language) to be equally applied to multilingual contexts where there is intense competition between linguistic groups. By applying a micro level approach to these contexts, Omoniyi contends that the researcher can move beyond dominant language ideologies and look at the movements within them that are creating spaces for the legitimization, authentication and commodification of traditionally marginalized forms of linguistic capital.

Rassool's (2014) work mirrors that of Omoniyi (2014) because she argues that language researchers wanting to make connections between language and the economy need to be mindful of the effect that globalization has had on linguistic ecologies. She argues that this is especially true for those multilingual societies where marginalized languages often function in their own economies. In a similar vein to Omoniyi (2014), Rassool (2014) therefore argues that dominant macro-level linguistic markets need to be analyzed in relation to more meso- and mirco-level markets in order to truly understand how these markets function alongside that of the more dominant language economies.

Finally, although Jaffe's (2001) study does not focus specifically on linguistic capital and development goals, it does follow a similar line of argument to that of Omoniyi (2014) and Rassool (2014) in terms of linguistic groups within multilingual societies challenging dominant language ideologies and creating parallel markets for their own linguistic skills. For instance, in Jaffe's (2001) study, she cites the example of Corsica where the tensions arising from language contact within multilingual classroom environments are challenging the assumptions of dominant language ideologies. She argues that these debates stem from students of varying linguistic and cultural

backgrounds resisting these ideologies in order to have their own linguistic knowledge validated and authenticated alongside that of dominant legitimate languages. As Jaffe argues, in a sense, these classroom debates present the possibility for the development of parallel linguistic markets to emerge within multilingual societies.

2.2 The Disconnect between policy and practice as expressed in the literature on official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada

The inherent disconnect between the vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the reality of it within Canadian society has recently become an important topic of discussion in the literature on official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada. Some researchers have focused on investigating systemic issues within the Canadian public education system (see CPF, 2008; Cummins, 2014; Géntil & Séror, 2014; Lapkin et al., 2009; and Mady, 2012), while others have looked to contradictions between the creation of official policies and the actual practice of them within Canadian society (see Cardinal, 2004; Haque, 2012; and Jedwab, 2008). As will be demonstrated, although engaging in different types of research and employing varying approaches, these researchers have all attempted to uncover the hidden sources of tension contributing to the contradictions between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the actual reality of it within Canadian society.

2.2.1 Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework: The Struggle to account for diversity within Canada's bilingual framework

In their 2008 report on the state of FSL education in Canada, Canadian Parents for French (CPF) argued that there are several troubling issues surrounding the apparent disconnect between FSL education policies and the needs of today's FSL students. Of particular concern is the marginalization of students who are newly landed immigrants to Canada and those with special needs within FSL programs. According to CPF, many of these students become marginalized participants in FSL education, or in some cases, are not

recommended to continue their FSL studies. In other cases, some students are even discouraged from enrolling in more intensive FSL programming, such as the French Immersion program. As CPF argues, this situation is occurring despite official discourses from the Canadian government positioning participation in official bilingualism as a beneficial opportunity for all Canadians.

Mady's (2012) study indicates a similar trend to the findings from CPF's (2008) report. For instance, in her study, Mady (2012) found that although Canada has drafted and adopted legislation aimed at promoting its multicultural heritage, it has done little in terms of multilingual education programs to promote the acquisition and use of immigrant languages and successfully integrate immigrant children into Canada's bilingual framework. According to Mady, the contradictions between policy and practice in this area are actually hindering the government's own goals of promoting multiculturalism as one of Canada's core values. In order to improve the situation, Mady contends that educational leaders and government policy makers must work together if Canada is to move towards a more inclusive and accepting society.

The findings from Cummins' (2014) research into the challenges of French Immersion education are also consistent with that of CPF (2008) and Mady (2012). In his study, Cummins (2014) explored the possibility of integrating the full linguistic repertoire of FSL students into the classroom experience of French Immersion. As a result of his findings, Cummins argues that instead of marginalizing the linguistic repertoires of students from linguistic backgrounds other than English and French, language learning should be about making connections between the language(s) that a student has knowledge of and the language(s) he or she is learning. Cummins believes that the current model of French Immersion in Canada relies too heavily on monolinguistic assumptions of language learning, and in turn, marginalizes the unique linguistic repertoires that students possess. Instead, he proposes a reintroduction of the students' linguistic repertoires back into French Immersion programming in order to promote cross-linguistic and cross-cultural understanding.

Although not specifically focused on FSL educational policies in Canada, Haque's (2012) study also examined the apparent disconnect between policy and practice when it comes to accounting for linguistic and cultural diversity within Canada's bilingual framework. Her work looked specifically at the debates that took place during the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. Haque argues that the debates were focused less on accounting for Canada's diversity and more on maintaining the status quo of Canadian society (i.e. two-culture society). Haque concludes that in order to adequately address multiculturalism within Canada's bilingual framework, official language policies must move beyond the nation building stage and ensure that all Canadians can participate in the culture of official bilingualism regardless of their linguistic or cultural background.

2.2.2   Marginalization of French within public education

In their study, Lapkin et al. (2009) found that one of the underlying causes of the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the reality of it within Canadian society is the large presence of negative attitudes towards French. According to Lapkin et al., despite the heavy presence of positive discourse surrounding official bilingualism, there continues to be negative perceptions of French within Canadian society. They attribute these negative attitudes to the marginalized position that French, especially Core French instruction, is given in the Canadian school curriculum. Lapkin et al. argue that, in some cases, it is this inferior position that has given rise to increased attrition of FSL students at the secondary level in addition to a general lack of job satisfaction on behalf of Core French teachers. In order to address these complex issues, they contend that Canadian FSL programs will need to be re-examined to become more in line with the goals of official bilingualism as outlined in official discourse and policy.

In their study, Géntil and Séror (2014) took a different approach to investigate the apparent disconnect between policy and practice concerning official bilingualism in Canada. For instance, they explored the situation at the post-secondary level when it comes to academic publishing. The findings from their study indicated that the increasing

demand for Canadian academics to produce publications in English has impeded Francophones working in English-dominant societal contexts from publishing their work in both official languages. As Géntil and Séror argue, the pressure to publish in English has caused an undervaluing of French at the post-secondary level. In order to improve the situation, they contend that Canadian post-secondary institutions should place greater emphasis on investing in French language instruction to better promote the importance of gaining research skills in both official languages. Géntil and Séror believe that by taking proactive measures to ensure that Canadian academics are able to publish in the language of their choice, one can improve society's overall perception of the importance of official bilingualism in Canada.

2.2.3   Policy issues facing official bilingualism in Canada

Cardinal (2004) and Jedwab (2008) are two scholars whose combined work has brought the apparent disconnect between policy and practice to the forefront of academic conversations centered on the future of official bilingualism in Canada. Both scholars have argued that throughout Canada's history, policies concerning official bilingualism have not managed to achieve the ideal vision of a completely bilingual society. This is despite the creation of numerous programs and language planning projects aimed at its universal promotion within Canadian society. Cardinal (2004) explains that Canada continually aims to present itself on the global stage as a unique nation where English and French co-exist in a harmonious relationship. However, in reality, the number of Canadians who are completely bilingual is very low. Cardinal attributes many of the underlying problems associated with official bilingualism to the continued promotion in official policy of the goal of achieving a completely bilingual country. Cardinal argues that based on the actual level of bilingualism among Canadian citizens, it is apparent that this goal is unrealistic. Consequently, she maintains that a more realistic objective would be to create a stronger relationship between Canada's official languages. By strengthening the relationship between English and French, Cardinal postulates that it would represent a step in the right direction towards increasing the visibility of official bilingualism in Canada, and in turn, increasing the level of bilingualism among Canadian citizens.

In a similar vein, Jedwab (2008) explains that despite the overwhelming desire of Canadians to support official bilingualism, very few Canadians can actually call themselves bilingual. Jedwab attributes this issue to a lack of legislative direction from the Government of Canada when it comes to actually implementing policies aimed at increasing bilingualism among the Canadian population. He argues that in Canada there are very few incentives or opportunities given to Canadians to invest in language learning outside of Québec, and as a result, despite having a desire to be known as a bilingual nation, very few Canadians actually mobilize an effort to make this desire a reality. Jedwab cautions that the increases in bilingualism, which are often reported in government reports, may not always be reflective of a genuine desire on the part of the population to acquire a second language. Instead, these increases could be attributed to feelings of pressure to do so through coercive measures embedded within certain forms of political discourse. Additionally, he explains that even if the majority of Canadians desire to be become bilingual, the lack of direction from the Government of Canada towards second language learning opportunities is preventing them from doing so. Jedwab contends that efforts to increase bilingualism often remain solely at the level of offering services and programs to Canadians in both official languages which are not always consistent across the nation. He therefore argues that the lack of government direction when it comes to increasing bilingualism among the Canadian population is greatly contributing to the apparent disconnect between the support that Canadians demonstrate for official bilingualism and the actual knowledge of English and French that the majority of the population possess.

2.3   Situating the present study within the previous literature: Addressing the gaps

With the exception of Haque's (2012) and Jedwab's (2008) studies, very few studies in either the field of the economics of language or official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada have looked at how the reproduction of certain discourses may in fact be contributing to the persistence of certain societal problems. My study therefore aims to fill the gap by closely examining the discourses contained in Canadian stakeholder

promotion efforts spanning from 2003 to present in order to not only discover how they are used to attract investors to the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, but also to examine their potential role in the reproduction of the current problems facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. The study will therefore differ from what has been previously discussed in each body of literature by providing a more multilevel analysis of the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. As previously mentioned, this will be achieved by examining a broader historical period in Canadian history and examining discourses from a greater variety of sources (i.e. inclusion of a variety of stakeholder promotion efforts).

2.4   Summary

This chapter has examined two areas of literature that are pertinent to the present study: (a) the economics of language and (b) official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada. Topics of discussion included the legitimization of language, the commodification of language, and the apparent disconnect between policy and practice when it comes to official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. The goal of this chapter was to present an overview of the types of discussion taking place in each body of literature in order to situate the present investigation within these broader conversations. In the next chapter, the overall research design guiding the study will be examined. This includes an overview of the main methodological approach employed in the study as well as a detailed description of how the study unfolded over the course of the research process.

Chapter 3

3 Methodology

This chapter involves a detailed description of the main methodological framework guiding the present investigation. This includes an overview of critical discourse analysis, the research questions, and the overall research design that was employed in the study. Limitations of the approach are also provided as well as a detailed description of how each limitation was specifically addressed within the present investigation.

3.1 Positioning the present study within the qualitative research tradition

Creswell (1998) defines qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem" (p. 15). According to Creswell, "The [qualitative] researcher builds a complex, holistic picture [or] narrative that takes the reader into the multiple dimensions of [the] problem or issue and displays it in all of its complexity" (p. 15). The present investigation falls under Creswell's description of qualitative research due to the nature of the overarching research questions: (a) How do the discourses contained in stakeholder promotion efforts seek to maintain and reproduce the market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada? and (b) How might a critical analysis of these discourses provide insight into the underlying sources of tension contributing to the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and the actual manifestation of it within Canadian society? As will be discussed in greater detail, a qualitative approach was most appropriate for my investigation because it provided me with the necessary tools to unravel the complexity surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education and construct a narrative of the underlying sources of tension at the heart of the disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the reality of it within Canadian society.

3.2   Research design employed in the present research study

Before delving into a discussion of the specific approaches to critical discourse analysis (CDA) that were adopted in the present investigation, I will briefly explain how discourse analysis can be approached from a critical perspective. According to Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000), "CDA conceptualizes language as a form of social practice, and attempts to make human beings aware of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure of which they are normally unaware" (p. 147). Additionally, "CDA takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power" (Wodak, 2001, pp. 1-2). Those scholars who subscribe to this particular form of discourse analysis view "Society and culture [as] dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 146). According to this description, CDA is therefore a useful perspective for critical researchers to adopt because it has the potential to enlighten society to the role that discourse plays in shaping the broader social structures of a society (Titscher et al., 2000).

In terms of the present study, I chose to situate my work within the approaches developed by Jäger & Maier (2009) and Fairclough (2001). The overall research design was primarily adapted from Jäger and Maier's toolbox for conducing Foucauldian discourse analysis, however, aspects of Fairclough's approach to CDA, such as the concept of discourse as social practice, helped to inform the overall research strategy that I utilized throughout the investigation. The descriptions to follow provide an overview of these two approaches. In the next section, I will discuss how these two approaches were specifically applied to the present investigation.

According to Jäger and Maier (2009), Foucauldian discourse analysis draws inspiration from Foucault's (1970, 1972) discourse theory. It views discourse "not only as mere expressions of social practice, but also [as a means to] particular ends, namely the

exercise of power" (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 35). Jäger and Maier (2009) explain that for Foucault, "The concept of power refers to a series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours or discourse (p. 35). Discourses therefore "exercise power in a society because they institutionalize and regulate ways of thinking and acting" (p. 35). Jäger and Maier argue that by employing Foucauldian discourse analysis, the researcher comes closer to understanding how the underlying social structures embedded in certain discourses shape how social realities are perceived.

Diaz-Bone et al. (2007) explain that according to Foucauldian discourse analysis, the process of gaining an understanding of the role that discourse plays in shaping social structures and social realities involves the careful analysis of the social context in which the discourses are operating. In order to do this, they contend that the analyst must investigate the logic behind the construction of certain discourses, the individuals who have the authority to construct the discourses, and the specific agendas that are being pursued through the discourse. By asking these types of questions, the analyst is able to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying elements embedded within certain discourses that seek to shape social structures and realities in a specific manner. Since Foucault (1970, 1972) did not develop a specific set of analytical tools for conducting CDA, Jäger and Maier (2009) created a toolkit for those looking to analyze the relationship between language and power as it is expressed through discourse. The toolkit is comprised of several layers of analysis beginning with a general surveying of the structure of the discourses through to a fine detailed analysis. It is this toolkit that I relied on during my analysis of the stakeholder documents.

In a similar manner to Jäger and Maier's (2009) approach to Foucauldian discourse analysis, Fairclough's (2001) theory of discourse as social practice is also inspired by Foucault's (1970, 1972) discourse theory. The goal of his approach is "to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 1). Fairclough's (2001) perspective on CDA therefore aims to bring greater awareness to the role that language plays in the execution of power, especially its role in reproducing structures of social control. For Fairclough, by bringing attention to the hidden power

structures embedded in discourse and making them part of the collective consciousness, societies can move from blindly accepting these structures as 'common sense' towards investigating their function within the society.

Of central importance to Fairlcough's (2001) approach is the concept of ideology. For Fairclough, language gains its power from the ideologies that are embedded within it which seek to influence how citizens are expected to think and act. Fairclough argues that "the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language" (p. 2). According to this logic, when language takes on this type of power, it has the potential to make systems of social control appear legitimate by making them part of the everyday social reality. It is for this reason that Fairclough believes more attention should be given to the analysis of the ideological power behind language in on order to move beyond blindly accepting certain discourses as the social norm, towards critically examining their role in the reproduction of power. Fairclough's approach is therefore both a call to action for social scientists to move towards gaining a deeper understanding of the hidden social structures embedded in discourse, and a theoretical and methodological guide for investigating the complex relationship between language and power.

In a similar manner to conducting Foucauldian discourse analysis, Fairclough (2001) maintains that in order to understand the role that discourses play in shaping the dominant modes of thinking and acting in a particular society, the analyst must deconstruct discourse to uncover the hidden assumptions and power relations embedded within it. Fariclough sees this process as a means of social emancipation. He argues that by deconstructing certain forms of discourse, the analyst may be able to uncover hidden elements contributing to the reproduction of certain societal problems (i.e. social inequalities). In doing so, the analyst is able to bring the hidden sources of tension contained in discourse into the collective consciousness so that they may be adequately addressed by the society.

3.3   The research process

As will be explained in detail, my analysis of the discourses concerning official
bilingualism and FSL education took place in several stages. The sections to follow
provide an overview of each stage. These sections are included in order to provide a
snapshot of the entire study from initial gathering of data through to the final stages of the
analysis. It is also provided in order to demonstrate how I applied the concepts outlined in
Foucauldian discourse analysis (see Diaz-Bone et al., 2007; Foucault, 1970, 1972; and
Jäger & Maier, 2009) and Fairclough's (2001) theory of discourse as social practice
within my research investigation.

3.3.1   Selection of the data sets

The first stage of the research process involved the selection of appropriate data sets. In
preparation for this stage, I attempted to narrow down the search criteria through which I
would select documents for inclusion in my study. Since I had an interest in studying the
discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education, I knew that I needed to
search for documents that were produced by Canadian stakeholder organizations and
contained a message of support for official bilingualism and FSL education. I therefore
decided to use this as my initial criterion for selecting written documents for
consideration in my study.

I began the selection process by searching the Government of Canada's online
document archive for official legislation aimed at the preservation and promotion of
Canada's official languages and its FSL programming. During this search, I located three
key documents that were pertinent to my study: (a) *2003-2008 Action plan for official
languages*, (b) *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*, and (c) *2013-2018
Roadmap for Canada's official languages*. Upon briefly perusing the first strategic
initiative, I noticed that it contained a call to action to increase bilingualism among
Canada's youth and the presence of official bilingualism within Canadian society. I
therefore decided to begin at 2003 and look at parallel promotion efforts that were
developed in response to this call to action. This process resulted in the subsequent
selection of documents from CPF, OCOL, French for the Future, and the Ontario

Ministry of Education. The reason for including documents from each of these organizations was to examine the types of discourses that were included in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts from a multitude of perspectives.

