# Constructing Canadian Citizens: A Textual Analysis of Canadian Citizenship Guides in English - 1947-2012

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#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to analyze Canadian Citizenship Guides as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen.

This study analyzed six Canadian Citizenship Guides in the English language developed between 1947 and 2012 and identified how the selection of historical, governmental and social topics, and the use of different words and rhetorical strategies within each contemporary historical context constructed a narrative about what constitutes a Canadian citizen. To construct the narratives of Canadian citizen present in each Canadian Citizenship Guide, the study analysed the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation present in each guide. The study also sought continuities and disruptions in the narratives to explore how the narratives changed over time.

The study concluded that while the narratives constructed by each guide (*good character* citizen, *responsible* citizen, *wholesome* citizen, *politically active* citizen, citizenship *student*, and *loyal* citizen) had unique elements, at the macro-level it could be said that from 1947 to 2012 there seemed to be more continuities than disruptions in the construction of the narratives of the Canadian citizen, and the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation.

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# Dedication

To Javier and Joel, with love.

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## Chapter 1

#### Overview

Canadian citizenship is introduced in this chapter from both adult education and citizenship education perspectives. The Canadian Citizenship Guides are the focus of the research interest with the purpose of analyzing the textual content of these publications as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be and what is expected from a Canadian citizen. Included in this chapter are the research questions, the parameters and significance of the study, as well as definitions of key terms related to immigration and citizenship.

#### Introduction

Kanata is an indigenous expression for settlement or village (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2012). This was the word that, according to Government of Canada texts, two aboriginal youths employed to refer to the village of Stadacona (currently Quebec City) when in contact with French explorer Jacques Cartier in 1535. Canada as official name was first used in 1791 when the Province of Quebec was divided in Upper and Lower Canada; 50 years later both colonies were united under the name of Province of Canada. "At the time of Confederation, the new country assumed the name of Canada" (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2012). Kanata, with its meaning of settlement proved to have a long lasting effect in the country that evolved to carry the name, while it is also identified as one of the "settler nations", along with Australia, New Zealand and United States (Regan, 2010, p. 49).

The settling of Canada is marked by a historical narrative that assigns meanings and intentions to the relationships among the various peoples that make up Canada; relationships that in many cases are quite complex. The aboriginal peoples that populated the land at the time of the arrival of European explorers had to contend with the fact that newly arrived settlers started to lay claim to the land, developing in the process a "peacemaker myth that goes to the heart of settler identity (...) [and] reinforces the popular belief that the settling of Canada was relatively peaceful because our ancestors (...) made treaties rather than war with Native peoples" (Regan, 2010, p. 14).

The social tensions related to this historical narrative "continue to play out as Canada, like other settler nations, grapples with the unsavoury legacies of colonialism" (Regan, 2010, p. 84), which could be seen in the demographic changes generated by the arrival of French and British settlers: Four centuries after European settlement, the Canadian population in 1900 was composed by 127,000 (2.4 percent) Aboriginal peoples; 3,063,195 (57 percent) people of British origin, and 1,649,371 (30.7 percent) Canadians of French origin, with a low number of immigrants of Scandinavian and central, southern, and east European origin (Knowles, 2000, p. 1).

Canada's settling story reached a milestone when in 1947 Canada established its own nationality since "prior to 1947 and the introduction of the first Citizenship Act, there was legally no such thing as Canadian citizenship. Both native-born and naturalized citizens were British subjects" (Government of Canada, Law and Government Division, 1998). More recently, the Citizenship Act that came into force in 1977 reduced "the period of residency required from five to three years), (...) remove[d] the special treatment for British nationals and the remaining discrimination between men and

women, (...) [and] provided that Canadians could hold dual citizenship" (Government of Canada, Law and Government Division, 1998). In addition, "an important conceptual change also came about in 1977, when citizenship became a right for qualified applicants rather than a privilege as it had been in the past" (Government of Canada, Law and Government Division, 1998).

In western democracies, the naturalization process can follow a model of citizenship based on consent, which is built "around the key notion of *citizenship by choice* (...) [where] the citizen accepts subjugation to the state, understand his status as a voluntary allegiance, and has legal status with certain rights and responsibilities" (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002, p. 5) or a model of citizenship by descent, in which "sovereignty is lodged in the people who share a common background within a political community (...) such as race, heritage, language, religion, geography, and national history" (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002, p. 6). In Canada, the distinction decent-consent is shaped by the multicultural nature of Canadian society, and challenged by different groups, in particular First Nations and the Francophone community: "Unlike Canadian citizenship, which is attainable on a universal and procedural basis, there are no established procedures for acquiring full membership in either group other than by birth" (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002, p. 8).

Canada is a country of settlers, a country of immigrants who in time through a process of socialization into the institutions of the country and its citizenship process came to be *naturalized* and became new Canadian citizens. According to the 2006 census, the Canadian population that was born outside the country is almost 20%, the highest level in 75 years. The census enumerated 6,186,950 foreign-born individuals in

Canada in 2006, representing almost one in five (19.8%) of the total population" (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2012). The vast majority of immigrants that are eligible to become Canadian citizens-individuals who have lived in Canada for a mandatory minimum of three years and have knowledge of one of the official languages (English of French)-have elected to become Canadian citizens. According to the 2006 census, "85.1% of eligible foreign-born people were Canadian citizens" (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2012).

The colonial narratives about settling in Canada were followed more recently by national narratives related to Canadian citizenship: To become a Canadian citizen not only refers to the legal procedure of obtaining naturalization in Canada, but also includes a symbolic meaning of what constitutes being a Canadian citizen, and moreover what constitutes to be a good Canadian citizen. In this sense, a first-ever national public opinion survey—conducted by The Environics Institute in partnership with the Institute for Canadian Citizenship, the Maytree Foundation, CBC News and Royal Bank of Canada—asked Canadians what it means to be a *good citizen* in this country and if newcomers could be good citizens (The Environics Institute, 2012).

According to the survey results, "Canadians define 'citizenship' as more than having a passport, obeying the law and paying taxes. These are widely seen as key aspects of citizenship, but just as important are being active participants in one's community, helping others and accepting differences" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 5). Participants identified specific attributes and actions that would define being a good citizen: "Some are the basics of obeying the law (35%), paying taxes (10%) and voting in

elections (8%)" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 5), but other responses "speak to an active commitment and outlook, such as active participation in one's community (25%), helping others (17%), being tolerant of others (14%), sharing Canadian values (12%) and respecting other religions (9%)" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 5).

The survey also asked if newcomers to Canada could become good citizens, and there was "an overwhelming consensus [89%] that immigrants are as likely as nativeborn individuals to be good Canadian citizens" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 9). However, to become good citizens they need to adapt to the Canadian society and survey participants identify various ways: "Learning about Canada's culture and ways of life (36%), English or French (32%), Canadian values (27%) and Canadian laws (26%) (...) making connections with friends and neighbours (17%), and becoming financially self-sufficient (12%)" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 10).

Finally, the survey also asked newcomers to Canada why they decided to become Canadian citizens and these were the most frequent responses: "They want to stay permanently (26%) or to confirm that they belong here (17%). (...) because their family lives in Canada (10%), to vote (9%) or to qualify for a passport (6%), or so their children will be Canadian (6%)" (The Environics Institute, 2012, p. 26).