3.3.2   Organizing and contextualizing the data sets

After I had selected the documents to be included in my study, I ended up with five distinct data sets which equated to a total of fourteen written documents (see Table 1). The documents varied in length and breadth of coverage and each set, although originating from different organizations, centered on a similar goal of increasing support for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

Table 1 Data sets included in the present research study

Stakeholder Organization	Publication Title	Year of Publication
Government of Canada	*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*	2003
Government of Canada	*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*	2009
Government of Canada	*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*	2013
Canadian Parents for French	*Allophone engagement pamphlet*	2003
Canadian Parents for French	*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion education*	2003
Canadian Parents for French	*Stay in French!*	2003

French for the Future	*French A career booster!*	2011
French for the Future	*Pourquoi parler francais?*	2011
Ontario Ministry of Education	*The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8 : French as a second language*	2013
Ontario Ministry of Education	*The Ontario curriculum grades 9-12: French as a second language*	2014
Ontario Ministry of Education	*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*	2013
Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages	*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages*	2005
Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages	*2008-2009 Annual report of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages*	2009
Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages	*2012-2013 Annual report of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages*	2013

At this point, I kept all of the data sets separate and began my analysis by examining the overall structure of the written documents. During this phase, I sought out pertinent

background information to establish the historical, social, economic, and political context for each stakeholder document. I was looking for clues of who was involved in the creation of each document, what their particular worldview was, if the documents were created in response to the release of any major reports or initiatives on official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, and if there were any major events that had an impact on the creation of the documents. Once this information was gathered, it gave me a frame of reference to situate each document into the broader historical, social and political narrative of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. Later on in the study, when I compared this information to what I had gathered on the specific discourses contained in the stakeholder documents, it helped me to better understand why certain discourses were incorporated into the stakeholder documents.

3.3.3 Thematic coding of the documents: Identifying the discourse strands and sub-strands

Once I had collected sufficient background to situate each stakeholder document into the broader historical, social and political narrative to which it belonged, I began to thematically code each data set in order to categorize the individual discourse fragments into their respective discourse strands. This process was completed in preparation for what Jäger and Maier (2009) call the 'detailed analysis and fine detail analysis stages' during which the individual discourse strands are analyzed in a more through manner. According to Jäger and Maier, a discourse strand is defined as "Flows of discourse that centre on a common topic" (p. 46). For example, the "discourse strand" (p. 46) of Canadian nationalism could involve several different types of statements, but they would all have an inherent connection back to the central theme of Canadian nationalism. All of the statements, when organized together, would represent the discourse strand of Canadian nationalism. On their own, the statements are referred to as "discourse fragments" (p. 47) which are "a text or part of a text that deals with a particular topic" (p. 47). In order to thematically code the documents, I followed an evolutionary process where I began with a set of categories and then gradually added to the list as different themes emerged.

3.3.4 Organizing and narrowing the results from the thematic coding

After I had been through all of the documents and created a list of potential discourse strands, I realized that the list of categories was quite large and that some were actually sub-categories of a broader theme and not a standalone category. As a result, I decided to re-evaluate my list of codes and narrow it down. This process resulted in the identification of four major discourse strands, each with its own set of sub-strands (see Table 2).

Table 2 Discourse strands and sub-strands uncovered during thematic coding

Discourse strand	**Accompanying sub-strands**
Canadian nationalism	1.) Canadian identity 2.) Canadian values and ideals 3.) Canadian heritage and culture 4.) national unity and the universality of official bilingualism
Multiculturalism and Diversity	*no sub-strands were identified during coding
Globalization	1.) international competitiveness and prestige of Canada's official languages
Commodification of Canada's official languages	1.) Canada's official languages and the Canadian people 2.) Canada's official languages and Canada's youth

Once I had the list of the major discourse strands and sub-strands established, I went through each set of documents again to make sure that I had not missed any discourse strands. In total, I went through each data set three times. Since I followed an evolutionary process to developing my list of codes, going through each data set multiple times helped to ensure that those codes that were found later on in the coding process

were equally applied to all the data sets included in my study. This process did not result in the identification of any new codes.

3.3.5   Detailed analysis of the recurring patterns of images and messages

After collecting all of the data during the thematic coding portion of my research study, I then began what Jäger and Maier (2009) call the 'detailed analysis stage'. This process took place in several steps and commenced with a preliminary thematic analysis of all of individual data that I collected per discourse strand and sub-strand from each individual stakeholder organization. For instance, in the case of the documents from the Government of Canada and the discourse strand of Canadian nationalism, I took all of the statements belonging to the discourse of Canadian nationalism for the three government documents and grouped it all together into one data set. Once I had completed this process for all of the data that I collected from each individual organization, I then began to examine the frequency with which certain discourse strands and sub-strands appeared in each data set. This gave me an idea of the overall discursive position of each individual stakeholder organization and allowed me to track consistencies or changes in the discourses over time. At this point, I also compared the data for each organization with the background information that I had gathered at the outset of my research study.

Once I had looked at the patterns of how the discourse strands and sub-strands were employed in each data set, I then closely examined the recurring patterns in the images and messages that were used within the various discourse strands and sub-strands. This step was also completed on an individual basis. Since I had already grouped all of the data for each discourse strand and sub-strand together into an individual data set, I simply went through the data collection for each individual stakeholder organization and looked for patterns in the images and messages that were employed in each individual discourse strand and its accompanying sub-strands. This allowed me to closely examine the underlying strategies utilized by each stakeholder organization in their employment of each discourse strand and its accompanying sub-strands. I also made connections back to

the background information on each set of documents which helped to illuminate the origins behind certain images and messages.

3.3.6   Fine detail analysis of the key patterns of language

After having thoroughly examined the recurring patterns in the images and messages that were employed in the individual data sets, I then went through the data a final time to look for key patterns in the types of language that were employed in each discourse strand and its accompanying sub-strands. Once again, this stage of the analysis was completed on an individual basis. During this stage, I conducted what Jäger and Maier (2009) term the 'fine detail analysis stage'. The difference between this stage and the previous one was that I broke down the individual discourse fragments into their constituent parts and looked for patterns in the way language was being used. For instance, I focused on patterns in the use of similar verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives etc. and the ways in which these linguistic forms were being used to either promote a specific image or message concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. This stage allowed me to gain a deeper insight into how the individual discourse fragments were structured and how they worked together to construct certain images and messages concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

3.3.7   Comparing the data sets

Once I had closely examined the data sets on an individual basis, I then turned to a more in-depth analysis of the prevailing patterns in the individual discourse strands and sub-strands across the data sets. During this stage, I divided the data thematically and looked at all of the data collected for each discourse strand and sub-strand across the data sets. For instance, in the case of the discourse sub-strand of national unity/ universality of official bilingualism, I took every statement from each stakeholder document that pertained to this particular theme and grouped them together into one large data set. I then began to compare the documents from each individual stakeholder organization to see if there were similarities and differences in how the discourses were being used. As Jäger and Maier (2009) explain, all of the combined analysis and interpretation from this

stage, and the previous stages, not only provided me with deeper insight into the overall position that each stakeholder organization took concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, but it also provided me with a better understanding of the influences that different stakeholder promotion efforts had on the types of discourses that appeared in each data set.

3.4   Limitations of the methodological approach

According to Blommaert (2005), "CDA has received its share of flak from other researchers" (p. 31). As Blommaert explains, these criticisms have "[mainly] centre[d] on issues of interpretation and context. More specifically, critics focus on what they see as bias in the analyses" (p. 31). According to Meyer (2001), one of the major criticisms of CDA is that it does not clearly define what is meant by the term 'discourse', and as a result, presents itself as a series of vague interpretations of what the term really entails (see Widdowson, 1995). Another major criticism is that CDA is perceived as being overly subjective due to the influence of the researcher's voice in the interpretation of discourse. As a result, certain critics (see Schegloff, 1998; Widdowson, 1995) believe that CDA comes off as "an ideological interpretation" (Meyer, 2001, p. 17) that is presented "under the guise of critical analysis" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 32). As Meyer (2001) explains, opponents taking this stance believe that the insertion of the analyst's voice into the interpretation of discourse often overshadows the other voices contained within the discourses themselves.

3.5   Addressing the limitations of CDA

Despite the limitations of CDA, several methodologists have offered suggestions on how to cope with some of the issues that the method presents. As will be demonstrated in the sub-sections to follow, many of these strategies are not only specific to CDA, but are also general strategies that are utilized by both qualitative and quantitative researchers to minimize the risk of researcher bias. The sub-sections to follow outline some of these strategies as a well as how I specifically addressed the limitations of CDA within my own research study.

3.5.1   Objectivity and subjectivity in qualitative research

As has been previously demonstrated, one of the main issues that opponents have with CDA is the perceived inability for analysts to remain wholly objective in their analysis and interpretation of discourse. This concern, however, has a long history in the debates between qualitative and quantitative researchers. To address this issue, critical discourse analysts pose the following questions which must be asked of any research endeavour: "[I]s it possible to perform any research free of a priori value judgments and is it possible to gain insight from purely empirical data without using any preframed categories of experience?" (Meyer, 2001, p. 17). As one can see, the question of objectivity is not just specific to CDA, but instead, applies to all types of research where the risk for researcher bias is always omnipresent. It is therefore misleading to argue that just because there is the potential for the subjective experience to be inserted into the interpretation of discourse that CDA cannot serve as viable means through which to analyze certain forms of discourse.

Building on this argument, McNeil (1990) states that to present a completely objective account of a research question is not a realistic goal because "The choice of research topic is not made in a vacuum, but is influenced both by the researcher and by the context in which the research is being done" (p. 12). For McNeil, this phenomenon is not just specific to qualitative research, but instead, represents a universal issue when it comes to conducting any form of academic research. According to this line of argument, the researcher, no matter what the topic of investigation, ultimately makes the conscious decision to investigate a topic and therefore cannot detach themselves completely from the research. According to McNeil, it is therefore wrong to automatically assume that just because the researcher may have a personal connection to the research, that it will ultimately taint the research study.

To address the other concern about the soundness of CDA as an alternative to other approaches, Stake (2000) argues that all research endeavours, to a certain extent, fall prey to not being able to show the whole picture of the topic under investigation. As Stake argues, "Many a researcher would like to tell the whole story but of course cannot;

the whole story exceeds anyone's knowing, anyone's telling. Even those inclined to tell all find strong the obligation to winnow and consolidate" (p. 441). Additionally, according to Becker (1998), some of the issues with presenting a holistic picture of a research topic relate back to the question of sampling. For instance, Becker argues that it would be impossible to include every data point possible on a given research topic because of factors such as time and expenses. Although these factors limit the scope of the research study, Stake (2000) maintains that there are several procedures that qualitative researchers can use in order to alleviate some of these issues: (a) employing a mixed methods approach, (b) triangulation, and (c) verification through multiple data sets.

From the above discussion, one can see that it is misleading to judge CDA based solely on the fact that it is subjective in nature because all research endeavours, no matter what the research tradition, contain a certain level of influence from the researcher. Instead of focusing mainly on the shortcomings of CDA, one should therefore look at it as a unique set of research tools through which to examine the role that discourses play in shaping certain social structures and realities. When one focuses solely on the inherent flaws of CDA, there is the potential to miss out on the unique insights that can be gained from applying a critical lens to the study of discourse. It should therefore not be a question of how objective a research study can be, but it should be about the potential that the study has to contribute to the advancement of knowledge.

3.5.2   The question of reflexivity

In order to fully explain how I attempted to address some of the limitations of CDA within my present research study, I find it necessary to begin by reiterating how I positioned myself in the research during the entire research process. This information is necessary in order to demonstrate how my past experiences, although adding a layer of subjectivity to the research, actually gave me a unique perspective on the discourses under examination. In doing so, I also make the argument that it is because of my past experiences that I was able to unpack the various layers of the discourses surrounding

official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and view them from multiple perspectives.

In the introduction to my study, I stated that I came into my research having had prior knowledge of and experience with the very discourses that I critically analyzed during my study. Although I personally view my past experiences with official bilingualism and FSL education as positive contributions to my research study, I am cognizant of how they may be viewed as obstacles by other researchers. Despite the potential risk, however, I still believe that my past experiences gave me unique insights into the discourses that I examined during my study because I was able to view them from different vantage points within my own life history of being directly involved in official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

To reiterate how I positioned myself within the research, before conducting my study, I served in the role of both student and teacher of French during which time the official discourses surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education played a large part in how I experienced and perceived these two aspects of Canadian society. During my time as an FSL student, I found myself in the role of a consumer of the discourses, whereas, when I was an FSL teacher, I was more involved in the reproduction of the discourses that I once consumed. As a result of both of these unique experiences, I already had prior knowledge coming into my research study of how the discourses surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education operated in Canadian society and the role that they personally played in my life. Another interesting dimension of what I brought to my research was the role that I now find myself in as a teacher-researcher. This role has caused me to see both sides of the discourses as someone who was involved in their reproduction, as well as someone who was able to reflect on the discourses and critically examine their role in Canadian society. My interpretations were therefore informed by these three unique experiences (i.e. student, teacher and researcher) which each provided me with a different set of lenses through which to view the discourses under examination.

Throughout the research process, I consistently remained upfront about my past experiences and used them as a guide to the analysis of the written documents included in my study. I did not, however, hold steadfast to my preconceived notions about official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, but remained open to discovering new insights from my analysis. I treated the process as a form of reflective practice in that I was constantly reflecting back on my past experiences and relating them to the new information that I was gathering. I therefore saw my past experiences as only one part of the puzzle of navigating the complexity of the discourses surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

3.5.3   Inclusion of multiple data sets

Another limitation of CDA that I had to navigate during my research study was the belief that critical discourse analysts always begin with a particular ideology and interpretation in mind and then seek out texts that support that particular viewpoint. To address this issue, I purposely sought out written documents from a wide range of different stakeholder organizations in addition to different types of written documents. For me, it was important to show a range of perspectives on the discourses surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada in addition to ensuring that the information was not coming from just one source. In doing so, I worked with multiple data sets during my research study (i.e. documents from the Government of Canada, OCOL, CPF, French for the Future, and the Ontario Ministry of Education), and thus, provided a varied sampling of the different ways that Canadian stakeholder organizations incorporated the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education into their promotion efforts.

3.6   Potential benefits of employing a CDA approach to the study of discourse

Despite the limitations presented earlier, Blommaert (2005) identifies several benefits of employing CDA as a method which are worth mentioning. Firstly, Blommaert contends that "Discourse analysis should result in a heightened awareness of hidden power dimensions and its effects" (p. 33). Secondly, Blommaert argues that academic work between disciplines is becoming increasingly popular in the realm of academia, and

because CDA involves the interdisciplinary study of discourse, it offers researchers the chance to engage in collaborative academic research. Thirdly, Blommaert contends that CDA offers a means of going beyond the surface level analysis of discourse because

"[it] focuses on *institutional environments* as key sites of research into the connections between language, power and social processes. It thus reacts against the 'mundanisation' of discourses and manages to indentify 'special'discourses, discourses that belong to centres of power and the reproduction of social structure. (p. 34)

Lastly, building on the argument that CDA offers a deeper level of analysis not found in other approaches to discourse analysis, Blommaert maintains that the work of critical discourse analysts is to move beyond "the old idea that a chunk of discourse has only *one* function and *one* meaning" (p. 34) towards a more in depth look at the "the layering of discourse and on its multiple but simultaneously occurring functions" (p. 34). CDA therefore has the potential to uncover deeper meanings that are hidden under the surface of certain discourses by peeling back the layers of complexity and exposing the hidden social structures and processes contained within them. It therefore represents a unique set of tools through which researchers can study the intricate relationship between discourse and society.

3.7   Summary

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the main research design employed in the present research study. Topics of discussion included an overview of CDA, how the approach was applied in the present investigation, the limitations of the approach, and how the limitations were addressed. In the next chapter, a detailed overview of the main findings of the study will be presented. This includes a thematic discussion of the various discourse strands and sub-strands that were uncovered during the analysis of the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

Chapter 4

4 Findings

This chapter presents the significant findings that were uncovered during the analysis of the discourses contained in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts ranging from 2003 to present. The chapter is organized thematically by discourse strand and accompanying sub-strands and presents the major images, messages and key uses of language that were discovered during the detailed and fine detail stages of analysis.

4.1 Introduction to the findings

This chapter outlines the results of the cross comparison that I completed on the stakeholder documents during the analysis phase of my research study. It begins with a presentation of pertinent background information to provide the context in which each set of stakeholder documents was created. This involves an examination of key discursive events that may have had an influence on the creation of certain stakeholder documents (i.e. 2008 financial crisis, anniversary of a key event in Canadian history), connections to other influential texts (i.e. release of major government reports), as well as the social, economic, and political climate in which the documents were created. Additionally, pertinent background information on each stakeholder organization is provided in order to outline their role in the promotion and preservation of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. The purpose of presenting this information before the description of the main discourse strands and sub-strands is to provide insight into various influences that had bearing on the type of discourses that were incorporated into each set of stakeholder documents.

Once the pertinent contextual information is established, the chapter then delves into a detailed description of the main discourse strands and sub-strands that were uncovered during analysis. This part of the chapter is organized both by discourse strand and the accompanying sub-strands (see Table 2 for an overview of the discourse strands and sub-strands). Each section provides a snapshot of the key findings for each discourse

strand and its accompanying sub-strands. Within each section, and its accompanying sub-sections, a table is presented which serves as a guide to organize the various messages, images and key uses of language that were discovered during the analysis of each discourse strand and its accompanying sub-strands. Each table is also accompanied by a detailed description of how these particular aspects of the stakeholder documents worked together within the stakeholder documents to socially construct the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

4.2   Data set 1: The Government's strategic initiatives on official bilingualism

The Department of Canadian Heritage was involved in the creation of all three major strategic initiatives on official bilingualism (i.e. *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages, 2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*, and *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*) (Department of Canadian Heritage, personal communication, October 26, 2015). The role of the Department of Canadian Heritage involves the promotion of Canadian culture, history, sport and Canada's official languages (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2014). Part of their work involves developing policies and programs "related to broadcasting and interactive media, arts and cultural industries, heritage objects and spaces, official languages, citizenship, participation and identity, human rights, Aboriginal Peoples, youth and sport initiatives, as well as national ceremonies and symbols" (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2014). Driving the overall direction of the agency is a vision of a Canada where the cultural diversity of the nation is celebrated and where Canadians can gain a better understanding of their history and identity. The Department of Canadian Heritage is therefore committed to protecting and promoting key features of Canada's history and culture (e.g. official bilingualism, Canadian sport etc.) through the creation of policies and programs aimed at bringing greater awareness to the integral role that they play in the lives of Canadians (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2014).

The origins of the *2003-2008 Action Plan on official languages* date back to the *2001 and 2002 Throne speeches* in which the government reaffirmed its commitment to better promote the importance of official bilingualism within Canadian society. In these

speeches, the government also vowed to make the protection of official bilingualism one of its main priorities. During this time, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed the Honourable Stéphane Dion to coordinate the development of a new policy that would reinvigorate the government's approach to official bilingualism. This process involved a series of consultations with parliamentary ministers, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Canadian researchers and academics, as well as local community advocacy groups. The information that was gathered from all of these consultations was drafted into a series of reports that eventually helped to inform the overall direction of the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages* (Government of Canada, 2003).

The purpose behind the creation of the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages* was to reaffirm the government's commitment to uphold the principles outlined in the *Official Languages Act* of 1969, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982, and the amended version of the *Official Languages Act* of 1988. The action plan was especially concerned with upholding the government's commitments to unite Canadians in the culture of official bilingualism in addition to doubling the amount of bilingual youth by 2013. The *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages* was intended to serve as a renewed framework to make official bilingualism accessible to all Canadians and unite citizens of diverse origins. Within the plan, three specific goals were presented to achieve these objectives: (a) recognizing the integral role that Canada's official languages have played in the formation of the nation, (b) realizing the potential that official bilingualism presents for the future of the nation, and (c) improving government action on official bilingualism to better meet the demands of an evolving society. The plan also outlined three priority areas in order to achieve these goals: (a) education, (b) community development, and (c) improvements to the public service. Overall, the development of the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages* was meant to link Canada's past with its future by implementing a policy that better reflected the evolving nature of Canadian society (Government of Canada, 2003).

In a similar manner to the development of the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages*, the *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality* was developed after a series of nation-wide consultations with official language minority communities,

parliamentary committees, and the Commissioner of Official Languages. It was also heavily influenced by the ideas expressed in the *Lord Report* (i.e. importance of community development) and the consultations that took place during the Francophone and Acadian Communities Summit of June 2007. During this summit, the needs of official language minority communities were brought to the attention of the government and were eventually incorporated into the government's renewed plan for the protection of official bilingualism in Canada (Government of Canada, 2009).

The *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality* sought to build on the momentum of the previous action plan by targeting the following areas: (a) increasing the importance of official bilingualism within Canadian society, (b) investing in Canada's youth, (c) offering increased services to official language minority communities, (d) realizing the economic benefits of official bilingualism, and (e) improving government action on the protection of Canada's official languages. Its creation represented the government's recommitment to respond to the evolving needs of Canadians when it comes to official bilingualism. In order to achieve these goals, the government sought to increase investment in health, justice, immigration, economic development, and the arts and culture. Overall, the *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality* was intended to build on the objectives outlined in the previous strategic initiatives and to tackle new priorities areas that were identified during nation-wide consultations (Government of Canada, 2009).

Leading up to the creation of the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official Languages* was the release of the Government of Canada's mid-term report in 2012. In this report, the government stated that it had effectively met all of its 32 objectives outlined in the *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*. The creation of the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages* was also influenced by the Pan-Canadian consultations which were held in the same year. These consultations provided unique insight into the growing demands of Canadians when it comes to official bilingualism. The final key influence on the creation of the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages* was the release of the 2012 *Federal economic action plan*. In this plan, there was a renewed effort on behalf of the Government of Canada to

continue to provide government funding in support of Canada's linguistic duality (Government of Canada, 2013).

In a similar manner to the previous two strategic initiatives, the purpose of creating the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages* was to renew the government's commitments to official bilingualism by adequately responding to the needs of Canadian citizens and providing them with the necessary tools to fully participate in the culture of official bilingualism. In order to achieve these goals, three priority areas for government action were identified: (a) education, (b) immigration, and (c) communities. The government's main priority with this strategic initiative was to provide increased support for government institutions to better meet the demands of Canadian citizens and to provide effective leadership when it comes to promoting the importance of official bilingualism within Canadian society (Government of Canada, 2013).

4.3   Data set 2: CPF's promotional materials

CPF began in 1977 as a parent advocacy group with the aim of protecting the rights of Canadian school children to participate in official bilingualism. At the time of its inception, CPF was dedicated to advocating for increased opportunities for students to gain bilingual skills through their education in the Canadian school system. This goal has persisted throughout the history of the organization and is a main priority for the current promotion efforts being carried out by the group (CPF, 2015).

Although CPF began with a small group of parents meeting for the first time in Ottawa, it has since grown to a national network consisting of ten offices across Canada with over 150 local advocacy groups located in various communities across the nation. The organization has therefore become one of the largest and most proactive advocacy groups for the bilingual education of Canada's youth and is a staunch supporter of Canada's FSL programs. Today, the organization holds local events in communities across Canada as well as national conferences dedicated to the promotion of FSL programs for Canada's youth. The overall mission and vision of the group is to create a nation where French and English play an integral role in Canadian society and where

Canadian youth have equal opportunities to learn and interact in both of Canada's official languages (CPF, 2015).

The origins of the *Allophone engagement pamphlet*, *Stay in French!*, and the *I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion* promotional materials from CPF date back to the release of the Government of Canada's *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages* (CPF, 2016b). At the time of its release, the Government of Canada's main objective was to double the amount of bilingual youth by enhancing Core French programs and increasing overall enrolment in both Core French and French Immersion programs. In order to reach these goals, the government heavily promoted research on second language learning and provided funding opportunities to organizations that were dedicated to the promotion and preservation of FSL education in Canada (Government of Canada, 2003). After the release of the *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*, CPF became inspired by the government's initiatives and decided to launch a campaign targeted towards increasing awareness of the importance of bilingual education. Their promotional campaign was targeted specifically towards Canadian school children and their parents in order to demonstrate the numerous benefits associated with investment in official bilingualism and FSL education (CPF, 2016a). Additionally, CPF was a participant at the *2003 Vision and challenges for the 21st century: Symposium on official languages*. The symposium was held jointly between CPF, OCOL, the Department of Canadian Heritage, and Intergovernmental affairs. The overall objective of the symposium was to establish effective partnership strategies in order to achieve the goals outlined in the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages*, namely doubling the amount of bilingual youth in Canada by 2013 (OCOL, 2015). All three promotional campaigns therefore represented CPF's efforts to support the goals and objectives outlined in the *2003-2008 Action plan on official languages* as well as the initiatives proposed at the *2003 Vision and challenges for the 21st century: Symposium on official languages* (CPF, 2016b).

4.4 Data set 3: French for the Future's promotional posters

The origins of French for the Future date back to the 1995 referendum in Québec. It was during this time that the founders of the organization, Lisa Balfour Bowen and John Ralston Saul, became advocates for FSL education despite the fact that Québec was increasingly developing support for independence. At the time, the founders believed that despite the mounting tensions between Québec and Canada surrounding the issue of Québec sovereignty, it was still necessary to continue to demonstrate the benefits of official bilingualism to students in the rest of Canada in order show them that there was a bright future for their bilingual skills. In order to promote this message on both a national and local level, in 1997, French for the Future decided to hold a two day conference in Toronto, Ontario. This event was such a success, that it was subsequently held annually in Toronto with similar events held in other Canadian cities. This conference eventually transformed itself into French for the Future's local forums which are, to this day, held annually in local communities across the nation. Today, French for the Future organizes several events and activities including: local forums, the National Ambassador Youth Forum, a national essay contest, and several Francoconnexion sessions. Overall, the organization provides essential supports and programming to both FSL teachers and students that aid in promoting the numerous benefits of official bilingualism and FSL education for Canada's youth (French for the Future, 2015).

The *French A Career booster!* and *Pourquoi parler français?*[1] posters were both created in 2011 with the aim of promoting the importance of speaking and learning French. The impetus for their creation was the result of demands from FSL teachers looking to better support their bilingual students. The teachers wanted to demonstrate the importance of speaking and learning French in order to encourage their students to stay in FSL programming and continue to develop their bilingual skills (French for the Future, personal communication, September 22, 2015). Since the creation of these two promotional posters, French for the Future has continued to provide encouragement for

---

[1] Why speak French?

FSL students by continuously demonstrating the numerous long-term benefits associated with investment in official bilingualism and FSL education (French for the Future, 2015).

4.5   Data set 4: OCOL's annual reports

The creation of OCOL dates back to the enactment of the *Official Languages Act* in 1969. The *Official Languages Act* was the direct result of the work of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. The Act created the role of the Commissioner of Official Languages whose purpose was to not only ensure that the recommendations and regulations of the *Official Languages Act* were carried out in Canadian society, but also to make certain that the language rights of Canadians were protected. Today, OCOL still engages in these same missions and is dedicated to ensuring that Canadians are able to exercise their language rights and that English and French remain integral components of Canadian society (OCOL, 2015).

The release of *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report* coincided with the thirty-fifth anniversary of the passage of the *Official Languages Act*. The intended purpose for releasing the report was to commemorate all of the positive strides that Canada made since the passage of the *Official Languages Act* and to report on future directions for protecting Canada's official languages. *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report* also had ties to the ideas expressed in the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* during which many of the founding principles outlined in the *Official Languages Act* were established. As a result of the annual report's connection to both the *Official Languages Act* and the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, there are certain discursive influences contained in the annual report which originate back to the founding principles that formed Canada's language policy. For instance, one of the key influences from these previous initiatives is the report's treatment of official bilingualism as not only a defining feature of Canada's collective identity, but also as a means of uniting Canadians of diverse origins (OCOL, 2005).

In a similar fashion to *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*, *OCOL's 2008-2009 annual report* also coincided with the anniversary of important milestones in Canadian history: (a) the fortieth anniversary of the passage of the *Official Languages*

Act, (b) 400th anniversary of the founding of Québec City, and (c) the twentieth anniversary of the renewal of the *Official Languages Act*. As a result of these historical influences, the ideas expressed in *OCOL's 2008-2009 annual report* all echo the founding principles outlined in Canada's official languages policy (i.e. equality between English and French, respect for diversity). Additionally, the intended purpose behind the release of *OCOL's 2008-2009 annual report* was to celebrate the numerous accomplishments that Canada has made towards the preservation of the two official languages as integral components of Canadian society (OCOL, 2009).

Finally, two of the major events that had an impact on the ideas expressed in *OCOL's 2012-2013 annual report* were the 2008 global financial crisis, which ushered in an era of economic instability, and the rise of social media. These two influences were cited in the report as having a direct impact on OCOL's ability to provide support for official bilingualism in addition to the general direction of Canada's official languages policy. These events were also cited as contributing to some of the current problems associated with the preservation of official bilingualism in Canada (i.e. more restricted financial budgets for official bilingualism, greater expectations to provide electronic services in both official languages). As a result of these two influences, much of the language expressed in *OCOL's 2012-2013 annual report* is tied to a discussion of OCOL's efforts towards the preservation of Canada's official languages in the wake of this great era of social change. The intended purpose of the report was therefore to document all of the progress that Canada has made towards the preservation of official bilingualism in this era of global instability and to provide future direction for the continued protection of Canada's linguistic duality (OCOL, 2013).

4.6   Data set 5: Ontario Ministry of Education's FSL documents

The Ontario Ministry of Education is a provincial body entrusted with regulating Ontario's public education system. Its specific duties include the drafting and implementation of policies and programs for provincial school boards, allocating funds for programming, drafting and implementation of the Ontario curriculum, regulating Ontario graduation requirements and certification, and approving the use of classroom

learning materials. As the main body responsible for regulating the Ontario education system, one of its primary functions is to continuously evaluate Ontario's curriculum and programming in order to maintain a high standard of quality education (People for Education, 2015).

The official curricular review of FSL education in Ontario began in 2008 and involved a series of consultations, technical analyses, and research studies conducted on the provincial curriculum in order to gather critical insight into the issues concerning Ontario's FSL curriculum and programming. One of the primary documents coming out of this review process, which would later go on to shape the current approach to FSL education in Ontario, was *A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools.* Leading up to the creation of this key policy document was an effort on behalf of key stakeholders involved in Ontario's FSL curriculum and programming to create a shared vision and set of goals for guiding the future direction of FSL education in Ontario. Additionally, during this time period, school boards across Ontario became increasingly involved in seeking out ways to improve FSL programming. These combined efforts eventually led to the creation of the Ministry of Education's FSL Provincial Working Group in 2010. Part of the review process involved gathering input from stakeholders across Ontario's sixty school boards. In terms of other major influences on the FSL curricular review process, the *Canada-Ontario agreement on minority-language education and second official-language instruction, The Common European framework of reference for languages (CEFR),* as well as the results from numerous research studies conducted on FSL education by both professional and educational organizations, all had a direct impact on shaping the future direction of FSL education in Ontario (Ontario Ministry of Education, personal communication, October 20, 2015).

4.7   The discourse of Canadian nationalism

In general, the discourse of Canadian nationalism was employed in the stakeholder documents to connect official bilingualism with the idea of nation building by illustrating its connection to the formation of the Canadian identity, and the founding of the Canadian state. The discourse was also used to present official bilingualism as a great

source of national unity, which in turn, helps to foster a sense of belonging among Canadians. Overall, the aim behind employing this discourse was to increase support for official bilingualism and FSL education by highlighting the unifying role that linguistic duality plays in Canadian society.

The discourse of Canadian nationalism was utilized in most of the stakeholder documents included in the study with the exception of French for the Future's *French A Career booster!* poster which contained no traces of the discourse. Out of all of the stakeholder documents, it was especially prevalent in the Government of Canada's policy documents and OCOL's annual reports. Documents from CPF and the Ontario Ministry of Education did contain elements of this discourse strand, but it was not one of the main discourses through which these specific organizations promoted their message of support for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

4.7.1   Sub-strand of Canadian identity

The sub-strand of Canadian identity involved discussions centered on linking official bilingualism to the universal image that Canadians hold of themselves and their nation. This involved presenting official bilingualism as a defining feature of what it means to be a 'Canadian'. Contained within this sub-strand was also the idea that official bilingualism contributes to the uniqueness of the nation by offering a means of distinguishing Canada from other nations around the world. The overall aim of this sub-strand was therefore to gain support for official bilingualism by demonstrating the fundamental role that it plays in shaping how the nation and its people identify themselves and how they are seen throughout the world.

4.7.1.1   The image of the ideal 'Canadian'

Although the various sets of stakeholder documents included in the study employed the sub-strand of Canadian identity in different manners and to varying degrees, what they

shared in common was their use of a key discursive strategy[2]. This discursive strategy was the image of the ideal Canadian as someone who strongly identifies with official bilingualism and who cherishes it as a defining feature of what it means to be a 'Canadian'. (see Table 3). The use of this image throughout the documents continuously reminds Canadians of the fundamental role that linguistic duality plays in shaping Canada's collective identity and in distinguishing Canadians from other societies around the world.

Table 3: The image of the ideal 'Canadian'

Stakeholder organization/ document	Specific examples of discourse fragments
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"Linguistic duality is at the heart of our collective identity" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 5).
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*)	"Linguistic duality is a cornerstone of our national identity" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 4). "Canada's official languages are part of our national identity" (Government of Canada, 2000, p. 5)
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"Duality is at the core of what it means to be a Canadian. Duality not only created Canada, it defined our national character and wrote our national narrative" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"…bilingualism is more than just a means of personal or economic development: it is a building block of Canadian identity" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44).
CPF	"If you're going to count yourself as being Canadian

---

[2] The term "discursive strategy", which is utilized here and throughout the present study, refers to a device that is employed to give meaning and strength to a particular discourse (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001).

(*Allophone engagement pamphlet*)	you should embrace everything that Canada is about…it's a bilingual, two-culture country with English and French, so I think you have to accept both" (CPF, 2003a).

During my analysis of all of the examples presented in Table 3, I noticed that words such as "integral" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1), "core" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30), "building block" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44), "cornerstone" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 4), and "heart" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 5), all reinforced the primacy of official bilingualism as the foundation for the very existence of the Canadian identity. Upon closer examination of the discourse fragments, I also noticed that the essence of this message was best encapsulated in the phrase from CPF's *Allophone engagement pamphlet* (see Table 3). In this particular phrase, the strength of the language establishes possible conditions for belonging in Canada by arguing that if one wants to be considered Canadian, one must accept all aspects of Canadian society, including Canada's bilingual dimension. As has been demonstrated, the common theme and message running through all of these discourse fragments is that because official bilingualism is so intrinsically bound up with the image of Canada, it forms the basis of how Canadians identify themselves and how they are seen throughout the world.

4.7.1.2   The use of iconic Canadian symbolism

The second discursive strategy that I uncovered during my analysis came from CPF's promotional materials in which the discourse of Canadian identity was combined with other iconic Canadian national symbols (See Table 4).

Table 4: The use of iconic Canadian symbolism

Symbols	Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Hockey and canoes	CPF (*Stay in French!*)	"Learning French is as Canadian as hockey and canoes" (CPF, 2003b). "Speaking French is as Canadian as hockey and canoes" (CPF, 2003b).

In both of the examples presented in Table 4, the images of hockey and canoes were employed as a means of garnering support for official bilingualism and FSL education by drawing the reader's attention to two iconic national symbols that play an important role in Canadian culture and the formation of the Canadian identity. In doing so, these phrases evoke a sense of nostalgia for Canadians and reinforce the message that official bilingualism and FSL education are on an equal level to other important symbols that Canadians use to distinguish themselves from other societies. In a sense, the pairing of official bilingualism and FSL education with these two national symbols reinforces the notion that learning and speaking French are important and natural activities for most Canadians because of their intrinsic connection to Canadian culture and the Canadian way of life. The message behind the use of these symbols is that official bilingualism and FSL education are considered as important to Canadians as any other national symbol such as that of hockey and canoes.