Based on the emergence of social narratives related to settling and citizenship in Canada, it can be argued that citizenship education for prospective adult citizens and desired citizenship education outcomes is an area of research interest worth pursuing.

#### Area of Focus

"O Canada! Our home and native land" are the first two phrases of the Canadian national anthem. Before the country had its current name, Canada was the *home and native land* of First Nations people; and then the *home and native land* of settlers from Great Britain and France during the colonial period, and more recently of immigrants from many regions around the world, such as East Asia and Eastern Europe (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2006 Census; Selman, et al., 1998).

In a country shaped at least in part by settlement and immigration–among other phenomena–, adult education assists in supporting immigrants' needs in a new country (Selman, et al., 1998). In addition to the possibility of a credential recognition process in which education and professional designations abroad are recognized in Canada, new immigrants may require language classes, settlement programs, and job search and workplace culture courses. "The essential point is that Canada has throughout its history received relatively large numbers of immigrants, and one of its most essential tasks has been to provide educational opportunities for many of these newcomers" (Selman, et al., 1998, p. 43).

Within the field of adult education, citizenship education can be seen as the more specific area that, given its nature, needs to play a role in helping immigrants to learn about Canadian culture and way of life, and bringing all individuals to be part of one nation trying to achieve one common Canadian identity. The cultural role of citizenship education in teaching new immigrants about what constitutes to be *Canadian* is especially unique in Canada (Selman, 1991, pp. 21-22). Given the history of creation of

Canada and the various nations settling in this land, overt time residents of Canada "have not been confined to 'adjusting' to an already established Canadian national identity. (...) [but] faced the dilemma of discovering just what that 'Canadian identity' was, and with struggling to achieve what we thought it should be" (Selman, 1991, p. 4).

In more recent times, the phenomena of global economy, the emergency of new technologies and communication vehicles, and the population and immigration patterns (Cogan, 1998, pp. 7-11) may require a more complex, multifaceted "multidimensional citizenship" conceptualization, one which could embody four dimensions: personal, social, temporal and spatial (Kubow, Grossman, & Ninomiya, 1998, p. 117) to account for personal social experience over time and space. The notion of Canadian citizenship may already seem to convey a multicultural perspective that encompasses ethnicity, race, gender, disability, etc. (Russell, 2002, p. 140). In this sense, the concept of Canadian citizenship may already be in transformation moving towards a "multiple citizenship" that includes multiple identifications and belongings to various groups (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002, p. 4).

This "multidimensional citizenship" could also be seen as a function of adult learning: Almost 65% of immigrants who have come to Canada in the last five years were 25 years old and older (Government of Canada. Canadian Heritage, 2012). In this sense, since most recent applicants to Canadian citizenship do not attend primary or secondary school in Canada, immigrants may learn about being Canadian when attending English as Additional Language (EAL) classes, at work or in social circumstances, through media and cultural products such as films and books, and also by studying Canadian Citizenship Guides.

#### Research Interest

When studying the formation of the Canadian nation and the identities of Canadians, it is interesting to explore how these discussions about Canadian citizenship are reflected or not in the Canadian Citizenship Guides. The Canadian Citizenship Guides are produced by the Government of Canada and as such it can be argued that they at least in part provide an official view of Canadian citizenship.

The Canadian Citizenship Guides could ultimately be described as the emergence of governmental views at points of time about what it means to be a Canadian citizen, and what is expected from a Canadian citizen. These guides could be viewed as a proxy for governmental narratives on Canadian citizenship at each point in time.

While there are other government expressions regarding Canadian citizenship (for example, press releases, public speeches, the *Hansard* record in the House of Commons), the Canadian Citizenship Guides are the only educational publications that are delivered to each citizenship applicant and the contents of which are the subject of an exam which must be passed in order to become a Canadian citizen. Consequently, the contents of the Canadian Citizenship Guides make a useful object of analysis to understand the progression of official narratives about what constitutes a Canadian citizen.

The objects of interest for this Adult Education study were the Canadian Citizenship Guides developed by the Government of Canada between 1947 and 2012 and how these guides construct a narrative of the Canadian citizen based on the selection of historical, governmental and social topics, and the use of different words and rhetorical strategies.

### Purpose of the Study

In order to study the Canadian Citizenship Guides as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen, I searched for, collected, described and analyzed six Canadian Citizenship Guides published at different point in time between 1947 and 2012.

In the study of these six guides, I identified how the selection of historical, governmental and social topics, and the use of different words and rhetorical strategies within each contemporary historical context construct a narrative—a mode of signification (Barthes, 1972)—about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen. Barthes (1972) calls as "a mode of signification" a *myth* which has a historical context but is presented in a manner that naturalizes the operation of creating that narrative (Barthes, 1972, p. 107). In this study, I used the term myth in keeping with this conceptual framework.

To construct the narratives of the Canadian citizen present in each Canadian Citizenship Guide, I studied the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation present in each guide.

I also sought continuities and disruptions in the narratives to explore how the narratives changed over time.

In this study I did not try to develop an opinion about which guide best captures what it means to be a Canadian citizen, but to compare narrative changes over time.

#### **Research Questions**

Canada presents a complex, multifaceted society with multiple cultural backgrounds. Despite these challenges, the Canadian Citizenship Guides intend to present a shared Canadian citizenship. The research questions prompting this study were:

- What narrative of a Canadian citizen is constructed in each Canadian Citizenship Guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation?
- What are the continuities and disruptions of the narratives over time?

#### Parameters of the Study

This study included six Canadian Citizenship Guides in the English language, all of them being the first available issue of a re-designed guide that featured a change in name and re-development of the content. Although guides that were published after a change in the governing political party, or that were developed after specific policies or legislation about immigration or citizenship were enacted could enrich this study, given the longitudinal scope of this research project, I only concentrated in the first issues of guides that showcased a comprehensive content re-design.

However, as part of the data collection for this study, I gathered 22 Canadian Citizenship Guides developed by the Government of Canada available in libraries across the country. In this sense, I can make accessible for future research Canadian Citizenship Guides editions that feature content modifications over the time, some of them including also content in French.

Although a comprehensive semiological analysis could include not only texts but also images (Barthes, 1972), given the scope of this research project, this study only focused on the analysis of texts included in the Canadian Citizenship Guides. The study noted the existence of images (pictures, illustrations, maps and graphs) featured in the guides but did not provide a semiological analysis of the images.

The rhetorical analysis of the Canadian Citizenship Guides addressed the potential intentions of the Government of Canada, and tried to find continuities and discontinuities in the content selection and the choice of rhetorical strategies used by the Government of Canada. However, this study did not address how the narratives were understood by the citizenship applicants (Verón, 1993).

Finally, the literature review included in this study was limited to scholarly work focused on Canadian citizenship—as opposed to studies focused on other countries—given the specific historical, social and cultural circumstances of citizenship in Canada.

#### Significance of the Study

While the path to immigration is mostly a formal administrative process with requests and answers for information and credentials, the path to citizenship does also contain a non-formal and informal educational process (Jarvis, 2010, p. 42), with self-directed learning (informal) as well as the possibility of learning in the community assisted by mentors (non-formal).