4.7.1.3   Evoking a sense of urgency

The third discursive strategy that I discovered came from *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report* in which it was argued that official bilingualism is such a fundamental part of Canadian identity that without it, the future of the Canadian state would be in jeopardy (See Table 5).

Table 5 Creating a sense of urgency for official bilingualism through language

Sense of urgency	Stakeholder organization/document	Example
Survival of the Canadian state	OCOL (*2004-2005 Annual report*)	"It [linguistic duality] must, at all costs, be maintained. Without it, Canada ceases to be" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30).

In regards to this particular discursive strategy, the employment of language such as "must, at all costs, be maintained" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30) and "ceases to be" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30) creates a sense of urgency when it comes to the protection of Canada's official

languages by arguing that linguistic duality is such a defining feature of the Canadian identity and Canada's image that without it, Canadians, and the country itself, would be indistinguishable from other societies. The message that comes across is that official bilingualism must be preserved as an integral part of Canadian society in order to maintain the special status that Canadians, and the nation, enjoy because of official bilingualism. The employment of this type of language therefore aims to evoke a sense of fear among the Canadian people with the goal of reinforcing the importance of preserving official bilingualism as a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian state and its people.

4.7.2   Sub-strand of Canadian values and ideals

The sub-strand of Canadian values and ideals involved discussions centered on increasing awareness of the important role that official bilingualism plays in the Canadian state as one of the country's core values. Specific topics of discussion included the elevated status of Canada's official languages within the nation itself, as well as the equal treatment of official bilingualism compared to other important Canadian values such as respect for democracy and tolerance of diversity. In general, the overall aim of employing this sub-strand was to increase support for official bilingualism and FSL education by promoting Canada's official languages as fundamental values of the state and its people.

4.7.2.1   The image of official bilingualism as a sacred value

One of the central discursive strategies that both the Government of Canada and OCOL used in their employment of the sub-strand of Canadian values and ideals was the image of Canada's official languages as a sacred value of the Canadian people. Through this image, Canada's official languages were given a more elevated status than any other language in Canadian society and were presented as an aspect of Canadian society that Canadians are highly protective of (see Table 6).

Table 6: The image of official bilingualism as a sacred value

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"…inspired by a deep-rooted attachment to our country's official languages (Government of Canada, 2003, vii). "…our official languages have retained their special status as languages used in the public domain (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 1). "It [Canada] has remained faithful to one of its fundamental dimensions: its linguistic duality" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 1).
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality)*	"…linguistic duality is at the heart of the values that have forged Canada" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 7).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"…live and work in communities that reflect Canadian values with respect to the use of English and French" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 16).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report)*	"If linguistic duality were a person, today it would be an adult…who embodies one of Canada's strongest values" (OCOL, 2005, p. 115).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"Linguistic duality is not only a requirement--it's a value" (OCOL, 2009, p. 16).
OCOL (*2012-2013 Annual report*)	"deep appreciation for linguistic duality as a core Canadian value" (OCOL, 2013, p. 66). "…we can celebrate linguistic duality as the fundamental value that it has undeniably become with the passage of time" (OCOL, 2013, p. 94).

Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"Linguistic duality is a fundamental Canadian value" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 10).

What all of the discourse fragments presented in Table 6 share in common is their use of language such as "one of Canada's strongest values" (OCOL, 2005, p. 115), "deep appreciation" (OCOL, 2013, p. 66), "special status" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 1), "faithful" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 1), and "deep-rooted attachment" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. vii). By employing this type of language, it reinforces the idea that Canada's official languages are an integral part of Canadian society that should be respected and cherished for the richness that they add to the lives of Canadians. In the example from *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality* (see Table 6), this message is further strengthened by pairing the discourse of official bilingualism with a reflection on the integral role that Canada's linguistic duality played during the formation of the Canadian state. In the case of this particular discourse fragment, by raising awareness of the historic role that official bilingualism played in the formation of Canadian society, the phrase aims to foster a sense of respect for official bilingualism on the part of the Canadian public by reminding Canadians of the long-standing tradition of official bilingualism in Canada. Overall, the aim of this discursive strategy was to reinforce the importance of official bilingualism as a treasured value of the Canadian state and its people by reminding Canadians of the integral role that it played in formation of Canada's value system.

4.7.2.2   The use of other Canadian values with official bilingualism

Another discursive strategy that was employed through the sub-strand of Canadian values and ideals was the positioning of official bilingualism on the same level as other important Canadian values such as openness to others, respect for diversity, justice, and freedom (See Table 7). In this particular strategy, various Canadian values were combined with official bilingualism in the same discourse fragment in order to

demonstrate the equal status that official bilingualism enjoys in Canadian society alongside other important Canadian values.

Table 7: The use of other Canadian values with official bilingualism

Combination of Canadian values	Stakeholder organization and document	Examples
Official bilingualism, openness to/tolerance of others and respect for diversity/ difference	OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report)*	"It is duality that led to our respect for difference and accommodation of diversity—the hallmark of our culture and the mainstay of our values" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30) "If linguistic duality were a person, today it would be an adult who…cherishes tolerance and diversity" (OCOL, 2005, p. 115).
	OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report)*	"It [linguistic duality] has encouraged respect for differences and the acceptance of diversity" (OCOL, 2009, p. 17). "If tolerance and a sense of accommodation are engraved in Canadian values it is in large part thanks to our duality, which has taught us to respect each other" (OCOL, 2009, p. 17).
	Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages)*	"It [linguistic duality] is one of the fundamental values that strengthen the attributes that define us, such as openness and respect" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3).

Official bilingualism and respect for the democratic process	OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"If linguistic duality were a person, today it would be an adult [who] participates in the democratic process" (OCOL, 2005, p. 115).

As demonstrated in all of the examples presented in Table 7, the discourse fragments draw on a myriad of different Canadian values and ideals, such as "tolerance and diversity" (OCOL, 2005, p. 115), "openness and respect" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3), and "respect for difference and accommodation of diversity" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30) within the same sentence. The central message at the heart of these discourse fragments is that official bilingualism should be given the same level of importance as any other Canadian value because it represents a fundamental feature of the nation. The overall aim of this pairing official bilingualism with other essential Canadian values was therefore to increase awareness of the importance of maintaining official bilingualism in Canada by illustrating the level on which official bilingualism functions as a core Canadian value.

4.7.3   Sub-strand of Canadian heritage and culture

The sub-strand of Canadian heritage and culture promoted the idea that official bilingualism is deeply rooted in Canada's past and its culture. Topics of discussion in this sub-strand included the long-standing history of Canada's two founding groups, the English and the French, and the influence that each has had on the development of Canadian culture. The overall message behind the sub-strand was that official bilingualism retains its special status in Canadian society because of its deep connection to the foundation of the state and its people. The overall aim of employing this sub-strand was therefore to evoke a sense of nostalgia on behalf of the Canadian people by making reference to the early beginnings of Canadian society.

4.7.3.1   The image of Canada's bilingual roots

One of the major strategies employed in the sub-strand of Canadian heritage and culture was the image of Canada's bilingual roots. This image was featured most prominently

when discussing the long-standing tradition of official bilingualism in Canada (see Table 8).

Table 8: The image of Canada's bilingual roots

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages)*	"It [linguistic duality] is not only rooted in our past but also one of the prerequisites for our future success" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 2). "The use of two languages in the public domain is rooted in our culture (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3)
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*	"Canada's two official languages are part of our history" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1). "Canada's heritage includes a long and rich history of cultural and artistic expression on the part of both English- and French-speaking Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 11). "this long cultural tradition" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 12).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 Annual report)*	"Duality not only created Canada" (OCOL, 2005, p. 30).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report)*	" Linguistic duality is, without a doubt, a characteristic of Canadian society. It was at the very heart of this country's foundation and is a part of our national history" (OCOL, 2009, p. 17).
OCOL	"More than ever, linguistic duality is an

(*2012-2013 Annual report*)	integral part of the Canadian social fabric. It is rooted in a history from which many lessons can be learned" (OCOL, 2013, p. 116).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as second language in Ontario schools*)	"the historical significance of these two cultures" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 8).

By employing the types of phrases outlined in Table 8, the stakeholder promotion efforts sought to highlight the important role that Canada's official languages have had in the formation of the Canadian state by drawing attention to the long-standing history that Canada has had with its two official languages. Upon closely examining the phrases in detail, I noticed a recurring pattern in type of language that was used. For instance, words and phrases such as "heart of this country's foundation" (OCOL, 2009, p. 17), "rooted in a history" (OCOL, 2013, p. 116), "the historical significance" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 8), and "rooted in our culture" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3) all signalled the underlying message that Canada's official languages deserve important recognition as essential components of Canadian society because they are bound up in the very foundations of the Canadian state. The aim of employing these types of words and phrases was therefore to conjure up a sense of nostalgia on behalf of the Canadian people and remind Canadians that Canada is a nation that is solidly grounded in the culture of its founding groups, the English and the French.

4.7.4 Sub-strand of national unity/universality of official bilingualism

The sub-strand of national unity/universality of official bilingualism was most concerned with presenting official bilingualism as a means of achieving social cohesion. Topics of discussion included the unifying force of official bilingualism in fostering feelings of solidarity among Canadians. The overall aim of employing this sub-strand in the stakeholder documents was therefore to present official bilingualism as a universal quality of Canadian society that is shared by all Canadians regardless of their backgrounds.

4.7.4.1   Official bilingualism as a mechanism for social cohesion

One of the central discursive strategies that were employed through the sub-strand of national unity/universality of official bilingualism was the image of official bilingualism as a mechanism for achieving social cohesion. Within this strategy, the image of a united Canada whose citizens live and work harmoniously within the culture of official bilingualism was presented to draw awareness to the important role that official bilingualism plays in fostering a sense of solidarity among Canadians (see Table 9).

Table 9: The image of official bilingualism as a source of social cohesion

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"foster new ties among many Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 29). "stimulate connectedness" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 42).
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canadian linguistic duality*)	"They [Canada's official languages] forge links that unite us within a thriving and dynamic society" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 5). "encourage dialogue and bring Canadians closer, whatever their official language of choice" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 5). "a stronger, more united Canada" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 15).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"What brings Canadians together is our ability to communicate with each other in one or both of our official languages" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1). "This new Roadmap will help provide current and future speakers of either of Canada's two official languages with a better understanding and appreciation of each other and

	our country" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 2).
	"Bilingualism is a unifying force" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 5).
	"It [linguistic duality] encourages mutual understanding, which allows us to live and work better together. This, in turn, contributes to the long-term stability, unity and prosperity of our country" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 5).
	"French and English are important tools for…connecting Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 9).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"State bilingualism simply as…one of the much-needed long-term bridges in understanding among Canadians" (OCOL, 2009, p. 4).
	"In Canada, I think that bilingualism is really important, particularly for the country's unity. Bilingualism could be what helps bring us together so that we better understand our cultural differences" (OCOL, 2009, p. 46).
OCOL (*2012-2013 Annual report*)	"Canada's linguistic duality and cultural diversity are national values supported by specific legislation and policies, and promoting these values helps to strengthen the social cohesion of the country" (OCOL, 2013, p. 66).
CPF (*Allophone engagement pamphlet*)	"If you're going to count yourself as being Canadian you should embrace everything that Canada is about…it's a bilingual, two-culture country with English and French, so I think you have to accept both" (CPF, 2003a).

During my analysis of the statements that contained this image (see Table 9), I noticed that a distinct pattern emerged in the type of language that was used to strengthen the argument that official bilingualism represents a mechanism through which to achieve national unity. For instance, the employment of words and phrases such as "foster new ties" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 29), "connectedness" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 42), "forge links" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 5), "understanding and

appreciation" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 2), "connecting Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 9), "long-term bridges in understanding among Canadians" (OCOL, 2009, p. 4), and "strengthen the social cohesion" (OCOL, 2013, p. 66), all highlighted the various ways that official bilingualism unites Canadians around a common sense of being. Upon closely examining this pattern, I observed that official bilingualism, as it was conceptualized in both sets of stakeholder documents, represents a means to achieve greater social cohesion by not only uniting Canadians around a common sense of understanding, but also by firmly establishing the conditions for belonging in Canada (i.e. full participation in and acceptance of official bilingualism). The aim of this particular discursive strategy was therefore to reinforce the importance of official bilingualism by offering the image of a united Canada joined in solidarity by its linguistic duality.

4.8   The discourse of multiculturalism and diversity

In regards to the discourse of multiculturalism and diversity, the main theme that was uncovered was the integration of immigrants into Canada's bilingual framework. Throughout the discourse, topics of discussion included managing multiculturalism and diversity within Canada's bilingual framework Canada, the changing social dynamics of Canadian society, and the resilience of official bilingualism in the face of increased diversity. When combined, these areas of discussion promoted the central message that despite increased diversity in Canada, official bilingualism has remained an important part of Canadian society.

The discourse of multiculturalism and diversity featured prominently in both the Government of Canada's policy documents and OCOL's annual reports. As will be demonstrated in the sub-sections to follow, it had the strongest presence in the Government of Canada's strategic initiatives on official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. The general argument stemming from this discourse was that official bilingualism represents a viable means through which to integrate immigrants into Canadian society and regulate multiculturalism within Canada's bilingual framework.

4.8.1 Official bilingualism as a means of coping with increased diversity

Throughout my analysis of the policy documents from the Government of Canada, I discovered that there was a distinct pattern in the way official bilingualism was presented not only as a strategy for coping with increased diversity in Canadian society, but also as a way of ensuring that immigrants are fully integrated into Canadian society (see Table 10).

Table 10: Official bilingualism as a means of coping with increased diversity

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"I visited one such school in British Columbia and heard young people of Asian origin speak to me in excellent French. Those young people demonstrate better than anyone the complementarity of our multiculturalism and our bilingualism" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. ix). "As Canada's population has opened up to cultures from around the world and diversified, our official languages have retained their special status as languages used in the public domain" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 1). "Our communities have evolved as they have integrated people from Asia, the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere, such that our two official languages today bring together all increasingly diversified populations" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3). "In the midst of this change [increased diversity], our linguistic duality has endured and asserted itself" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3).

Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*)	"Our two official languages provide a way for new Canadians to become part of the social, cultural and economic life of our country" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 5). "French and English are important tools for integrating newcomers into Canadian society" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 9).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"…help create a country in which Canadians from all walks of life can benefit from Canada's linguistic duality and make their contributions to society in the official language of their choice" (Government of Canada, 2013, para. 9). "While 200 different languages are spoken in Canada, 98% of Canadians continue to speak either English or French, or both" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1). "Over 98 percent of Canadians speak either English or French or both, even though more than 20 percent have a different mother tongue" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 15).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"A fabric is woven of many threads. Those of us who speak English and those of us who speak French — ourselves made up of many different elements — have joined together to weave a social fabric called Canada" (OCOL, 2005, para. 1). "English and French constitute the integrating framework of this mosaic. Today, three quarters of Canadians recognize the importance of preserving the country's linguistic duality" (OCOL, 2005, p. 1).

	"70% of Canadians and, in particular, 75% of those born abroad believe that bilingualism makes Canada more welcoming for immigrants" (OCOL, 2005, p. 27) "Increasing numbers of immigrants are star performers in their field on the Canadian stage, a sign of greater integration into Canada's linguistic duality" (OCOL, 2005, p. 37). "…seeking to instill a common sense of belonging [through official bilingualism] in a country with diverse allegiances" (OCOL, 2005, p. 86).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"All Canadians can feel a sense of ownership of Canada's official languages, even if they do not speak them. It means enlarging the sense of 'us' so that all Canadians feel that what is written, filmed or sung in the other official languages also belongs to them" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi).

Upon careful analysis of the statements presented in Table 10, I observed that within the individual discourse fragments there was both an acknowledgement that the composition of Canadian society has greatly changed and a reaffirmation that despite these changes, official bilingualism has endured and reasserted itself as a dominant aspect of Canadian society. There was also the argument that official bilingualism offers vital tools for integrating immigrants into Canadian society while still maintaining the integrity of Canada's bilingual framework. Through the employment of these types of statements, both sets of documents therefore presented the message that despite increased immigration into the country, official bilingualism will persist as a defining feature of the way of life in Canada, which is evidenced by its ability to withstand substantial challenges to its very existence.

4.9   The discourse of globalization

The discourse of globalization concerned the international importance of Canada's official languages as well as Canada's role as a leader in language policy making and bilingual education. One of the central messages emanating from this discourse was the notion that knowledge of Canada's two official languages presents numerous advantages for the nation in terms of accessing opportunities abroad. Another key message stemming from the discourse of globalization was the importance of Canada's official bilingualism as a testament to the nation's status as a global leader when it comes to investment in two of the most internationally recognized languages.

The discourse strand of globalization was featured in most of the stakeholder documents included in the study. However, as will be outlined in the sub-sections to follow, the extent to which it was utilized in each individual document varied greatly. Out of all the documents, it was especially prevalent in *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*, the *2003 Action plan for official languages*, and French for the Future's promotional poster entitled *Pourquoi parler français?*

4.9.1   Sub-strand of international competitiveness and prestige of Canada's official languages

The sub-strand of international competitiveness and prestige of Canada's official languages focused primarily on the positive reputation that Canada enjoys because of its investment in two languages of international importance. Specific topics of discussion included the competitive advantage that the nation has on the international stage because of its official bilingualism, and the elevated status that Canada has in the international community when it comes to language policy making and bilingual education. Overall, the aim of this sub-strand was to increase investment in official bilingualism and FSL education by drawing awareness to the utility and elevated status of English and French on the international scene.

4.9.1.1 The international competitive advantage of Canada's official languages

Throughout the sub-strand of the international competitiveness and prestige of Canada's official languages, the image of a bilingual nation firmly grounded in the culture of two of the most widely recognized and utilized global languages, English and French, appeared quite frequently as a message of support for continued investment in official bilingualism and FSL education (see Table 11). This image appeared in various forms throughout the stakeholder documents all with the same goal in mind: to offer concrete proof of the vast international scope of Canada's official languages. The dominant message that supported this image was that Canada's official languages offer the nation, and its citizens, a substantial competitive edge when it comes to competing internationally because of the high level of "international stature" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 2) associated with English and French in the international community.

Table 11: The international competitive advantage of official bilingualism

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"[Canada's] two official languages, both a major presence on the international scene, enhance its competitiveness and its influence" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. vii). "Canada is extremely fortunate to have two official languages of international stature" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 2). "Canada must build on its linguistic duality and the international nature of its two official languages more than ever. That gives it a substantial competitive edge" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 2).
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*)	"Having two languages of international scope" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 13).

Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"Our two official languages enhance Canada's competitive advantage, both domestically and internationally" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1).
CPF (*Stay in French!*)	"French is a principal language of world diplomacy. It's also an official language of the United Nations, the European Community and the International Olympic movement" (CPF, 2003c).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"…bilingualism…[is] one of the factors contributing to Canada's prestige abroad" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"French is not only a global language" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 7). "French is not only one of Canada's two official languages but is also widely used around the world" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 15).
French for the Future (*French A career booster! poster*)	"French is also the 3rd most useful business language in the world" (French for the Future, 2011a).
French for the Future (*Pourquoi parler francais? poster*)	« Le français est une des langues officielles de travail des nations unies, de l'Otan et de l'UNESCO » (French for the future, 2011b)[3]. « Le français est une langue importante

---

[3] French is one of the official languages used in the work of the United Nations, NATO, and UNESCO.

	dans le monde des affaires et de la technologie » (French for the Future, 2011b)[4].

Upon closely examining the discourse fragments that contained this discursive strategy, I noticed that the international competitiveness of Canada's official bilingualism was continually reinforced by drawing the reader's attention to the worldwide use of English and French as major international languages. Contained within the statements that employed this strategy was the argument that by continually investing in official bilingualism, Canadians are not only ensuring Canada's prestige on the international stage, but they also giving themselves a competitive advantage when accessing lucrative international opportunities. Participation in official bilingualism and FSL education, as it was conceptualized in the stakeholder documents, was therefore presented as a path towards a successful future for both individual Canadians and the nation as a whole.

4.9.1.2 Canada as a global leader in bilingual education and policy making

The second discursive strategy that I uncovered during my analysis of the sub-strand of the international competitiveness and prestige of Canada's official languages was the idea that due to Canada's positive reputation as a global leader in bilingual education planning and policy making, the nation often serves a model to other countries when it comes to implementing bilingual education programs and policies. In terms of this discursive strategy, the central message was that by investing in official bilingualism and FSL education, Canadian citizens help to ensure that Canada remains a global leader in these two areas (see Table 12). Additionally, the messaging suggested that Canada's bilingual framework, and by extension, its bilingual education programs, have garnered so much international attention that they are now globally recognized as effective models of state-sponsored official bilingualism (see Table 12).

---

[4] French is an important language in the world of business and technology.

Table 12: Canada as a global leader in bilingual education planning and policy

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"I was aware that our immersion schools were exemplary, and copied by many other countries" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. ix).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"It [official bilingualism] travels, having acquired experience that is, in many respects, recognized and sought out around the world" (OCOL, 2005, ii). "Interestingly, French immersion is also one of Canada's major exports in international education, with educators in Japan, Wales, Spain and the USA applying made-in-Canada immersion methodology to the teaching of second languages…" (OCOL, 2005, p. 25). "Innovation in teaching methods through the introduction of immersion is a model for the world" (OCOL, 2005, p. 62)
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*).	"Canada should promote its linguistic duality abroad more effectively, not only to respect this fundamental characteristic but also to help spread this concept around the world" (OCOL, 2005, p. 60).
CPF (*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion*)	"Why not offer your child the advantages of Canada's world-renowned French immersion program?" (CPF, 2003b).

Contained within all of the examples presented in Table 12 is the notion that Canada is a global leader when it comes to language policy making and bilingual educational programming because of the enormous influence that it has had on the development of

parallel language policies and bilingual education programs around the world. As a result of my analysis of the discourse fragments that contained this particular discursive strategy, I was therefore able to conclude that by positioning Canada as an international leader in language policy making and bilingual educational programming, the stakeholder promotion efforts sought to increase investment in official bilingualism and FSL education by continuously drawing attention to the positive international reputation that Canada enjoys because of its innovations in the realm of language policy making and bilingual education programs.

4.10   The discourse of the commodification of Canada's official languages

As previously mentioned, during the thematic coding phase of the study, many different themes and messages belonging to the discourse of the commodification of Canada's official languages were uncovered. To facilitate the organization of the information that was gathered, the data was divided into two sub-strands (see Table 2). These sub-strands were then further divided into individual sub-categories. Although the data was divided, what both sub-strands shared in common was their treatment of Canada's official languages as valuable commodities. For instance, the main theme running through the discourse of the commodification of Canada's official was the idea that official bilingualism and FSL education are valuable assets that can be exchanged for lucrative social and economic opportunities (i.e. employment, access to educational opportunities, travel). Through the employment of this discourse, the stakeholder promotion efforts sought to increase support for official bilingualism and FSL education by highlighting the numerous life advantages associated with these two important aspects of Canadian society (i.e. increased economic and academic opportunities, cultural enrichment). In doing so, the concepts of official bilingualism and FSL education were commodified in order to entice Canadians to invest in them to improve their chances of future success.

Besides the discourse of Canadian nationalism, the discourse of the commodification of Canada's official languages was one of the two dominant discourses that I uncovered during the analysis phase of my research study. This was evidenced by its presence in most of the stakeholder documents that were analyzed. Out of all the

documents that I examined, it was especially present in the documents from CPF, French for the Future and the Ontario Ministry of Education and was one of the main strategies used by these groups to encourage Canadians to invest in official bilingualism and FSL education.

4.10.1 Sub-strand of official bilingualism as a valuable commodity for the Canadian people

The sub-strand official bilingualism as a valuable commodity for the Canadian people involved the use of numerous marketing strategies targeted towards the general population of Canada. The overall aim of the messages was to raise awareness of the potential benefits associated with investment in official bilingualism and FSL education (i.e. higher paying job, access to increased academic opportunities). This message was incorporated into the stakeholder promotion efforts through the employment of three sub categories, each with its own set of specific discursive strategies: (a) career advancement, (b) cultural enrichment, and (c) economic advantage. The overall objective of employing this sub-strand was to demonstrate that official bilingualism and FSL education offer Canadians a path towards a secure and successful future academically, financially and socially.

4.10.1.1 Sub-category of career advancement

In terms of the sub-category of career advancement, the central message that came across the strongest was that knowledge of Canada's two official languages offers a substantial competitive advantage for the future employment of bilingual Canadians. Topics of discussion in this category included the value that knowledge of Canada's two official languages adds to one's employment portfolio, the demand for bilingual skills both in Canada and abroad, as well as the added financial benefits of possessing bilingual language skills in the Canadian and international labour markets. Overall, the aim of this strategy was to increase investment in official bilingualism and FSL education by demonstrating the numerous ways that knowledge of English and French is beneficial when it comes to seeking employment.

4.10.1.1.1   The image of official bilingualism as a 'résumé booster'

As a result of my analysis, I discovered that the main discursive strategy that was employed through the sub-category of career advancement was the continued promotion of official bilingualism as a valuable asset for future employment and an essential quality for hiring new employees (see Table 13). Through the employment of this discursive strategy, the stakeholder documents presented the image of official bilingualism as a significant 'résumé booster' and as 'a golden ticket to employment'.

Table 13: The image of official bilingualism as a 'résumé booster'

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"Access to two of the most vital international languages is an asset for labour markets" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 2). "Language training is a key component of career development" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 55). "It is imperative for languages skills to be seen as prerequisites for people aspiring to high-level positions in the public service" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 55).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"89% of French-speaking and 73% of English-speaking believe that knowing both official languages improves their chances of finding a job" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1). "Canada's official languages are an asset for Canadians' employability" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 5). "Across the country, bilingual employees are considered assets to their

	organizations" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 5). "This competitive asset can open doors for new markets for bilingual entrepreneurs and businesses" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 14).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"employees who know both of Canada's official languages often have an advantage when looking for a job" (OCOL, 2009, p. iii). "knowing both of Canada's official languages pays off personally as well as professionally" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44). "Canadian employers are increasingly looking for applicants who have attained a given level of proficiency in both official languages" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44). "The importance of bilingualism in the professional sphere shows why, in Canada, workers who can speak both English and French often have an advantage when looking for a job" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44). "many organizations feel it is important for their employees to be proficient in both official languages" (OCOL, 2009, p. 52).
OCOL (*2012-2013 Annual report*)	"Canadian employment rates are higher for those who speak both English and French, and they make more money" (OCOL, 2013, p. 67). "The federal government is Canada's largest employer, and it needs bilingual employees" (OCOL, 2013, p. 67).

In regards to the discourse fragments contained in this particular discursive strategy, their use throughout both sets of stakeholder documents reinforces the legitimacy of the

linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by commodifying official bilingualism as an essential prerequisite for the future employment of Canadians, especially if those individuals are aspiring to higher paying positions with the federal government. By positioning official bilingualism as a highly sought-after commodity when it comes to the future participation of bilingual Canadians in the labour market, these types of statements work to maintain and reproduce the market for official bilingualism by demonstrating the numerous advantages that knowledge of Canada's official languages contributes to the personal and economic success of bilingual Canadians (i.e. increased employment opportunities, greater chances of securing employment). In turn, the employment of these types of statements aids in maintaining the elevated status of Canada's official languages as integral components of Canadian society by equating participation in official bilingualism and FSL education to an essential step on the road to personal and economic success.

4.10.1.2 Sub-category of cultural enrichment

The overall message put forth through the sub-category of cultural enrichment was that official bilingualism represents a great source of cultural wealth for the Canadian people and that by participating in official bilingualism and FSL education, Canadians are provided with a unique window into the cultural richness that Canada's official languages offer to Canadian society. Through the employment of this sub-category, official bilingualism and FSL education were positioned as a means for Canadians to gain access to a wealth of cultural products and unique cultural opportunities. Overall, the purpose of employing this sub-category in the stakeholder documents was to increase support for official bilingualism and FSL education by highlighting the numerous cultural benefits associated with each of these aspects of Canadian society.

4.10.1.2.1 FSL education as a source of cultural enrichment

One of the main discursive strategies that was used in both the Government of Canada's policy documents and *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report* was the commodification of FSL education as a means of obtaining a deeper level of cultural enrichment (see Table 14). The central message emanating from this strategy was that FSL education offers a

window into the culture of official bilingualism, and thus provides a great source of cultural enrichment for Canadians.

Table 14: The commodification of FSL education as a source of cultural enrichment

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"Canadians are aware that knowledge of another language gives them access to a broader cultural heritage and contributes to their enrichment" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 3).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages*)	"A recent survey indicates that 91% of Francophones and 73% of Anglophones believe that learning both official languages contributes to a better understanding of Canada" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"Knowing another language is a door into the other culture" (OCOL, 2005, p. 28).

When combined, the discourse fragments in this strategy presented FSL education as a highly sought-after commodity in terms of acquiring valuable cultural capital. By commodifying FSL education in this manner, the overall argument that was put forth was that by gaining knowledge of Canada's official languages, Canadians can enrich themselves with all that the culture of official bilingualism has to offer. FSL education, as it was marketed in the stakeholder documents, represents a viable means of increasing one's cultural capital, which in turn, has the potential to improve one's overall personal development. Through the employment of these types of messages, the stakeholder promotion efforts therefore sought to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by presenting the image of FSL education as a path towards the accumulation of valuable cultural capital.

4.10.1.3 Sub-category of economic advantage

The overall message contained in the sub-category of economic advantage centered on discussions of the ways in which official bilingualism contributes to the health of the nation's economy. Specific topics of discussion included the benefit of official bilingualism when it comes to Canada's participation in the global economy, the ability for official bilingualism to protect the nation from the effects of a global financial crisis, and the competitive economic advantage that official bilingualism offers to the nation. From an economic standpoint, official bilingualism was therefore presented in the stakeholder promotion efforts as greatly contributing to the overall economic vitality of the nation as well as ensuring Canada's strength in the global economy.

4.10.1.3.1 Official bilingualism as a source of economic strength

During my analysis of the discourse fragments contained within the sub-category of economic advantage, I noticed that there was a pattern of statements that associated official bilingualism with the economic vitality of the nation (see Table 15).

Table 15: Contributions of official bilingualism to Canada's economic vitality

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*)	"…it [linguistic duality] is a source of immeasurable economic…benefits for all Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 4). "This Roadmap seeks to take advantage of the economic benefits of linguistic duality" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 13). "linguistic duality is a key competitive advantage, which can help Canada further its economic success" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 13).
Government of Canada (*2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's*	"They [the official languages] offer enormous economic….opportunities" (Government of

official languages)	Canada, 2013, p. 1).
	"They [the official languages] are an important source of…economic strength" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 1). "This new Roadmap will focus on the…economic benefits of our two official languages for Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 4).
OCOL (*2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report*)	"90% of Canadians agree that people who speak more than one language have a greater chance of success in the globalized economy" (OCOL, 2005, p. 27).
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report)*	"We do not always realize the true value of a resource such as knowledge of English and French that Canadians can use in all areas of activity, including the economy" (OCOL, 2009, p. iii).

After careful analysis of these types of statements, I realized that the central message emanating from them was that if Canadians invest in official bilingualism and FSL education, they can work together to strengthen the Canadian economy and contribute to the economic vitality of the nation. By associating Canada's official languages with the concept of economic success, the stakeholder promotion efforts therefore sought to increase support for official bilingualism and FSL education by reinforcing the notion that through their investment in official bilingualism, Canadians are working to ensure that Canada remains in a strong economic position on the world's stage.

4.10.1.3.2 The protection that official bilingualism offers in the face of global financial crisis

Another discursive strategy that I uncovered during my analysis of the sub-category of economic advantage was the use of direct references to the 2008 financial crisis (see Table 18). Upon careful analysis of the phrases that contained references to this major discursive event, I realized that it was being used in order to evoke a sense of urgency,

from an economic standpoint, for the continued preservation of Canada's official languages.

Table 16: Official bilingualism as protection from global financial crisis

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"Indeed, an increased knowledge of English and French will help Canadians meet many challenges, including those they are facing in the current economic climate" (OCOL, 2009, p. 43). "…at at time when Canada is facing a major world-wide economic and financial crisis, it is important to stress that economic and language issues, contrary to what some might say, are related" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54). "…any slowdown…in implementing learning support programs for English or French as a second language may have significant repercussions on the country's economy. The mistake could in fact be so serious that it would take years to correct" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54).

Contained within all of the statements belonging to this strategy was the notion that Canada's official bilingualism offers an economic security blanket that has the potential to help counter some of the negative effects of the 2008 financial crisis. A common pattern that I noticed across these discourse fragments was the use of language such as: "meet many challenges" (OCOL, 2009, p. 43), "major world-wide economic and financial crisis" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54), "slowdown" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54), "significant repercussions on the country's economy" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54), and "The mistake could in fact be so serious that is would take years to correct" (OCOL, 2009, p. 54). The use of these particular language forms seeks to evoke a sense of panic when it comes to the protection of Canada's official languages by drawing attention to the potential financial

and economic consequences of not investing in official bilingualism and FSL education. Overall, by establishing the integral role that official bilingualism plays in strengthening Canada's economic stability, these types of statements help to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by highlighting the strength of each area when it comes to ensuring the economic vitality of the nation and its people.

4.10.2 Sub-strand of official bilingualism as a valuable commodity for Canada's youth

The messages contained within the sub-strand of official bilingualism as a valuable commodity for Canada's youth were crafted specifically to highlight the potential benefits for Canadian youth from investing in FSL education. For instance, although focused on different aspects of the lives of young Canadians (i.e. academic success, economic stability), many of the different stakeholder promotion efforts positioned official bilingualism as a highly valuable commodity when it comes to ensuring their future success (see Table 17).

Table 17: Official bilingualism as a window of opportunity for youth

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
CPF (*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion*)	"OFFERS AN EDGE" (CPF, 2003b).
OCOL (*2012-2013 Annual report*)	"Students should receive more information about the advantages of learning their second language and about the opportunities available to them" (OCOL, 2013, p. 69).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8: French as a second language; The Ontario curriculum grades 9-12: French as second language)*	"The Ministry of education's commitment to improving the effectiveness of FSL education in Ontario is strengthened by an awareness and appreciation of the many proven benefits of learning an additional

	language" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 3). "In Canada, where French and English have equal status as official languages, there are significant advantages to being able to communicate in both" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 3). "Furthermore, the benefits of learning an additional language are now widely acknowledged to extend beyond the obvious rewards associated with bilingualism" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 3). "The vision of FSL in Ontario encompasses a heightened awareness of the value of learning French and extends beyond the development of French-language skills to include the broader advantages to be gained from learning more than one language" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 8). "Students and their families need to be aware of the benefits of continuing on their 'FSL journey' throughout elementary and secondary school, and beyond" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 11).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"…increasing awareness of the benefits of learning FSL is critical" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 9)

In general, FSL education was presented in the sub-strand as a viable means of opening up doors to new opportunities for young Canadians and providing the necessary tools needed for their future participation in Canadian society. In terms of how these messages were incorporated into the stakeholder documents, I discovered that they were developed through the employment of two key sub categories, each with its own set of unique discursive strategies: (a) increased academic success/ future academic opportunities, and (b) future economic success. Overall, the aim of the sub-strand was to increase

investment in official bilingualism and FSL education, on the part of Canadian youth, by highlighting the benefits associated with knowledge of Canada's two official languages (i.e. increased employment and academic opportunities).