This educational component presents a uniquely federal education strategy since there is a provision in the Constitution Act of 1867 which establishes that education is a matter of provincial, not federal, jurisdiction (Selman, et al., 1998). However, the

Canadian Citizenship Guides—and the Canadian Citizenship test—are uniform across the country. It can be said that the Canadian citizenship program is one of the very few instances in which a federal educational strategy is deployed. The Canadian Citizenship Guides present a rare opportunity to identify how the Government of Canada portrays issues such as Canadian history, Canadian society and citizenship participation that bypasses or provides a reasonable facsimile of the student learning about such matters in the provincial education system.

The other aspect of the Canadian Citizenship Guides that makes them unique is that the content is intended for adult learners. The citizenship test is taken by individuals over 18 years of age (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012) and therefore they can be considered adult education materials. While there are some organizations that provide citizenship classes, these classes are not mandatory; the Canadian Citizenship Guides are intended for self-study and its contents are directly linked to the citizenship test. For this reason, it was useful to understand what strategies the Canadian Citizenship Guides utilize to successfully achieve its immediate goal (students passing the exam), as well as long-term educational value (to elicit conformed behaviours from the new citizen).

Finally, based on the literature review, there has been what can be called a limited number of studies on the Canadian Citizenship Guides. The literature review process produced studies that looked at the historical evolution of the guides, or analyzed the narrative of one particular edition. This research project chose a longitudinal analysis of the Canadian Citizenship Guides, focusing on the macro-level continuities and discontinuities of the governmental narratives about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen.

#### **Definitions of Terms**

For the purpose of this study, the following terms related to immigration and citizenship in Canada are defined and presented in alphabetical order:

**Canadian citizens** are "persons who are citizens of Canada only and persons who are citizens of Canada and at least one other country" (Statistics Canada, 2012).

**Canadian citizens by birth** are "persons who acquired Canadian citizenship at birth under the provisions of Canadian law" (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Canadian citizens by naturalization are "persons who were not Canadian citizens at birth but acquired citizenship under the provisions of Canadian law (...) though the citizenship application process" (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Canadian Citizenship Guides are publications developed by the Government of Canada that prospective citizens can use to study for the citizenship exams that test their knowledge of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Canadian permanent resident is an individual "who has acquired permanent resident status by immigrating to Canada, but is not yet a Canadian citizen"; international students, temporary foreign workers and people who make refugee claims in Canada are not permanent residents (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Citizenship "can be by birth or naturalization" (Statistics Canada, 2012).

**Immigration** is "a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement" (International Organization for Migration, 2012).

**Non-Canadian citizens** are "persons who are not citizens of Canada. They may be citizens of one or more other countries" (Statistics Canada, 2012).

## Chapter II

#### Literature Review

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study, including learning, education and communication perspectives, and concepts from the fields of adult education, intercultural development, citizenship education, and semiology. The chapter also introduces related research of official citizenship documents, as well as studies on the topics of Canadian citizenship and citizenship education.

#### Theoretical Framework

In order to study the Canadian Citizenship Guides in the context of adult education, it was necessary to present certain definitions of learning and education as well as establish the connections with communication which was the basis of this research project (Jarvis, 2010; Peirce, Houser, & Kloesel, 1998 [1893-1913]; De Saussure, 1959 [1916]; Barthes, 1967; Eco, 1981).

This study utilized four theoretical streams: a) adult education (Brockett & Merriam, 1997; Selman, et al., 1998; Caffarella & Merriam, 1991), b) intercultural development (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal, 2010), c) citizenship education (Poonwassie & Poonwassie, 2001; Russell, 2002; Schugurensky, 2006; Adamoski, Chunn & Menzies, 2002; Hébert & Sears, 2004; Cogan, 1998; Kubow, Grossman & Ninomiya, 1998; Selman et al, 1998; Guo, 2006; Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002), and d) semiology, in particular rhetorical analysis (Verón, 1993;

Verón, 1971; Barthes, 1972; Eco, 1981; Dubois, et al., 1981; Creswell 2005). See Appendix I (p. 224) for conceptual table of theoretical framework for this study.

#### Learning, education and communication.

Individuals have the capacity to learn, as well as the ability (or tolerance) of being educated. There is a significant difference between the two concepts. Learning is defined as "the combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, meaning, beliefs and senses) – experiences social situations" (Jarvis, 2010, p. 39). These personal experiences are then "transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (...) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person" (Jarvis, 2010, p. 39).

Learning could be described as a process that is in life-long development; over their lifetime individuals never stop learning because in every social interaction or every activity people undertake there is new information that is processed and becomes part of the experiential history of individuals. As we learn, we *understand* others and *interpret* and *re-interpret* the experiences we live. All the italicized concepts in this paragraph are common to the communication phenomena: There is information being received and interpreted (understood) based on previous information and the context in which the information is emitted (interpretation). Both learning and communication occur constantly, they are part of being social.

While learning could happen simply as part of interacting with others and interpreting our surroundings, education is defined as "any institutionalized and planned

series of incidents, having a humanistic basis, directed towards the participants' learning and understanding" (Jarvis, 2010, p. 41). Education does not allow learners to freely choose what to learn: It is a deliberate, disciplined effort that expects certain learning outcomes from the students.

The educational process could thus be described as essentially an *intentional* communication process: the educator (emitter) elaborates messages (signs) that are imbued with intentionality, that is, the emitter expects that the message will be understood in certain ways. The process of asking questions or testing students is a check to ensure that the receiver of the information *got* the information as intended by the emitter. These messages can be deconstructed to uncover the emitter's intentionality.

Within linguistics, the study of signs is described by some authors as *semiotics* while others use the term *semiology*. While arguably both concepts cover the same theoretical ground, semiotics is based on the work of Charles Sanders Pierce's triadic concept of the sign (sign, object and interpretant) (Peirce, Houser, & Kloesel, 1998 [1893-1913]); while semiology is based on Ferdinand de Saussure's definition of sign as a binary construct (signified/signifier) (De Saussure, 1959 [1916]). This study will follow Barthes' definition of myth, which is based on the binary construction of the sign; therefore semiology will be the concept employed in this study. Semiology "aims to take in any system of signs (...); images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention (...): these constitute (...) systems of signification" (Barthes, 1967, p. 9).

The deconstruction of signs may be described as a forensic exercise, looking for traces of intention in the message by way of studying the choices of figures of speech and

content organization in verbal, written and non-verbal situations, which semiologists call generically *text*. A text is not "a crystal-clear structure interpretable in a single way; on the contrary, a text is a lazy machinery which forces its possible readers to do a part of its textual work" (Eco, 1981, p. 36). However, the text does *intend* to activate certain meanings: "The modalities of the interpretive operations—albeit multiple, and possibly infinite—are by no means indefinite and must be recognized as imposed by the semiotic strategies displayed by the text" (Eco, 1981, p. 36).

Based on the semiological theoretical framework and the concept of text, this research project treated the Canadian Citizenship Guides as texts and studied the actual content included in these guides by analyzing the use of different words and rhetorical strategies by the emitters of these texts. Given this framework, the analysis did not judge or suggest what content should or should not be included, but rather concentrated in identifying how the content that is included in the guides was presented to the reader.

#### Adult education: political, social and economic considerations.

While the definitions of learning and education are helpful to situate this research project and illustrate its strong connections with communication studies, it is also important to differentiate adult learning from adult education given that the Canadian Citizenship Guides are adult educational materials. "Adult learning is a cognitive process internal to the learner; it is what the learner does in a teaching-learning transaction, as opposed to what the educator does" (Brockett and Merriam, 1997, p. 6). Can one happen without the other? Since education is "concerned with specific learning outcomes and with the process of learning (...) to achieve those outcomes, (...) education cannot exist

without learning" (Brockett and Merriam, 1997, p. 6). On the contrary, learning "not only can exist outside the context of education but probably is most frequently found there" as "the incidental learning that is part of everyday life" (Brockett and Merriam, 1997, p. 6).