Throughout my analysis of the stakeholder documents, I discovered that the discourse sub-strand of official bilingualism as a valuable commodity for Canada's youth was employed by many of the stakeholder documents under analysis. Perhaps the strongest employment of this discourse came from the stakeholder organizations that were directly involved in advocacy for FSL education in Canada (i.e. CPF, French for the Future and the Ontario Ministry of Education). Throughout my analysis of the documents, I also found traces of the discourse in both the policy documents from the Government of Canada and OCOL's annual reports. The coverage of the discourse in these two sets of documents, however, was not as prominent as that of the other stakeholder organizations dedicated to the promotion of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

4.10.2.1 Sub-category of increased academic success/future academic opportunities

The general message stemming from those documents that employed the sub-category of increased academic success/future academic opportunities was that FSL education in Canada offers unique opportunities and chances for academic achievement, which in turn, contributes to the overall future success of Canada's youth. Topics of discussion in this sub-category included increased opportunities for higher education, greater chances of acquiring scholarships and bursaries, and greater linguistic and academic skill development for those students enrolled in FSL programs. Overall, the aim of this sub-category was to garner support for official bilingualism and FSL education by raising awareness of the numerous academic benefits available to students who chose to invest in FSL education.

4.10.2.1.1 FSL education and increased opportunities for higher education and scholarships

Perhaps one the strongest messages contained in the sub-category of increased academic success/future academic opportunities was that by participating in FSL programming at the elementary and secondary levels, Canadian youth not only increase their options for post-secondary education, but also their chances of winning scholarships awarded only to bilingual graduates (see Table 18).

Table 18: Higher education/financial opportunities available to FSL students

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
CPF (*Allophone engagement pamphlet*)	"Bilingual students also qualify for more post-secondary opportunities since they can choose to study in English, in French or in both at the same time" (CPF, 2003a). "Students who study both English and French can apply for more scholarships than students who do not study French in school. Many scholarships are available only to students who are enrolled in French programs" (CPF, 2003a).
CPF (*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion brochure*)	"By the end of high school, students are able to…pursue further studies in French" (CPF, 2003b).
CPF (*Stay in French!*)	"When you stay in French, your options for post-secondary education…become much wider" (CPF, 2003c).
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"…a great opportunity for students to consider post-secondary education in their second language" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 28).

French for the Future (*Pourquoi parler français? poster*)	« De nombreuses bourses sont offertes aux étudiants bilingues » (French for the Future, 2011)[5].
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"Regardless of their anticipated postsecondary destination-apprenticeship, college, university, or the workplace-all students stand to benefit by staying in FSL until graduation" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 9). "Inform students at all grade levels of the educational opportunities available with continued study of FSL" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 16). "By continuing their FSL studies, students will be able to consolidate the learning acquired in previous years and reach a level at which they are able to appreciate fully their FSL skills and pursue FSL postsecondary opportunities in education" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 11).

For those statements that contained this discursive strategy, FSL programming and official bilingualism were presented as highly sought-after commodities. This was evidenced by their association with increased educational and financial opportunities. As was the case with the findings from the previous discourse sub-strand, once again official bilingualism and FSL education were presented as lucrative forms of capital that can be exchanged for competitive educational (i.e. post-secondary education) and financial advantages (i.e. scholarships and bursaries). Overall, through the use of this particular discursive strategy, the stakeholder promotion efforts sought to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by continuously drawing awareness to the potential academic and financial benefits for Canadian youth that come from investing in official bilingualism and FSL education.

---

[5] Numerous scholarships are offered to bilingual students.

4.10.2.1.2   FSL education and increased academic skill development

The other key discursive strategy that was employed throughout the sub-category of increased academic success/future academic opportunities was the message that FSL education augments overall language skill development and increases the chances of academic success (see Table 19). One of the key arguments presented through this particular discursive strategy was that by investing in FSL education, especially French Immersion education, Canadian youth are better able to acquire other languages and have greater academic success than those students who are not enrolled in FSL programming.

Table 19: FSL education and increased academic skill development

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
CPF (*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion brochure*)	"Being bilingual opens doors and produces excellent students and creative thinkers" (CPF, 2003b). "Immersion students match and often exceed the English skills of other students by Grade 4 or 5, even though they usually start reading and writing in French first" (CPF, 2003b). "Immersion programs generally produce better French language results than an English program that offers core French (basic French)." (CPF, 2003b). "Early immersion students perform almost as well as francophone students in French listening and reading comprehension by the end of elementary school" (CPF, 2003b).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"A considerable body of research shows that second-language learning provides significant….academic benefits" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 3).

	"It [FSL education] is known to enhance first-language and overall literacy skills and to provide a foundation for learning of additional languages" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 3). "benefits can be seen in…higher overall academic achievement" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 10).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8: French as a second language; The Ontario curriculum grades 9-12: French as a second language*)	"The ability to speak two or more languages generally…contributes to academic achievement" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b; 2014, p. 7).

In the case of those statements that employed this particular discursive strategy, FSL education was positioned as a positive influence in the lives of Canadian youth when it comes to achieving academic success. Additionally, these types of statements presented the argument that by investing in FSL education, Canadian youth have a greater advantage when it comes to academic skill development, which in turn, makes them more competitive for future academic and employment opportunities. In terms of academic skill development, contained within this discursive strategy was the notion that FSL education can serve as a viable means of achieving greater first language development, the development of creative thinking skills, the acquisition of additional languages, and greater overall language proficiency in both official languages (i.e. reading, writing etc.). Overall, the employment of this particular discursive strategy was used in order to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada by bringing awareness to the many proven academic benefits associated with participation in Canada's FSL programs.

4.10.2.2   Sub-category of future economic success

The main message emanating from the sub-category of future economic success was that by investing in FSL education, Canadian youth increase their chances of having a financially successful future. Discussion in this area was focused on the increased

employment opportunities available to Canadian youth who possess bilingual skills as well as the added financial benefits available to bilingual youth as a result of the investment in FSL education (i.e. higher paying jobs, increased employment opportunities). The overall aim of the employing this sub-category in the stakeholder promotion efforts was therefore to increase investment in FSL education by highlighting the numerous financial incentives available to FSL students from having invested in official bilingualism.

Upon close examination of all the stakeholder documents included in the study, I noticed that the sub-category of future economic success was the most widely employed theme belonging to the sub-strand of Canada's official languages as a valuable commodity for Canada's youth. This was evidenced by its employment in every data set included in my study. The only exception to this finding was *OCOL's 2004-2005 Vol. 1 annual report* which contained no traces of the sub-category of future economic success. It should be cautioned, however, that although the sub-category of future economic success was found in the majority of the documents I analyzed the extent to which it was relied upon varied greatly between documents. For example, when I compared the employment of the sub-category across the sets of stakeholder documents, I found that the strongest presence of it was in CPF's promotional materials in addition to the Ontario Ministry of Education's *A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools* policy document. Despite the fact that the various sets of stakeholder documents differed in the overall coverage of the sub-category within their documents, when the discourse fragments from all of the stakeholder organizations were combined together, what resulted were very powerful messages that sought to position official bilingualism and FSL education as valuable assets for securing the future employment of Canada's youth.

4.10.2.2.1   FSL education and increased employment opportunities

Perhaps one of the strongest discursive strategies employed in the sub-category of future economic success was the message that by participating in official bilingualism and FSL

education, Canadian youth can widen their possibilities of future employment both nationally and internationally (See Table 20).

Table 20: FSL education and increased employment opportunities

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality*)	"Through second-language education, the Government offers young Canadians a boost toward wider professional horizons" (Government of Canada, 2009, p. 10).
CPF (*Allophone engagement pamphlet*)	"Thousands of businesses in Canada and around the world operate in more than one language. Applicants who are multilingual can choose from a wider range of national and international jobs that need employees with second-language skills and cultural sensitivity" (CPF, 2003a).
CPF (*I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion brochure*)	"Immersion graduates have more options than other students because they may choose to…work in both official languages" (CPF, 2003b).
CPF (*Stay in French!*)	"When you stay in French, your options for…work…become much wider" (CPF, 2003c). "Whether your career path leads you to science, the arts, business or education, staying in French will open more doors to a more secure future" (CPF, 2003c).
OCOL (*2008-2008 Annual report*)	"…53% of graduates from Saskatchewan's immersion programs report that their knowledge of French has helped them find work" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44).

French for the Future (*French a career booster! poster*)	"Knowing French can increase your chances of finding a job" (French for the Future, 2011a). "Employment rates are higher for bilinguals than they are for unilinguals" (French for the Future, 2011a).
French for the Future (*Pourquoi parler français? poster*)	« Le français ouvre des portes vers des carrières en enseignement, affaires, diplomatie, recherche, traduction, interprétation, voyage et plus » (French for the Future, 2011b)[6].
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"Having a high level of proficiency in French can open up a wider range of career opportunities" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 27).

In terms of the discourse fragments that contained this particular discursive strategy, I noticed that once again, official bilingualism and FSL education were commodified by presenting official bilingualism and FSL education as lucrative forms of capital that can be exchanged for financial security (i.e. competitive employment opportunities). Additionally, I discovered that there was a distinctive pattern in the way language was used to reinforce the message that official bilingualism and FSL education offer a clear path towards increased employment. For instance, through the repeated use of phrases such as "a boost toward wider professional horizons" (Government of Canada, 2008, p. 10), "a wider range of national and international jobs" (CPF, 2003a), "more options" (CPF, 2003b), "your options for…work…become much wider" (CPF, 2003c), "French will open more doors to a more secure future" (CPF, 2003c), "increase your chances of finding a job" (French for the Future, 2011a), and "open up a wider range of career opportunities" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 27), the stakeholder promotion

---

[6] French opens doors towards careers in teaching, business, diplomacy, research, translation, interpretation, travel and more.

efforts provided support for their overall argument that future employment options are greater for those youth who have invested in FSL education. The aim of employing this particular discursive strategy was therefore to increase investment in FSL education by drawing awareness to the employment advantages that knowledge of Canada's official languages presents to those students who have invested in FSL education.

4.10.2.2.2 Bilingual skills as highly sought-after assets for the Canadian and international labour markets

Another key discursive strategy that was used throughout the stakeholder documents was the message that bilingual language skills are highly sought-after by both Canadian and international employers when looking to hire new employees (see Table 21). This message was most prominent in the promotional materials from CPF, specifically the *Stay in French!* brochure. Traces of it were also found in the written documents from the Ontario Ministry of Education and French for the Future's promotional posters. This message included the presentation of evidence to suggest that bilingual qualifications make candidates stand out from other job seekers when it comes to competing in Canadian and international labour markets.

Table 21: The competitiveness of bilingual language skills and the labour market

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
CPF (*Allophone engagement pamphlet*)	"Studying in both official languages is a great way to make sure you have that extra advantage that will help you stand out from your peers who only speak one official language" (CPF, 2003a). "*When we came here we saw these different jobs which were really good, but they wanted someone bilingual. So that's what I want for her*" (CPF, 2003a). "The Government of Canada alone has about 67,000 jobs requiring a working knowledge of both French and English.

	Being able to work in English and French is a real competitive edge for young adults entering the workforce" (CPF, 2003a). "…employees able to work in both English and French are greatly valued" (CPF, 2003a).
CPF (*Stay in French!*)	"Because it [bilingualism] power-packs a résumé" (CPF, 2003c). "There's a high demand for bilingual workers in every sector of the economy—from retail to technology, from public service to tourism, from teaching to research" (CPF, 2003c). "Businesses, governments, the not-for-profit sector and academia all prize knowledge of French. This holds true as much overseas as it does right here in Canada" (CPF, 2003c). "Staying in French will help make you the kind of person needed in today's world—knowledgeable and appreciate of other people, languages and cultures" (CPF, 2003c).
French for the Future (*Pourquoi parler français?[7] poster*)	« Parler une autre langue est un atout sur un CV » (French for the Future, 2011b)[8].
Ontario Ministry of Education (*A framework for French as a second language in Ontario schools*)	"Employers recognize that students of FSL have an aptitude for working with diverse linguistic communities, as they are 'more sensitive to the culture' " (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 11). "In Ontario and throughout Canada, many

---

[7] Why speak French?

[8] Speaking another language is an asset on a résumé.

	jobs require skills in both French and English, and even when it is not a mandatory requirement, French can be a valuable asset in work that involves interacting with the public" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 24).
Ontario Ministry of Education (*The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8: French as a second language; The Ontario curriculum grades 9-12: French as a second language*)	"…the ability to communicate in another language provides students with a distinct advantage in a number of careers, both in Canada and internationally" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 15).

In the case of all of the discourse fragments presented in Table 21, there is a continuous reminder of the importance of bilingual skills in today's labour market through the repeated use of phrases such as "extra advantage that will help you stand out from your peers" (CPF, 2003a), "a real competitive edge for young adults" (CPF, 2003a), "power-packs a résumé" (CPF, 2003c), "a high demand for bilingual workers" (CPF, 2003c), "un atout sur un CV" (French for the Future, 2011b)[9], and "a distinct advantage" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 15). Contained within all of these phrases is the notion that by investing in official bilingualism and FSL education, Canadian youth can ensure that they not only meet the demands of today's labour market (i.e. language and communication skills), but that they also stand out from other potential job applicants who do not possess these highly sought-after qualities. Overall, the central purpose for employing this discursive strategy was to increase investment in FSL education by positioning bilingual language skills as highly valuable resources for individuals looking to gain employment through Canadian and international labour markets.

4.10.2.2.3   FSL education and higher paying employment

The final discursive strategy that was used in the sub-category of future economic success was the message that the skills acquired through participation in official bilingualism and FSL education often lead to higher paying jobs and increased salaries

---

[9] An asset on a curriculum vitae.

(see Table 22). Although not serving as a main discursive strategy, those documents that did rely on it presented compelling arguments to attract Canadian youth and their families to invest in official bilingualism and FSL education.

Table 22: FSL education and access to high paying employment

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*)	"Moreover, their [French immersion graduates'] income is often higher than that of their unilingual colleagues" (OCOL, 2009, p. 44).
French for the Future (*French a career booster! poster*)	"Knowing French and speaking French can earn you a higher salary. For example: In Toronto, in 2006, Francophone workers made about $5, 000 a year more than the medium income" (French for the Future, 2011a).
French for the Future (*Pourquoi parler français?[10] poster*)	« La moyenne salaire des employés bilingues est plus élevée que celle des employés unilingues » (French for the Future, 2011b)[11].

In the case of the discourse fragments that employed this discursive strategy, there is the notion that by investing in official bilingualism and FSL education, Canadian youth are ensuring that when they graduate, they have access to higher earning potentials than that of their unilingual colleagues. As was the case with the other discursive strategies presented through the sub-category of future economic success, these types of messages

---

[10] Why speak French?

[11] The average salary for bilingual employees is higher than unilingual employees.

work to reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by commodifying bilingual skills as a sought-after form of capital that can be used to access higher paying jobs and earn higher salaries. In turn, as a result of these marketing strategies, official bilingualism and FSL education therefore take on a monetary value because they are able to be exchanged for the future financial success of Canada's youth.

4.11 The paradox of official bilingualism in Canada

In addition to discovering the discourse strands and sub-strands mentioned above, I also came across messaging presented in the documents from the Government of Canada and OCOL that alluded to underlying issues when it comes to fulfilling the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada as outlined in official policy. Although appearing in both sets of documents, it was especially prevalent in the documents from OCOL in which the organization acted in the role of government policy scrutinizer by drawing attention to the often hidden side of official bilingualism. For the purposes of this chapter, the messages will be presented as they appeared in both sets of documents. This information will then be further expanded on in the next chapter where I will closely examine the potential consequences of the inconsistencies between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education, as it is presented in official documentation, and its actual manifestation of this vision within Canadian society.

4.11.1 Patterns of decline as expressed in the data sets from the Government of Canada and OCOL

While I was collecting and analyzing statements from both the Government of Canada and OCOL, I noticed that there were two phrases that best represented the struggles facing official bilingualism in Canada. These phrases were: "…sometimes there is a disconnect between our aspirations for linguistic duality, as expressed by our laws and political discourse, and reality" (OCOL, 2013, p. 65), and "It is one of the paradoxes of Canadian life that, despite the clear indications of progress and strength for both of Canada's official languages, there are persistent narratives of decline" (OCOL, 2013, p. ii). Upon close examination of these phrases, I noticed that contained within them was both an acknowledgement that Canada has made progress in terms of policy making to

protect Canada's official languages as well as the notion that the goals for official bilingualism are far from being fully realized in Canadian society. In addition to these two phrases, I also found a distinctive pattern in the use of language which suggested that there are significant obstacles to overcome in order to fully realize the ideal vision for official bilingualism (see Table 23).

Table 23: Language patterns expressing the decline of official bilingualism

Stakeholder organization/document	Examples
Government of Canada (*2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*)	"much to be desired" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 11). "much remains to be done" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 49). "cannot provide good service" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 49). "imbalance" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 50). "to the detriment of French" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 50). "remains a problem" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 51). "the official languages program has been losing steam" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 53). "reduced visibility" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 58). "slowdown" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 23). "unable to respond" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 23).

| OCOL (*2008-2009 Annual report*) | "many obstacles" (OCOL, 2009, ii).

"Canada has been reluctant to embrace linguistic duality" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi).

"difficult for Canadians to see any visible signs of Canada's linguistic duality" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi).

"resistance" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi).

"unrecognized importance" (OCOL, 2009, p. 16).

"inconsistencies in the official languages program" (OCOL, 2009, p. 16).

"contradictory, inconsistent and incoherent" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi).

"too large a gap between what is being said and what is being done" (OCOL, 2009, p. 18).

"not always supported" (OCOL, 2009, p. 47). |
| OCOL (*2012-2013 Annual report*) | "persistent narratives of decline" (OCOL, 2013, p. ii).

"le recul du francais'---the retreat of French-continues to echo" (OCOL, 2013, p. ii).

"remains a significant challenge for Canada" (OCOL, 2013, p. iv).

"disconnect" (OCOL, 2013, p. 65).

"trailing behind" (OCOL, 2013, p. 65).

"struggling" (OCOL, 2013, p. 91).

"has not made it a priority" (OCOL, 2013, p. 93). |

	"slow to take strong measures" (OCOL, 2013, p. 65). "subtle erosion" (OCOL, 2013,p. i). "quiet reduction" (OCOL, 2013, p. i). "often imperceptible undermining" (OCOL, 2013, p. i). "plateau has…been reached" (OCOL, 2013, p. 92).

From the analysis I conducted on this pattern of words and phrases, I observed that each use of language represented a certain level of awareness, on behalf of the Government of Canada and OCOL, of the fragile state of official bilingualism and the contributing factors to its gradual decline (i.e. not making it a top priority, undermining preservation efforts). This awareness was evidenced through the repeated messaging that the importance placed on official bilingualism in Canada is gradually declining as well as the notion that certain efforts to protect it, on the part of the Government of Canada, are riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies. Overall, the underlying message coming through these words and phrases was that despite the appearance in official policy that official bilingualism is flourishing in Canadian society, there are noticeable improvements that can be made (i.e. investment in official bilingualism at all levels of education, increased co-operation between government agencies) in order to bridge the gap between policy and practice when it comes to official bilingualism and FSL education.

4.12   Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the main findings (i.e. major discourse strands and sub-strands) from the critical discourse analysis that I conducted on discourses official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada as they appeared in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts. Included in this chapter was a description of the main images, messages and uses of language that were employed in the discourses. In addition to these findings, I also described the counter discourses (i.e. sources of tension) that I discovered under the

surface of the more dominant discourses. In the next chapter, I will discuss the findings and what they mean for the future of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. I will also provide commentary on how I now view my own personal journey in relation to what I discovered in my investigation.

Chapter 5

5   Discussion

This chapter provides a critical commentary on the main findings that were presented in the previous chapter. Its particular focus is on what the critical analysis of the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada revealed about the underlying sources of tension contributing to the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and the reality of it within Canadian society. The chapter also explains the implications of these revelations for the future of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

5.1   Introduction

According to the theoretical works that I examined in my study (see Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Fairclough, 2001; and Foucault, 1970, 1972), the ideological power behind the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, combined with sufficient institutional support, should be enough to ensure that official bilingualism and FSL education remain integral components of Canadian society. This is because the Canadian government, in combination with its institutional and advocacy partners, has a monopoly over the production of official discourses and over the consumers of these discourses. However, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, and in the literature on official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada (see Cardinal, 2004; CPF, 2008; Cummins, 2014; Géntil & Séror, 2014; Haque, 2012; Jedwab, 2008; Lapkin et al., 2009; and Mady, 2012), this does not appear to be the case. Instead, there is another set of counter discourses operating under the surface of the more dominant discourses which presents a troubling narrative concerning the actual state of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. As will be explained in greater detail throughout this chapter, in contrast to the messaging promoted in the dominant discourses, this narrative fails to live up to the expectations of official bilingualism and FSL education as outlined in official discourse and policy.

Foucault (1970, 1972) and Fairclough (2001) explain that the complex issues embedded within certain discourses are not always seen at the surface level, but instead are often found within the deeper structures of the discourses themselves. This is why they both advocate for a careful and critical analysis of discourse in order to uncover the potential hidden elements that may be contributing to certain societal problems (i.e. disconnect concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada). In the case of my investigation, I also found that it was not until I dug deeper into the hidden elements embedded within the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education that a conflicting narrative emerged and the major source of the problems facing official bilingualism and FSL education was revealed.

5.2   Attracting Canadians to invest in official bilingualism

Before delving into a discussion of what the presence of the counter discourses revealed about the inherent issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, I will briefly reiterate how official bilingualism and FSL education were marketed in official discourse. This includes an overview of the main strategies that were used in the stakeholder promotion efforts to attract Canadians to invest in official bilingualism. This information is provided as a transition to the broader discussion surrounding the apparent disconnect between the marketing for official bilingualism and the actual reality of the situation within Canadian society.

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that investment in official bilingualism and FSL education was primarily marketed as an essential asset for Canadians looking to gain employment and for fostering a sense of belonging among Canadian citizens. In the case of official bilingualism as an asset for employment, some of the main marketing strategies included associating investment with increased employment opportunities (see Tables 13, 20, and 21) and higher earning potentials (see Table 22). In terms of official bilingualism as a means of promoting Canadian nationalism, marketing strategies included evoking a sense of nostalgia for the long-standing tradition that Canada's official languages have had in Canadian society and

connecting official bilingualism with the concept of Canadian identity (see Tables 3, 6, 8, and 9).

Through their marketing strategies, Canadian stakeholder agencies therefore sought to sustain the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by offering Canadians incentives in exchange for continued support of Canada's bilingual framework (i.e. increased employment opportunities; greater sense of belonging). However, in the sections to follow, it will be shown that this description only represents one side of how the market actually functions within Canadian society. For instance, examples from the documents will be provided to demonstrate that when the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education are analyzed at a deeper level, it becomes apparent that there are inherent flaws in the system that are preventing citizens from actually obtaining the advantages that are proposed in official discourse and policy.

5.3   The interplay between reality and the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada

In the previous chapter, the findings briefly alluded to a paradox that exists in Canada between how official bilingualism and FSL education are envisioned in official discourse and policy and the actual manifestation of this vision within Canadian society. Although not a major presence in the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada, the paradox briefly manifested itself within phrases such as "…sometimes there is a disconnect between our aspirations for linguistic duality, as expressed by our laws and political discourse, and reality" (OCOL, 2013, p. 65), and "It is one of the paradoxes of Canadian life that, despite the clear indications of progress and strength for both of Canada's official languages, there are persistent narratives of decline" (OCOL, 2013, p. ii). Statements such as these were mostly found in the documents from OCOL and the Government of Canada. As will be demonstrated in the sections to follow, these statements were minimally employed throughout each set of documents, however, their presence helps to illuminate a hidden side of official bilingualism and FSL education that although increasingly becoming a part of the social reality of Canadian society, is often left out of the national conversation altogether.

5.3.1 Maintaining official bilingualism in Canada: A political dilemma

One of the strongest contradictions coming out of the documents from the Government of Canada and OCOL was the notion that despite its strong message of support for Canada's official languages, in reality, the government is consistently falling behind when it comes to making official bilingualism a top priority. Strongly associated with this contradiction was the idea that despite numerous messages that indicate substantial progress towards maintaining official bilingualism as a core component of Canadian society, the importance placed on official bilingualism is in a gradual state of decline. This notion had the strongest presence in OCOL's annual reports, although, traces of it were also present in the Government of Canada's *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*. Despite the difference in coverage between the two sets of documents, a common theme running across them was that there is a long history in Canada of contradictions between what is proposed on paper as the ideal vision for official bilingualism and the actual manifestation of this vision within Canadian society.

In the documents that I analyzed from OCOL, the above theme was best evidenced in the following statements which all signaled a history of chronic problems when it comes to the full realization of the government's vision for official bilingualism: "Despite public support for bilingualism, Canada has been reluctant to embrace linguistic duality as a key element in its identity" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi), "Outside government, national parks, the armed forces and the courts, it is often difficult for Canadians to see any visible signs of Canada's linguistic duality" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi), "After 40 years, institutional bilingualism should be a given. However, little progress has been made in the past few years" (OCOL, 2009, p. 18), "The principles of the Act are adopted, but there is too large a gap between what is being said and what is being done" (OCOL, 2009, p. 18), "The links and connections in Canada's language policy are often missing" (OCOL, 2009, ix), and "Many Canadians still do not feel as if they live in a country where linguistic duality is an important value, any more than they did seven years ago" (OCOL, 2013, p. 63). While closely analyzing all of these statements, and looking for common patterns between them, I realized that they all alluded to the notion that despite

public support for official bilingualism in Canada, in reality, the Government of Canada continuously undermines its own efforts to protect official bilingualism by failing to follow up on its promises with concrete action. As a result, the lack of support on the part of the government to uphold its own commitments has reduced the visibility of official bilingualism in Canadian society and eroded away at the important role that it plays in the everyday lives of Canadians.

In terms of how this theme was represented in the Government of Canada's *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages*, the following statements stood out as best illustrating the inherent contradictions between the government's commitments to official bilingualism and the actual realization of them in Canadian society: "Implementation of the Act [*Official Languages Act*] leaves much to be desired, as the Government is the first to acknowledge" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 11), "…much remains to be done before the federal public service is in line with the vision of Canada set out in the Official Languages Act" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 49), and "The fact that there are public servants in bilingual positions who cannot carry out their duties in both official languages remains a problem" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 51). Although the contradictions between the government's promises and its actions were not heavily discussed in official documentation, what was interesting about finding these statements was the overt admission on behalf of the government of the long-standing history of inconsistencies when it comes to upholding its own commitments to official bilingualism. In a sense, by employing these types of statements within their own policy document, the government demonstrated an awareness of the issues facing official bilingualism, yet as was demonstrated earlier, there continues to be a pattern of inconsistencies when it comes to preserving official bilingualism as an integral component of Canadian society. Equally interesting about this discovery was that the *2003-2008 Action plan for official languages* was the only document of the three strategic initiatives on official bilingualism to make direct reference to the long-standing history of problems associated with upholding the government's commitments to official bilingualism. This is despite the appearance of these types of messages in OCOL's subsequent annual reports which were released in the same time period as the *2008-2013 Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality* and the *2013-2018 Roadmap for Canada's official languages.* The fact that these types of

statements were so few in number, or even left out of the Government's strategic initiatives all together, further supports the notion that these types of statements are often overshadowed by the more dominant discourses, thus reducing their visibility in eyes of the Canadian public. However, the fact that traces of them remain in official discourse should not be overlooked because they represent vital lessons to be learned for the survival of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

5.3.2   FSL education in Canada: A tale of two realities

The second largest contradiction that was found was the message that Canada is falling behind when it comes to implementing its vision for FSL education. This contradiction had the strongest presence in OCOL's annual reports and involved statements that indicated a history of inconsistencies between how FSL education is envisioned on paper and the actual reality in which many Canadian students find themselves when trying to invest in FSL education (i.e. unequal funding for FSL programs across Canada, unequal access to FSL programs, inadequate investment in the language learning continuum). As will be demonstrated in greater detail, these statements painted a very different picture of the actual state of FSL education from what was presented in official discourse. For instance, instead of presenting the message that Canada's FSL programming has never been stronger, these statements indicated that there are inherent flaws in the system that continue to have negative repercussions on the educational experiences of FSL students (i.e. unequal access to programs, lack of learning opportunities beyond high school, and the high attrition rate of secondary FSL students). The discussion to follow presents some of the key statements from OCOL's annual reports that contained these types of messages. The aim of including these statements is to highlight the often forgotten side of FSL education in Canada.

5.3.2.1   The inconsistencies in FSL education as expressed by OCOL

From my analysis of OCOL's annual reports, I discovered that there was a pattern of statements present which alluded to the inherent contradictions between the Government of Canada vision for FSL education and the actual realization of it within Canadian

society. This pattern included statements that indicated a general lack of attention and leadership on behalf of the Government of Canada when it comes to ensuring that Canadian youth have universal access to FSL education. The following statements best highlighted the negative repercussions that the lack of federal leadership and funding for Canada's FSL programs is having on the investment of Canadian youth in official bilingualism: "And because the federal government has not made it a priority to create a true official-language-learning continuum, many young Canadians are less bilingual than they could have been or would have liked to have been" (OCOL, 2013, p. 63), and "Access to quality second language instruction remains limited; there is still resistance to the expansion of immersion programs to meet the demand" (OCOL, 2009, p. xi). Upon close analysis of these statements, I realized that the common theme running through them was that the lack of attention that the government has given to FSL education has limited the opportunities and access that Canadian youth have to fully participate in official bilingualism. As a result, instead of official bilingualism flourishing among Canadian youth, the reality of the situation is that many students who want to become bilingual are prevented from doing so because the government has failed to make universal access to FSL programming a top priority.

Equally interesting about finding these types of statements included in OCOL's annual reports was that they largely contradicted with earlier messages coming out of the government's own policy documents which highlighted its numerous commitments to FSL education. For instance, in the Government of Canada's policy documents messages such as "foster interest in bilingualism on the part of young people" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 25), "The Government will continue to invest in instruction of both languages and in initiatives outside the classroom. The young are at the heart of the Government of Canada's priorities" (Government of Canada, 2008, 10), and "Education is the best investment a society can make in its youth. This is what allows individuals to develop and achieve their full potential. And this is also what enriches us collectively, what makes us stronger" (Government of Canada, 2013, p. 5) all promoted the idea that the government is committed to investing in FSL education for the future success of Canada's youth. Upon comparing these messages to the actual state of FSL education in Canada, as it was presented in OCOL's annual reports, I realized that in utilizing this type

of messaging, the government largely presented a false image of the actual state of FSL education in Canada by downplaying its habitual lack of attention and investment in FSL education.

5.3.2.2 The inconsistencies in post-secondary FSL education as expressed by OCOL and the Government of Canada

Building on the above discussion of the fragile state of FSL education in Canada, I also discovered a series of statements that indicated problems associated with the maintenance of post-secondary FSL education in Canada. In the case of these statements, they all highlighted the inability for most FSL students to continue their studies in French beyond high school, despite receiving numerous messages in official discourse about the high demand for bilingual graduates in Canadian and international labour markets. Statements that best encapsulated this notion included: "…the unrecognized importance of the knowledge of both official languages in universities, compared with the energy and resources invested in this area at the primary and second levels" (OCOL, 2009, p. 16), "…the Government of Canada is not expressing its need for bilingual workers loudly and clearly enough to prompt post-secondary education officials to pay more attention to the benefits of second-language learning" (OCOL, 2013, p. 68), and "…limited access to post-secondary education in French discourages students from completing their secondary school education in that language" (Government of Canada, 2003, p. 18).

Upon careful analysis of these statements, I realized that the central message emanating from them was that there is a history of weak leadership on behalf of the Government of Canada in making it a priority for Canadian universities to offer opportunities for post-secondary students to continue their investment in official bilingualism. This is despite continued messaging in official discourse suggesting that investment in official bilingualism and FSL education represents an advantage for post-secondary graduates (see Tables 20, 21, 22). As has been demonstrated, however, even though these positive messages exist, there continues to be a narrative of decline when it comes to the importance placed on post-secondary FSL education which is greatly

impacting the opportunities for post-secondary students to continue their investment in official bilingualism during their post-secondary studies.

5.4   Importance of the findings for the future survival of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada

In the previous sub-sections, I explained that my analysis of the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education resulted in the discovery of an important challenge that policy makers and those directly engaged in the fields of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada must adequately address if the nation is to move closer to actually realizing the goals outlined in official discourse and policy. The challenge is that over the past twelve years, there has been very little mention in official discourse and policy of the actual issues preventing the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education from being fully realized within Canadian society. Instead, these conversations have largely remained out of the public eye, and if mentioned at all, have been given a marginalized position in relation to the more dominant discourses. However, despite the marginalized position of these conversations in national dialogue, I argue that their presence should not be overlooked. For instance, I contend that by continually burying these conversations under the more dominant discourses, it continually produces an image of official bilingualism and FSL education that is far from the actual reality of it within Canadian society. Additionally, I argue that the continued reproduction of this image is essentially providing Canadians with a sense of disillusionment when it comes to their investment in official bilingualism because the image is masking the real issues preventing so many Canadians from actually reaping the benefits of official bilingualism and FSL education. The challenge moving forward therefore requires bringing these issues out from under the shadows of the more dominant discourses so that they can become a part of the national conversation and be adequately addressed in official policy.

Based on my findings, I believe that Canada can no longer afford to have two versions of official bilingualism and FSL education operating within its society. For instance, the nation cannot keep promoting the image of official bilingualism and FSL

education as essential assets that Canadians should invest in if at the same time there continues to be very little effort put into actually ensuring that Canadians can reap the benefits of their investment. My analysis of the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education revealed that by continually ignoring the real issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education and not bringing them to the forefront of national conversation it has only managed to continually reproduce patterns of inaction and inconsistency over time. In the next chapter, I advocate for a renewed effort on behalf of policy makers and FSL education advocacy groups to ensure that what is promoted in official discourse and policy can actually be implemented within the broader society.

5.5   Summary

This chapter has provided a critical commentary on the main findings that were uncovered during the research investigation. Topics of discussion included the inconsistencies between what is promoted in official discourse and policy concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in addition to the vital lessons to be learned from the analysis of these inconsistencies. In the next chapter, I provide the answers to my research questions; suggestions for future research; the limitations of the study; the study's contributions to the advancement of knowledge; a personal reflection back on my research journey; and recommendations for policy-makers and FSL education advocacy groups.

Chapter 6

6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the present research investigation. This includes a reiteration of the research design that was employed in the study, the purpose for the study, as well as the theoretical and methodological approaches that were employed in pursuit of the answers to the research questions. It also includes an overview of the answers to the research questions; limitations of the study; potential contributions to the advancement of knowledge; a reflection on my own personal journal of discovery; recommendations for policy-makers and FSL education advocacy groups; and suggestions for future research.

6.1   Summary of the study

This thesis set out to examine two specific research questions: (a) How do the discourses contained in Canadian stakeholder promotion efforts seek to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada? and (b) How might a critical analysis of these discourses help to illuminate the underlying sources of tension between the ideal vision of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the actual manifestation of it within Canadian society? In order to explore these questions, I critically examined the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada as they were presented in the promotion efforts of Canadian stakeholder organizations. Of particular interest for the investigation was gaining an understanding of how the discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education were marketed to the Canadian public in addition to seeing if the discourses revealed any clues about the underlying factors contributing to the tension between the ideal vision of official bilingualism and FSL education and the reality of it within Canadian society.