When outlining adult education, a starting point could be the definition created by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) at the request of member states and formally approved in 1976. It defined adult education as:

The entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development. (Selman, et al., 1998, p. 18)

The UNESCO definition points to a key outcome for this study: achieve behavioural change with a focus on social, economic and cultural development. This outcome raises an important question: Who determines the behavioural changes that are part of the process of educating adults? Caffarella and Merriam (1991) point at governments and policy makers: "Whatever the stated or actual purposes of a learning activity, adult education is a form of social intervention and very often 'begins as an effort to solve a problem'" (Caffarella & Merriam, 1991, p. 275). Caffarella and Merriam (1991) also note that: "The identification of 'problems' to which adult education attempts

to respond tends to be done by those who have a value perspective not necessarily shared by the target population. ...Programs are thus designed around learner deficiencies" (Caffarella & Merriam, 1991, p. 275).

The Canadian Citizenship Guides could be considered part of a government-driven effort to ensure a minimum standard when it comes to the knowledge a prospective Canadian citizen must have in order to be awarded full citizenship rights. The content of the guides are thus targeted to make sure any potential deficiency in knowledge is addressed before the candidate takes the Oath of Citizenship, which could be also described as an exercise in social engineering: Adult education "like any field of social practice, responds to the nature of the society within which it is functioning. ...the field of adult education in Canada reflects many features of our history as a people and our present social context" (Selman, et al., 1998, p. 33).

In this sense, while adult education projects may be influenced by federal policy-makers and government officials through funding initiatives, education in Canada is the jurisdiction of and mediated through the Provinces and Territories (Selman et al., 1988), with significant differences between regions. However, the Canadian Citizenship Guides are the unfiltered product of the Government of Canada and a mandatory read/test for any immigrant seeking citizenship regardless of the province of residence. In a way, it could be considered one of the few pan-Canadian adult education tools being actively used to achieve specific learning outcomes, in this case what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen.

#### Intercultural development: from marginalization to integration.

Immigrants to Canada come with their own values system and cultural backgrounds and upon arrival to their new country these values and customs may not necessarily be similar to the one that mainstream Canadians may share. Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) refer to the tension that occurs when our culture needs to adapt to another culture (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 26).

The tension of adapting to another culture versus maintaining one's own culture represents one of the fundamental dialectics of any approach to intercultural competence (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 26). This tension is explicitly recognized in the *Attitude Acculturation Model* developed by Berry, Kim, Young, and Bujaki (1989) who proposed a typology of four potential acculturation styles: *assimilation, integration, segregation* and *marginalization*. The assimilation style can be seen when individuals "value the absorption of identity into the host culture" while in integration "each group and its members maintain their identities but recognize the importance of sustaining the working collective in which alternative group identities need to be preserved" (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 27). In contrast, "when there is little interest in the status of other groups, an imposed segregation (...) may be pursued" (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 27). Finally, "when there is little interest in either taking on another cultural identity or the identity of one's own cultural origins, a sense of acculturative stress is anticipated resulting in a sense of marginalization" (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 27).

While the Attitude Acculturation Model may be useful to understand the challenges faced by immigrants immersed in a new culture, it does not fully account for

the actions of the host culture or the role the governments can play in that cultural dialectic. Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal (2010) propose an *Interactive Acculturation Model* (Bourhis et al., 2010) that integrates three components: "(1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community; (2) acculturation orientations adopted by the host community (...); (3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p. 379).

According to Bourhis et al. (2010), the results of the interactions of these three components can be somewhat affected by government policies and the authors propose a model that shows a continuum of policy options that governments in Western countries can adopt to facilitate immigrant acculturation, each policy type anchored in a different type of ideology (Bourhis et al., 2010). On one end of this continuum are policies based on *pluralism ideology*, in which "the modern state expects that immigrants will adopt the public values of the host country" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p.373). While the immigrant is expected to adhere to what the authors call public values, "[pluralism] also upholds that the state has no mandate in defining or regulating the private values of its citizens" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p.373). The respect for the personal domains can go as far as establishing public funding to support the efforts by ethnocultural minorities to sustain their language and culture (Bourhis et al., 2010). The Canadian Multiculturalism Act is cited as an example of pluralism ideology in public policy (Bourhis et al., 2010).

The next category in the continuum is what the authors call *civic ideology*, which is defined as "official state policy of non-intervention in the private values of specific groups of individuals including those of immigrant and ethnocultural minorities." While

in this case the government does not provide funding or support to minority cultural groups, it still "does respect the right of individuals to organize collectively in order to maintain or promote their respective group distinctiveness based on cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or religious affiliation" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p.373). The authors present Great Britain as a country that adopts a civic ideology in public policy.

The next category is the *assimilation ideology*, which is defined as an ideology that "expects immigrants to abandon their own cultural and linguistic distinctiveness for the sake of adopting the culture and values of the dominant group constituting the core of the nation state" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p.373). The authors explain that while certain private behaviours are accepted, the focus of government intervention permeates into the private domain and may include laws that "limit manifestations of immigrant linguistic, cultural, or religious distinctiveness in public domains" (Bourhis et al., 2010, p.373). The policies adopted by the United States of America in the mid 1950's are signalled by the authors as an example of assimilation ideology.

Lastly, the *ethnist ideology* covers policies that range from the expectation that immigrants will relinquish their value and culture in favour of the host country's cultural mainstream to a separation of those immigrants without giving them the possibility of acquiring the host country's citizenship (Bourhis et al., 2010, pp. 374-375). According to this authors Germany, Israel and Japan are examples of countries that adopt ethnist ideology in their immigration policies (Bourhis et al., 2010).

For the purpose of this study, I will examine what type of acculturation policy may be embedded in each of the analyzed Canadian Citizenship Guides, and if there are changes in the type of policy through time.

#### Citizenship education: beyond civics education.

This section provides definitions about citizenship education and describes the contemporary conditions affecting the concept of citizenship, as well as the challenges in the development of the notion of Canadian citizenship.

#### Defining citizenship education.

The next element of this theoretical framework is the definition of citizenship education as part of adult education efforts in Canada. Linking adult education (specifically citizenship education) and agency in civil society, some authors "have proposed a very broad role for education, one which borders on advocacy. From such perspectives, citizenship education does not culminate merely in civics education; rather, civics education comprises a component of a broader view of citizenship education" (Poonwassie & Poonwassie, 2001, p. 191). Regarding the distinction between civics and citizenship education, Russell (2002) explains that the concept civics "usually refers to the study of a democratic government, its political structure, its judicial system and government institutions" (Russell, 2002, p. 140). In this sense, civics "is focused on the principles of democracy and the need for informed citizens who exercise their rights and responsibilities (by voting, obeying the law, respecting the rights of others, and being loyal to their country)" (Russell, 2002, p. 140). On the contrary, for Russell (2002) citizenship education "goes beyond civics to include Canadian studies, human rights, and multicultural and anti-racist education" (...) [and it also comprises] "voluntarism as an element of one's responsibility to fellow citizens and the community" (Russell, 2002, p. 140). Moreover, Russell (2002) distinguishes that "as a legal term, 'citizenship' is a term of identification rather than of action. [But] as a political term, 'citizenship' means active commitment. It means responsibility. It means making a difference in one's community, in one's society, in one's country" (Russell, 2002, p. 134). On the same vein, Schugurensky (2006) affirms that citizenship education "must address the four dimensions of citizenship (...): status [issues of membership], identity [issues of feelings of belonging], civic virtues [values, dispositions, and behaviours], and agency [issues of engagement and political efficacy]" (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 76).