As previously discussed, my interest in investigating this topic came from my own experience as an FSL student and educator during which time I first encountered the tension between how official bilingualism and FSL education are marketed to Canadians

and the actual reality of it within Canadian society. The more I studied and worked in the field, the greater my curiosity became to try to understand the origins of the inconsistencies between policy and practice concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. It was this curiosity that eventually inspired the present investigation to examine if in fact the discourses themselves played a role in the reproduction of the current issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

In order to investigate these complex questions, I employed a qualitative, critical discourse approach based on the work of Foucault (1970, 1972), as presented in Jäger and Maier (2009), and the discourse theory of Fairclough (2001). To gain a critical perspective on the discourses, I grounded my study in the theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1991); Bourdieu and Passeron (1990); Foucault (1970, 1972); and Fairclough (2001). I also consulted literature in the areas of the economics of language and official bilingualism/FSL education in Canada in order to explore what had been previously examined. This helped me to situate my own investigation within previous conversations taking place in both areas of literature. It was the combination of the theories, methods, and the relevant literature that provided me with a unique lens through which to examine the discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada.

6.2   Responding to the research questions

In terms of responding to the first research question (see section 6.1), my analysis of the discourses revealed that two major discourses shape how the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada functions as well as how it seeks to maintain and reproduce itself over time. These discourses include that of Canadian nationalism and the discourse of the commodification of Canada's official languages. In the case of the first discourse (i.e. Canadian nationalism), specific strategies that were employed in the stakeholder promotion efforts included connecting official bilingualism and FSL education to the idea of what it means to be a 'Canadian' in addition to reminding Canadians of the important role that the two founding groups, the English and the French, played in the formation of Canadian society. In the case of the second discourse, the commodification of Canada's official languages, specific strategies that were used

included associating investment in official bilingualism and FSL education with increased employment opportunities and higher earning potentials, increased academic opportunities, and strengthening the nation's economy. These strategies all sought to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education by capitalizing on the global demand for languages and the need for financial security in uncertain economic times. Through my analysis of these strategies, I was able to observe that their primary purpose was to attract investment in official bilingualism and FSL education by promising increased financial incentives and social benefits in return for continued support of Canada's bilingual framework.

In response to the second research question (see section 6.1), by adopting a critical approach to my research, it provided me with insight into the underlying factors that are contributing to the tension between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the reality of it within Canadian society. For instance, through my analysis, I was able to discover that part of problem is that there are two narratives in Canadian society concerning the state of official bilingualism and FSL education, the presence of which is sending mixed messages to the Canadian public about the actual state of official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada. To reiterate, in the case of first narrative, I discovered that it is primarily concerned with presenting the image of a unified nation that is rich because of its investments in official bilingualism and FSL education (i.e. increased economic and social benefits). I also discovered that this narrative tends to dominate national conversations because it is heavily promoted by Canadian stakeholder organizations. However, underneath this particular narrative, I uncovered another one which is often overshadowed by more dominant discourses or left out of the conversation altogether. This narrative concerns the lack of attention and investment that is actually being given to official bilingualism and FSL education on behalf of the Government of Canada which has in turn greatly affected the ability for Canadians to participate in the culture of official bilingualism and reap the benefits of official bilingualism as outlined in official discourse and policy.

6.3   Limitations of the study

Due to the time constraints of my study, I had to be selective in the amount of documents that I could include from each stakeholder organization (i.e. 2-3 documents per organization). As an extension to my study, in the future, it would be interesting to not only examine documents from more stakeholder organizations, but it would also be interesting to compare parallel promotion efforts at the provincial level. The inclusion of different provincial level promotion efforts would allow a greater picture to emerge of the situation across Canada in comparison to the promotion efforts at the national level.

6.4   Suggestions for future research

Since the scope of my present research study was limited to the analysis of fourteen documents from five different stakeholder organizations, future studies could explore a greater number of documents over a longer period of time in order to track the evolution of the discourses across a broader range of Canada's history. My study involved only tracking the discourses as they appeared in stakeholder promotion efforts from 2003 to present. However, a larger study could track the evolution in the discourses even further back in history (i.e. *The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* or the *Official Languages Act*) to see if there were changes or similarities in the discourses throughout history. This would provide a greater picture of how the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education has evolved over time as well as how it was constructed at various points in history.

In addition to the above suggestion, future studies could focus superficially on investigating one of the inconsistencies that were found in the discourses between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education and the actual reality of it within Canadian society and examine it over a certain period of history. For instance, a future study might engage in a deeper investigation into the inconsistencies between how official bilingualism and FSL education are marketed towards Canadian post-secondary students and the actual reality that many find themselves in when trying to access the necessary tools to acquire the benefits outlined in official discourse. Studies such as these would promote an even greater awareness of the often hidden tensions that are

contributing to the apparent disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the actual reality of it within Canada society.

6.5   Contributions of the study

Despite the limitations of the study, my investigation manages to draw attention to how the linguistic market for official bilingualism and FSL education functions in Canadian society and provides unique insights into the underlying sources of tension contained in official discourse which are contributing to the disconnect between the ideal vision for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada and the reality of it within Canadian society. As will be highlighted in the recommendations section to follow, the study also has many practical implications for policy makers and FSL education advocacy groups working to preserve official bilingualism and FSL education as integral components of Canadian society. This is because it calls for a rethinking of Canada's approach to official bilingualism which places greater importance on proactively addressing the issues that are preventing Canadians from actually reaping the benefits of official bilingualism and FSL education as outlined in official discourse and policy.

6.6   Recommendations for policy makers and FSL education advocacy groups

Based on the findings from my research investigation, I have concluded that in the area of policy making what is needed is greater leadership and direction within the government itself when it comes to adequately addressing the issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education at the level of policy. The findings from my study revealed that for far too long, the issues facing official bilingualism and FSL education have remained in a marginalized position in official discourse and policy and have largely been hidden from the public's eye. This in turn has led to a long history of inaction and inconsistencies on behalf of the Government of Canada concerning official bilingualism and FSL education. In order to move forward as a society, what is necessary is strong leadership on behalf of the government that actually moves beyond the reproduction of messages that are out of tune with the reality of the situation, towards concrete action that actively works to provide viable solutions to some of the problems facing official bilingualism and FSL

education in Canada. Based on my observations, two of the main priority areas going forward should be creating greater employment opportunities across Canada for bilingual graduates to acquire work in both official languages as well as providing adequate training and support at the post-secondary level so that graduates can actually acquire the necessary skills to obtain these bilingual positions. Through investment in these two areas, I believe that the Government of Canada will be able to better live up to the promises outlined in official discourse and policy by providing Canadians with the skills and opportunities that they need to turn the prospect of future success from investment in official bilingualism into a reality.

In terms of FSL education advocacy groups, they must continue to actively lobby the Government of Canada for stronger leadership when it comes to official bilingualism and FSL education. In a similar manner to what I concluded in the previous sub-section, it is not enough to simply reproduce messages that continue to widen the gap between policy and practice. Instead, a more proactive approach would be for these organizations to put increased pressure on the government and hold it accountable to live up to the messages promoted in official discourse and policy. In doing so, they would be able to mutually support their own objectives by ensuring that what is promoted in official discourse and policy is actually being realized within Canadian society.

6.7   Reflecting on the investigation: My personal journey of discovery

Reflecting back on the present investigation has allowed me to see the complex issues surrounding official bilingualism and FSL education in a much clearer light. In fact, through this process, I was able to confirm that the questioning I was engaged in during my career as an FSL student and educator actually mirrored current political dialogue taking place concerning official bilingualism and FSL education. The unfortunate aspect of my discovery, however, was the realization that this form of dialogue continues to remain under the surface of the dominant discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education. As a result, it barely makes it into national conversations and is largely hidden from the public eye. Instead, year after year, the same discourses are continually

rebranded and reproduced with very little attention paid to the real issues facing the future survival of these two important aspects of Canadian society.

Faced with this realization, I now see my work in a very different light. This is because my role has shifted from being a consumer and producer of the dominant discourses concerning official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada to a critical observer whose goal is to bring greater awareness to the conversations taking place underneath these dominant discourses. Based on my investigation, I now believe that these marginalized conversations are the type of dialogue that Canadians should be engaged in. My perspective stems from my belief that by not participating in these conversations, the nation runs the risk of continually repeating the same patterns of inconsistency and inaction that are currently preventing Canadians from embracing all that official bilingualism and FSL education have to offer. To conclude, Canada can no longer turn a blind eye to the issues that are buried underneath the dominant discourses of official bilingualism and FSL education because to do so would be to participate in the very reproduction of the current reality facing official bilingualism and FSL education. Instead, concerted action must be taken to ensure that the vision that has been proposed for official bilingualism and FSL education in Canada can actually be realized within the broader society.

References

Becker, H. (1998). Sampling. In H. Becker (Ed.), *Tricks of the trade: How to think about your research while you're doing it* (pp. 67-108). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16*(6), 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York, NY: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London, UK: Sage Publishers.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Breton, A. (1998). An economic analysis of language. In A. Breton (Ed.), *New Canadian perspectives: Economic approaches to language and bilingualism* (pp. 1-34). Ottawa, ON: Department of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

Canadian Parents for French. (2003a). *Allophone engagement pamphlet.* Retrieved from http://cpf.ca/en/files/English-Brochure.pdf

Canadian Parents for French. (2003b). *I want my child to be bilingual: Benefits of French Immersion*. Retrieved from http://cpf.ca/en/files/French_Immersion_Pamphlet.pdf

Canadian Parents for French. (2003c). *Stay in French! The benefits of continuing in French language education*. Retrieved from http://cpf.ca/en/files/Stay_in_French_Pamphlet.pdf

Canadian Parents for French. (2008). The state of French-Second-Language education in Canada 2008. Retrieved from http://cpfca/en/files/FSLExecSummary20082.pdf

Canadian Parents for French. (2016a). Promotional campaigns. Retrieved from http://cpf.ca/en/media/promotional-campaigns/

Canadian parents for French. (2016b). Stakeholder reports. Retrieved from http://cpf.ca/en/research-advocacy/advocacy/stakeholder-reports/

Christofides, L. & Swindinsky, R. (2010). The economic returns to the knowledge of a second official language English in Quebec and French in the rest of Canada. *Canadian Public Policy, 36*(2), 136-158.

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cummins, J. (2014). Rethinking assumptions in Canadian French Immersion programs. *Journal of Immersion and Content-based Language Education*, *2*(1), 3-22.

Department of Canadian Heritage. (2014). About us. Retrieved from http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1266247278907/1266203846503

Diaz-Bone, R., Bührmann, A. D., Gutiérrez Rodriguez, E., Schneider, W., Kendall, G., & Tirado, F. (2007). The field of Foucauldian discourse analysis: Structures, developments and perspectives. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *8*(2). Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/234/517

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power.* Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited.

Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of things: An archeology of the human sciences.* New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York: Pantheon.

French for the Future. (2011a). *French A Career booster!* Retrieved from http://www.french-future.org/~frenchf/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/French-A-Career-Booster-8.5x11-EN.pdf

French for the Future. (2011b). *Pourquoi parler français?* Retrieved from http://french-future.org/

French for the Future. (2015). About us and history. Retrieved from http://french-future.org/about-us/history/

Géntil, G. & Séror, J. (20140. Canada has two official languages-Or does it? Case studies of Canadian scholars' language choices and practices in disseminating knowledge. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *13*, 17-30.

Ghim-Lian Chew, P. (2009). In pursuit of linguistic gold: Mothering in a global world. *English Today 98*, *25*(2), 33-39.

Government of Canada. (2003). *Action plan on official languages 2003-2008.* Retrieved from http://www.sfu.ca/banff-offa/media/uploads/ActionPlanForOfficialLanguages2003.pdf

Government of Canada. (2009). *Roadmap for Canada's linguistic duality: Acting for the future*. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2010/pc-ch/CH14-23-2009-eng.pdf

Government of Canada. (2013). *Roadmap for Canada's official languages 2013-2018: Education, immigration, communities*. Retrieved from http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1358263602229

Grin, F. (1996). The economics of language: Survey, assessment, and prospects. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *1996*(121), 17-44.

Grin, F. (2001). English as economic value: Facts and fallacies. *World Englishes*, *20*(1), 65-78.

Grin, F. (2008). The economics of language education. In N. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language Education* (2nd ed.). (pp. 83-93). New York, NY: Springer.

Hanks, W. (2005). Pierre Bourdieu and the practices of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 34*(2005), 67-83.

Haque, E. (2012). *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework: Language, race, and belonging in Canada*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Heller, M. (1996). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. *Linguistics and Education*, *8*(2), 139-157.

Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *7*(4), 473-492.

Heller, M. (2006). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography.* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Continuum.

Heller, M. (2010). The commodification of language. *Annual Review of anthropology, 39*(2010), 101-114.

Jaffe, A. (2001). Authority and authenticity: Corsican discourse on bilingual education. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of Authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 269-296). Westport, CT: Ablex.

Jäger, S. & Maier, F. (2009). Theoretical and methodological aspects of Foucauldian critical discourse analysis and dispositive analysis. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). (pp. 34-61). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Jedwab, J. (2008). Where there's a will there's a way? Explaining the divide between Canadians' desire for bilingualism and their actual knowledge of English and

French. *Canadian Issues*, *S35-S46*. Retrieved from

http://search/proquest.com/docview/208671006?accountid=15115

Lamberton, D. M. (2002). *The economics of language*. Cheltenham, UK: E. Eglar Pub.

Lapkin, S., Mady, C., & Arnott, S. (2009). Research perspectives on Core French: A

literature review. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *12*(2), 6-30.

Liang, X. (2012). Language as investment, capital, and economics: Spanish-speaking

English learners' language use and attitudes. *International Journal of English*

Linguistics, *2*(6), 1-16.

Mady, C. (2012). Official language bilingualism to the exclusion of multilingualism:

Immigrant student perspectives on French as a second language in 'English-

dominant' Canada. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *12*(1), 74-89.

Meyer, M. (2001). Between theory, method, and politics: Positioning of the approaches

to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*

(2nd ed.). (pp. 14-31). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McNeil, P. (1990). *Research methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Marschak, J. (1965). Economics of language. *Behavioral Science*, *10*(2), 135-140.

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. (2005). *Annual report 2004-2005 Vol.*

1. Retrieved from http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/sites/default/files/2004_05_e.pdf

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. (2009). *Annual report 2008-2009*

Retrieved from http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/sites/default/files/ar_ra_e.pdf

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. (2013). *Annual report 2012-2013*.

    Retrieved from

    http://www.officiallanguages.gc.ca/sites/default/files/ar_ra_1213_e.pdf

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. (2015). Vision and challenges for the

    21st century: Symposium on official languages. Retrieved from http://www.ocol-

    clo.gc.ca/en/pages/vision-and-challenges-21st-century-symposium-official-

    languages

Omoniyi, T. (20140. Indigenous language capital and development. *International Journal

    of the Sociology of Language*, *2014*(225), 7-28.

Ontario Ministry of Education. (2013a). *A framework for French as a second language

    in Ontario schools*. Retrieved from

    http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/amenagement/frameworkFLS.pdf

Ontario Ministry of Education. (2013b). *The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8: French as a

    second language*. Retrieved from

    https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/elementary/fsl18-2013curr.pdf

Ontario Ministry of Education. (2014). *The Ontario curriculum grades 9-12: French as a

    second language*. Retrieved from

    https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/fsl912curr2014.pdf

Rassool, N. (2014). Considering heteroglossia in language and development in Sub-

    Saharan Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *2014*(225),

    51-73.

Schegloff, E. (1998). Text and context paper. *Discourse and society*, *3*, 4-37.

Shenk, E. (2012). Puerto Rico's language officialization debates: Perspectives from a
mountain corridor community. *Centro Journal*, *24*(1), 90-119.

Smala, S., Bergas Paz, J., & Lingard, B. (2013). Languages, cultural capital and school
choice: Distinction and second-language immersion programmes. *British Journal
of the Sociology of Education*, *34*(3), 373-391.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin., & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of
qualitative research* (pp. 435-454). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., & Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of text and discourse
analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

van Dijk, T. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen., D. Schiffrin., & H.
Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Oxford:
Blackwell.

Wei, L., & Milroy, L. (2003). Markets, hierarchies and networks in language
maintenance and language shift. In J. M. Dewaele., A. Houston., & L. Wei (Eds.),
Bilingualism: Beyond basic principles (pp. 128-140). Cleveden, UK: Multilingual
Matters.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. J. (2001). *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis.*
Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Widdowson, H. G. (1995). Discourse analysis: A critical view. *Language and literature*, *4*(3), 157-172.

Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is it all about-a summary of its history, important concepts and developments. In R. Wodak., & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1-13). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak., & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). (pp. 1-33). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Curriculum Vitae

Name:	Katherine MacCormac

Post-secondary Acadia University

Education and Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada

Degrees: 2006-2010 B.A. Honours (French)

Acadia University

Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada

2010-2012 B. Ed. (Secondary)

University of Western Ontario

London, Ontario, Canada

2014-2016 M.A. Education Studies

Honours and Acadia Special Manning Entrance Scholarship

Awards: 2006-2008

Anna Julia Taylor Memorial Scholarship for Honours in French

2008-2009

Honours Summer Research Award

2008-2009

Research Assistantship Grant

February-July 2009

Dean's List Scholar

June 2009

Everett and Maude Coldwell Memorial Scholarship

2009-2010

Dean's List Scholarship

2009-2010

Acadia University Scholar

May 2010

Wendy Seaman Memorial Scholarship

2011

Western Graduate Research Scholarship

2014

Related Work   Research Assistant

Experience: French Department, Acadia University

2008-2009

Graduate Student Assistant

Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario

2014-2015

Publications:

MacCormac, K. A. (2016). Review of Gary DeCoker and Christopher Bjork's (2013) "Japanese Education in an era of globalization: Culture, politics and equity," New York, New York: Teacher's College Press. *McGill Journal of Education.*

Presentations:

MacCormac, K. A. "*Rethinking Canada's bilingual framework: Making official bilingualism and FSL education accessible to all Canadians*". Conference presentation at the 2016 Robert MacMillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium,University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, April 1st, 2016.