#### Economic, social and cultural basis of citizenship.

The reach of citizenship education is strongly linked to the views about the concept of *citizenship*. Adamoski, Chunn, and Menzies (2002) describe that "citizenship is an inescapably contested, unruly, fractionalized, and internally differentiated construct that has carried a matrix of dissonant connotations throughout 'western' history" (Adamoski, Chunn, & Menzies, 2002, p. 21). Citizenship is a concept anchored in a specific time: "Lacking a fixed meaning, the citizenship concept always requires specification in terms of its use by historical participants in varying historical contexts. Similarly, this concept has no definition that is fixed for all time" (Adamoski, et al., 2002, p. 21). In this sense, the concept of citizenship is part of an ongoing debate that continues today. Why the debate? For Hébert and Sears (2004), citizenship is strongly linked to "who we are, how we live together, and what kind of people our children are to become. (...) There are many competing proposals about what is necessary for good citizenship (...) [and] varies across time, cultures, genders, and political philosophies" (Hébert & Sears, 2004, p.2).

The changing character of citizenship is described by Cogan (1998) who argues that with the phenomena of globalization not only goods and services are moving across borders in large numbers: Individuals and their families are also criss-crossing continents as part of a more mobile workforce. Cogan explains that the traditional definition of citizenship includes the concepts of government functions, rights and duties and national identity with five basic attributes: identity, enjoyment of rights, fulfilment of corresponding obligations, a degree of interest in public affairs, and acceptance of basic societal rules (Cogan, 1998, pp. 2-3). According to Cogan, these traditional elements of citizens are inadequate in the current era of globalization.

Kubow, Grossman, and Ninomiya (1998) propose a new definition of citizenship called *multidimensional citizenship* which is intended to describe "the complex, multifaceted conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education that will be needed if citizens are to cope with the challenges we will face in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" (Kubow, Grossman, & Ninomiya, 1998, p. 115). Kubow et al. (1998) further explain that the concept of multidimensional citizenship has four key dimensions: a) personal (developing a personal capacity to a civic ethic); b) social (the ability to work and interact with other people in a variety of settings and contexts); c) spatial (overlapping of local, regional, national and multinational areas), and d) temporal (not losing sight of history and reflect upon the future).

#### Development of the notion of Canadian citizenship.

Canada does not seem exempt of these changing dynamics and complexity of what constitutes to be Canadian and the concept of Canadian citizenship. Selman, et al. (1998) reflect on how difficult it is to summarize what elements constitute the core

cultural aspects of what is to be Canadian: "Canadians have been struggling with that question throughout their history as a people, in the light of both the changing ethnic and cultural mix resulting from continuous immigration, and (...) the influence (...) [of] the United States of America" (Selman, et al., 1998, p. 43). On the same vein, Adamoski et al. (2002) recall that Canadian citizenship was "a moving target, continually reinventing itself" (Adamoski et al., 2002, p. 22). The Canadian citizenship has been affected by the dynamics associated to "localism and regionalism; the triadic geometry of indigenous, francophone and Anglophone heritage; the pluralistic forces of mass immigration; the geographic impediments to systems of transportation and communication; the myriad rifts borne of social class, gender, race, and culture" (Adamoski et al., 2002, p. 22).

The fact that Canada was formed as a Confederation of diverse peoples and continues to have large immigration flows made the definition of what constitutes to be Canadian especially challenging. Russell (2002) summarizes the challenge by looking at the different Canadian perspectives on diversity that affected Canadian citizenship and citizenship education over time. Russell first denounces both the *assimilationist perspective* that considered that "to be Canadian was to be of British or French origin [and] everyone else was expected to assimilate into either of those two majority groups" (Russell, 2002, pp. 138-139) and the *bicultural perspective* that showed a "somewhat caution acceptance of the 'other founding nation', but it did not extend beyond to any widespread acceptance of 'others', as those of non-British and non-French heritage" (Russell, 2002, p. 139). Russell then describes the *multicultural perspective*, shaped by the "policies of multiculturalism (...) [that] introduced an openness to a diversity of

perspectives that has facilitated the inclusion of a range of perspectives (gender; disability, etc.) in addition to ethnicity and race" (Russell, 2002, p. 140).

Some authors argue that official Canadian multiculturalism is at best superficial and could be construed as means of compliance rather than a true acceptance of cultural differences. In this sense, Guo (2006) brings other researchers to contend that while Canada endorses pluralism, it is only at a superficial level: "We tend to prefer 'pretend pluralism', which means that we 'tolerate rather than embrace differences'" (Guo, 2006, p. 203). "Whereas minor differences may be gently affirmed on depoliticized and decontextualized forms such as food, dance, and festivities, substantive differences that tend to challenge hegemony (...) are usually perceived by many as deficient, deviant, pathological, or otherwise divisive" (Guo, 2006, p. 203).

Looking at Canadian citizenship in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Hébert and Wilkinson (2002) argue that the concept of citizenship in Canada is in *transformation* and introduce the term *multiple citizenship*: "(...) there are various interpretations and multiple identifications that are compatible with democratic citizenship rather than a single, undifferentiated notion of citizenship (...). Today, identity is plural, each person belonging to many groups and defining himself/herself in these multiple belongings" (Hébert and Wilkinson, 2002, pp. 3-4).

Even if citizenship must cater to regional and international conditions, Canada is still one country and therefore the theoretical—and practical—challenge is to find a shared Canadian citizenship. In this sense, when developing Canadian Citizenship Guides, the Canadian government had to decide what it means to be a Canadian citizen and then build a narrative to explain this in an articulated manner. This exercise is what Barthes

calls a myth (a theoretical conceptualization of myth will be provided in the next section) and the task in this study was to deconstruct the myth by unveiling the semiological underpinnings behind the various Canadian Citizenship Guides.

#### Semiology: myth and rhetoric.

The previous sections constitute a review of key theoretical elements in adult education, intercultural development and citizenship education within the educational discipline that is the field for this study. This section is centered in the semiological theoretical underpinnings that will assist in constructing the narratives present in each of the studied Canadian Citizenship Guide, providing a summary of theoretical concepts –social semiosis, myth and rhetoric–that were employed to perform the text analysis of the guides. This section also describes the functionality of the semantic analysis software *Tropes* employed to perform the semantic descriptions of the guides.

#### The semiological approach as method to this study.

The semiological approach as method in this study could be described as forensic: It looks at messages (written, verbal, and gestural) emitted with the intention of transmitting meanings, employing a structuralist lens to *unpack* those units of meaning. Semiology could be classified as a structural theory set in the realm of the emitter (in this case the Government of Canada); therefore, this study focused on how the Canadian Citizenship Guides act as proxy of the *policy intentions* of the Government of Canada as the emitter of the guides, without addressing if the intended effects were achieved in the receiver, the readers of the guides.

The social semiosis paradigm developed by Verón (1993), who distinguishes between the production of information and its recognition, affirming that there is a grammar—defined as a set of rules—for the production of language, as well as a grammar for its recognition by the receiver (Verón, 1993, p. 189) is employed in this study. Even though it is impossible to know how a specific individual will understand a message, there are elements in the discourse that make it possible to attain certain level of common understanding; that is, the emitter of information is usually at least partially successful in conveying a message to individuals without having to know what exact recognition grammar the receiver is using. More importantly, emitter and receiver need an historically-mediated context in order to make sense of the information produced and decoded: When they share the same time in history there are better chances of overlap, while in cases where the text have been produced in older times the chances of significant differences between emitter's intention and receiver's understanding increase. That overlapping space between the production and recognition grammars in a historical context is what Verón (1993) calls the social semiosis.

The producer of information has the challenge and at the same time the ability of using the rules of production in a manner that may generate the intended effect in the receiver; which means it must create an *ideal* (abstract) figure of a receiver that is embedded in the narrative and is historically situated. Specifically, it can be argued following Verón's theory that the Canadian Citizenship Guides construct an *ideal student* in terms of what the reader should know about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a new Canadian citizen.

In semiology there is an important distinction between the denotative and connotative levels of language. The denotative meaning of words is essentially each individual word, image or gesture taken in isolation: They have a narrow meaning, which simplistically can be equated to a dictionary definition of a word. The connotative level is much richer, and it can be described as a set of strategies that the emitter of a message uses in order to convey complex thoughts. In this sense, an emitter "performs two basic operations to send a message: Among the repertoire of units composing the code of the system he *selects* those that will compound the message, and he *combines* the selected units in a certain way within the message" (Verón, 1971, p. 64). The connotative uses the denotative level as its springboard: "The connotative meaning of the message, i.e., its meta-communicational dimension, depends then on the selective and combinatorial options at the disposal of communicators" (Verón, 1971, p. 64).

Those in charge of developing the Canadian Citizenship Guides are then selecting alternatives and combining them with the aim of achieving certain educational goals. A semiological analysis allows a *reverse engineering* of the process from the emitter standpoint looking at the semantic choices made and those that were omitted: "Any message determines its connotative meaning in a given situation in relation to other messages that could have been transmitted instead, and in relation to different combinations of the same elements integrating the message" (Verón, 1971, p. 66). Barthes (1972) also contends that texts are historically situated and that it is at the connotative level that what he calls a myth conveys its communicative intention.

#### The semiological concept of myth.

When studying the Canadian Citizenship Guides as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be a Canadian citizen, this voice is historically situated and at the same time that teaches about citizenship it builds an ideal image of what it means to be a Canadian citizen at that particular point in time. This operation of idealization can be called a myth, "a mode of signification" (Barthes, 1972, p. 107).

According to Barthes (1972), myth is a form of connotation based on two systems one upon the other one: "A linguistic system, the language (...), which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system; and myth itself, (...) [a] metalanguage, because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first" (Barthes, 1972, pp. 113-114). Barthes describes the linguistic structure of the myth as composed by a *signifier* and *signified* that combined become a *sign*. This *sign* functions as the *signifier* of the myth, which combined with a *signified* creates this more complex sign called *myth* or *signification* (Barthes, 1972, pp. 113-115).

The signifier of the myth contains the sign. As a sign, it postulates a memory, a past and a comparative order. However, when it becomes the signifier of the myth, its historicity is emptied to give way to a new signified for the myth. In Barthes' words, the signified in the myth is "the motivation which causes the myth to be uttered" (Barthes, 1972, p. 117). A signifier can have multiple signified, and that is how the full myth is built: For example, the Canadian flag can be shown alone, on a military boat, or as the backdrop of a picture of an ethnically diverse group; each choice creates a different myth.

As opposed to a hero-worship typology as could be seen in Greek mythology, the semiological concept of myth is presented in a manner that naturalizes (or masks) the operation of creating a politically and historically charged narrative. According to Barthes (1972), the myth has the task of giving a historically situated *communicative* intention a natural justification and making contingency appear eternal, by replacing meaning using *rhetorical operations*.

#### Rhetorical operationalization of the semiological concept of myth.

While the concept of myth could be considered a robust theoretical framework to understand the historical intentions that the authors of Canadian Citizenship Guides may have had, this framework has a methodological challenge. Barthes (1972) was notoriously vague when it came to unpacking his notion of myth, but he did present the myth as a rhetorical operation. Rhetorical operations can be perceived as natural for a person fairly acquainted with a language, but it is in reality a subtle and complex operation of substitution. According to Eco (1981), it is "at the textual level that rhetorical figures operate by 'killing' senses. (...) If signs were not endowed with a certain text oriented meaning, (...) [rhetorical operations] would not work, and (...) would only say that a thing is a thing" (Eco, 1981, p. 37). Eco (1981) provides an example of this operation: "Language, at its zero-degree, believes that a lion is an animal and that a king is a human being; the metaphor "the king of the forest" adds to 'lion' a human property and forces 'king' to accept an animal quality", however this operation is possible "because both 'king' and 'lion' pre-exist in the lexicon as the functives of two pre-coded sign functions" (Eco, 1981, p. 37).

A Belgian collective based in the University of Liège known as Groupe μ developed a theoretical framework for the modern utilization of rhetorical analysis of narrative, which was employed in this study as the operationalization tool of the mythical analysis. The Groupe μ has a similar theoretical conceptualization of the communication process than Barthes. According to the Groupe μ, "an *emitter* sends a *message* to a *receiver* by use of a *channel*. The message is *coded* and refers to a *context*" (Dubois, J., Edeline, F., Klinkenberg, J. M., Minguet, P., Pire, F., & Trinon, H., 1981, p. 17). For Groupe μ, "the message is nothing other than the result of five basic factors: the *addresser* and the *addressee* entering into *contact* by means of an intermediary *code* by way of a *referent*" (Dubois et al., 1981, p. 17).

The task of rhetorical analysis is to take a text, which is the highest level of semiological articulation, and separate its contents into smaller units until there is no more possible meaning to be extracted. Dubois et al. (1981) achieve this by establishing the absolute minimal units within signifier and signified, placing each minimal unit at different levels of articulation, and developing a categorization of *metaboles* which are *figures of rhetoric* that change the expression or content in a text. Dubois et al. (1981) offer the following classification of types of metaboles, and examples of figures:

Table 1 Types of metaboles

	Expression (form, signifier)	Content (meaning, signified)	
Words (and less)	Metaplasms	Metasememes	Figures: Synecdoche, metaphor, metonymy, oxymoron
Sentences (and more)	Metataxes	Metalogisms	Figures: Litotes, hyperbole, repetition, antithesis, euphemism, allegory, parable, fable, irony,

|--|

(Adapted from Dubois et al., 1981, pp. 27 and 45)

Since according to Barthes (1972) the signified gives meaning to the myth, the rhetorical analysis of this study focused on the identification of *metasememes* and *metalogisms* in the content (meaning, signified) dimension at the word or sentence level, as a tool to capture the mythical operations present in the Canadian Citizenship Guides. However, as Dubois et al. (1981) explain, there is a "relative indeterminacy" in the rhetorical analysis since "a particular decoder in a particular context has the choice of several routes" (Dubois et al., 1981, p. 222).

In addition, this study employed the concept of point of view to aid the analysis of the representation of the narrator in the text (Dubois et al., 1981, p. 202). This concept aligns with the theoretical framework proposed by Verón (1993) and Barthes (1972) in terms of the embedding an enunciator within the text.

The texts may present an "objective narration" with a "view from outside" and a narration "in the third person where the narrator manifests objectivity by not revealing his presence" (Dubois et al., 1981, p. 202), an "intervening narration" with an "omniscient view" and a narration that "embraces all the minds (...), all intentions, all motives, always and everywhere" (Dubois et al., 1981, pp. 202-203), or a "first-person discourse" with a "view along with" and a narration that "does not make the image of its narrator explicit, but makes it more implicit" using strategies such as a diary, a letter, an interior monologue (Dubois et al., 1981, pp. 202-203).

#### Semantic description with data analysis computer program

Advances in computer science allows for a standardized parsing of the text using text analysis software. According to Creswell (2005), "a qualitative data analysis computer program is a program that (...) facilitates searching through your data and locating specific text or words" (Creswell, 2005, p. 235).

For this study, I used the semantic analysis software *Tropes* that was created by Semantic Knowledge, which is a consortia integrated by French, Spanish and Portuguese companies with expertise in textual and semantic analysis geared towards governments and large corporations (Semantic Knowledge, 2012). The consortia offered a free version for individual use that was downloadable in their website (http://www.semantic-knowledge.com/download.htm).

The *Tropes* software has been designed to provide individuals performing content analysis with a tool that could be used to "accelerate your reading rate, analyze in-depth and objectively, extract relevant information, classify automatically, therefore structure information" (Semantic Knowledge, 2012).

One challenge for an automated semantic engine is the ability to detect and properly classify the natural ambiguity of language, both at the grammatical and semantic levels. The *Tropes* programmers argue that they have addressed this issue by building a series of "Artificial Intelligence problem-solving algorithms" which they claim provide accurate results with a minimal number of potential errors (Semantic Knowledge, 2012).

The semantic engine of the software operates in six stages: "Sentence and Proposition Hashing, Ambiguity Solving (with respect to the words of the text), Identification of Equivalent classes (senses), Statistics, detection of Bundles and

Episodes, Detection of the Most Characteristic Parts of text, Layout and display of the result" (Semantic Knowledge, 2012).

While Semantic Knowledge publicises their software as a full text analysis computer program, in the context of this study *Tropes* was used primarily as a data aggregator, specifically categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors; and the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives. Most of the interpretation of the six Canadian Citizenship Guides was done by the researcher based on the above-mentioned data. The Artificial Intelligence algorithm contained in *Tropes* was used only to locate the most frequent words used as actants and actors, without making use of the more complex levels of text analysis that the software also provides under the label of *scenarios*, which involve references and complex word relations grouped into topics and hierarchies.

Ultimately, it can be argued that *Tropes* improved the quality of the analysis in this study because it performed the same search in all the texts, thereby ensuring consistency in retrieving relevant information. To ensure that the *Tropes* software would access the texts with the least potential amount of errors, every studied Canadian citizenship guide was converted to a simple universal text file (.txt).

#### Related Research

The search of related research was implemented through the ProQuest platform powered by University of Manitoba Libraries and employed the following five databases: Eric; CBCA Complete; PsycINFO; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I, and Dissertations & Theses @ University of Manitoba.

The advanced search of related research studies requested peer-reviewed materials published in English, including the word *Canada*. The search criteria employed 11 combinations of words, including: immigrants; citizenship and immigrants; Canadian citizenship guides, citizenship legislation; citizenship policy; government of Canada and citizenship; Discover Canada citizenship guide; A look at Canada citizenship guide; How to become a Canadian Citizen citizenship guide; A guide to Canadian citizenship guide, and Becoming a Canadian citizen.

The search yielded results from various disciplinary fields that I organized in two topics: a) official citizenship documents (Wilton, 2006; Wilton, 2010; Chapnick, 2011; Quirt, 2003), and b) Canadian citizenship and citizenship education (Bloemraad, 2000; Rummens, 2002; Karim, 2002; Kordan, 1997; Jenson, 2002; Osborne, 2002; Sears, 1997; Derwing & Thomson, 2005; Fleming, 2010; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Derwing, Munro & Jamieson, 1998; Derwing & Joshee, 2005). *See Appendix II (p. 225) for conceptual table of related research included in this study*.

# Official citizenship documents.

The search strategy detailed above generated four significant studies that focus on official Citizenship documents: Wilton (2006); Wilton (2010); Chapnick (2011), and Quirt (2003). Wilton's work (2006, 2010) presents a semiological approach using the Critical Discourse Analysis to study one Canadian Citizenship Guide with the objective of uncovering the values projected by the state, but her analysis does not provide a comparison of texts over time. Chapnick's work does provide a historical account of the Canadian Citizenship Guides but he does not implement a semiological text analysis,

focusing instead on a high-level morphological content description. Quirt's work shows a rhetorical approach to the text analysis of official documents, but in her case it was with Canadian citizenship application forms, and not the Canadian Citizenship Guides. In this study, I combined these approaches by implementing a semiological approach based on the study of rhetorical figures present in Canadian Citizenship Guides over time.

Wilton (2006) studied the citizenship guide *A Look at Canada* (2004) and the publication *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (2002). Wilton employs immigration policies as a theoretical anchor for the study and pays particular attention to how the notion of immigrant constructs the *us* (Canadian) and the *other* (alien). The existence of the *other* is useful since it helps to frame who is a Canadian, and official government documents provide clues about what that ideal new immigrant should do to become Canadian. Wilton's main methodology is the Critical Discourse Analysis, in which texts are examined for linguistic, cultural, social and political implications. Using van Dijk (1991) as a reference, Wilton looks at what is being said and how it is said in both official documents, summarizing her finding in five categories: a) representing Canadians; b) images of the Nation; c) Canadian history; d) Canadian society, and e) citizens and the State.

Wilton's approach is similar to the one this research project used (analysis of text), although Wilton's method does not include rhetorical analysis. Wilton also analyzes concurrent documents but does not provide an historical comparison of the evolution of those texts longitudinally.

More recently, Wilton (2010) used the same theoretical framework and documents to study the 'state culture', the values projected by the state included in

policies and publications over time. In the study, Wilton reinforces the convenience of using documents produced for the end-user (new immigrants and prospective citizens), as opposed to performing the same critical discourse analysis on speeches and policy documents. The author argues that the end-user documents are the ultimate expression of policy direction, and as such a more interesting and rich area of research. By applying the Critical Discourse Analysis model to *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* and *A Look at Canada* with the lens of *state culture*, Wilton identifies the following four common themes: a) Canada is comprised of immigrants, and it is unified by its diversity; b) Canada is a country of regions that are divided; c) Canada is a bilingual country, and d) Canada is a multicultural country. For Wilton, these themes provide an image of Canada void of actual social and cultural conflicts.

Wilton's research is a useful backdrop reference to this proposed study and reinforces the initial premise of this research project that it is possible that the analysis of Canadian Citizenship Guides can uncover the official voice of the Canadian Government over time regarding what it means to be a Canadian citizen. But as previously mentioned this study has a narrower focus and Wilton's studies missed important changes to the Canadian Citizenship Guide that occurred in 2009.

Aside from Wilton, the other research found in the literature review process that analyzes Canadian Citizenship Guides is written by Chapnick (2011). This author uses an historical perspective to provide a description of the evolution of Canadian Citizenship Guides from 1947 to 2009. Chapnick argues that there is very little research, aside from the work of Wilton. Following a significant modification to the Canadian Citizenship Guide implemented in 2009 by the Conservative Party of Canada led federal government

and the high level of debate and public interest that surrounded this change, Chapnick's main research interest was to gauge how partisan the changes to the Canadian Citizenship Guides have been and how radical the changes to the guide in 2009 were in respect to the history of those documents. Chapnick concludes that it is very hard to demonstrate that the political affiliation of a government played a significant role in the content changes of guides over time. He points out that more radical changes occurred between the Canadian Citizenship Guides developed by the governments led by Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chrétien (both leaders of the Liberal Party of Canada) than between any other guides.

Chapnick's historical account of the Canadian Citizenship Guides provides a good research background to this study. However, his approach to content analysis, which can be described as a high-level morphological content description that looks for headlines and topics, does not utilize semiological or theme-analysis tools. The usefulness of Chapnick's work for this research study is the historical listing of citizenship guides. On the other hand Wilton provides a more similar approach to content analysis than the one presented in this study, but it is not diachronic, choosing specific guides contemporary to her writing. In this study, I have combined both approaches to generate a more in-depth content analysis of the Canadian Citizenship Guides within their historical context.

Finally, Quirt (2003) was interested in how the federal government portraits national values in Canadian citizenship application forms and utilized rhetorical analysis tools to study these documents, focusing on the *metaphor of biculturalism* (understood as British and French heritage). In the analysis, Quirt pays particular attention to the *Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Application for Canadian Citizenship - Adults (18 years of age and older): Under Subsection 5(1) and its* 

companion set of instructions that direct users to "choose between service in 'English or French' and are specifically instructed to 'please check one' of the options given" (Quirt, 2003, para.8). For Quirt, "on one level, these alternatives represent the very real capacity of the Canadian nation-state to provide service in English or French. At a more ideological level, however, such categorization also assumes that individuals will fit into one of these binaries or the other - but not both" (Quirt, 2003, para.8). Quirt concludes that the forms are deeply bi-cultural, and reinforces the almost parallel existence of English and French Canada, by framing them as two separate entities: "We walk away from the Canadian citizenship application with the understanding that we can ally ourselves with only English or French (...) (never mind Aboriginal, Latino/a, South Asian, or any of a host of other identities)" (Quirt, 2003, para.17).

While the focus of Quirt's research and the materials analyzed are different than the corpus chosen for this study, Quirt is the only author found in the literature review process that openly uses a rhetorical approach to text analysis of Canadian citizenship, although the methodological approach chosen by Quirt is based on the work of Dorothy Smith (1990) instead of the semiological approach of Roland Barthes (1972).

# Canadian citizenship and citizenship education in Canada.

The literature review presented below includes relevant studies from various disciplines about key emerging research topics related to factors shaping Canadian citizenship, and adult and citizenship education strategies for prospective citizens in Canada. While the selected documents do not study Canadian Citizenship Guides, they

do address relevant issues as the object of study to understand the context in which the Canadian Citizenship Guides were produced.

Defining citizenship as the membership in a socio-political community is too restrictive according to Bloemraad (2000), especially because globalization has increased the number of permanent and temporary residents which has resulted in an expansion of rights for residents. Given this societal change, the author proposes a new definition of citizenship based on four dimensions: a) legal status (interactions between individual and state); b) rights (activities that governments only grant to those who are citizens, most notably voting); c) participation (individual activity in community life, from volunteerism to active membership in interest groups), and d) identity (how a diverse community can still work together for the common interest of the nation). For Bloemraad, identity is the most complex form of modern citizenship and multiculturalism is a key component of this view of identity, and an inescapable reality: Globalization and active migratory policies are creating multicultural societies, and the state must then adjust the way it defines citizenship.

Multiculturalism is one of those notions that modern states need to address. Multicultural societies present the challenge of identifying what keeps a social collective together; what values can be shared in pursuit of social cohesion within a nation-state. When it comes to connecting citizenship and multiculturalism, one of the central concerns in the citizenship literature in Canada seems to be how legal citizenship is transcended by a participatory citizenship that is active and shared (Rummens, 2002, Karim, 2002; Kordan, 1997; Jenson, 2002). This participatory citizenship includes a definition of citizenship where people have a sense of belonging and attachment to

Canada, and think of themselves as being Canadian, including the notion of multiculturalism as a strength, not a weakness.

The contradiction between an official recognition of the value of multiculturalism and the need to preserve each individual's heritage and culture while at the same time there is an establishment of a set of common values that will constitute the core of a shared Canadian Citizenship ethos is explained by Rummens (2002). Rummens suggests that this shift towards multiculturalism as official policy should be met by changes in research focus: From answering What is a Canadian? to instead exploring What it means to be a Canadian. For Rummens, there is an intersection between nationality or citizenship and ethno-cultural identities, which would commit to a participatory citizenship based on a foundation of shared values. Rummens' view of Canadian Citizenship includes values such as: a) individual freedom of thought and expression; b) appreciation and respect for difference; c) peaceful co-existence; d) the rule of law; e) pursuit of equality; f) support for human rights; g) social 'safety net' provisions; h) sustainable economic development, and i) negotiation and compromise, all within a parliamentary democracy.

In the year leading up to the passage of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Karim (2002) studies the discourse of six Canadian newspapers and in his interpretation newspapers tend to replicate a *hegemonic* view of society that is the prevalent opinions of the dominant elite. According to this author, the narratives on these publications seem to reflect an idea of multiculturalism as promoting divisions in the nation. Karim points out that this negative view of multiculturalism was at odds with a competing narrative

emerging from the very own newspaper stories that showcased Canada as a multicultural, diverse and tolerant society.

The policy goals set out by the Department of Canadian Heritage of the Government of Canada as part of the implementation of the Multiculturalism Act aimed at maintaining social cohesion are built around the false the premise that multiculturalism conduces to fragmentation of values, according to Kordan (1997). Consequently, the Government must counter-balance by a continuous process of the creation of values that must be accepted by all. In Kordan's view (1997), such government effort is unnecessary because a multicultural society is one that accepts others, encourages participation and more importantly celebrates differences. Accepting others, encouraging participation and celebrating differences are themselves what could constitute the shared values that will maintain Canadian cohesiveness.

Can cultural diversity undermine social cohesion? A balanced approach between homogeneity and diversity can result in a more diverse society that still can find common values and manage sensitively their cultural, linguistic and economic differences, as argued by Jenson (2002). Jenson discusses five dimensions of the concept of social cohesion, together with its opposite dimensions which could cause social disruption: a) Belonging (Isolation); b) Inclusion (Exclusion); c) Participation (non-Involvement); d) Recognition (Rejection), and e) Legitimacy (Illegitimacy).

It can be said that one of the salient aspects of citizenship education in Canada is that it is an area in which the federal government has direct authority over content and, to certain degree, curriculum development. While education has been—and continues to be—a provincial jurisdictional matter, citizenship education—especially with immigrant and

adult learners taking English (or French) as Alternative Language Courses—is an opportunity for the federal government to establish a pan-Canadian curriculum fostering a single view of what constitutes the core elements of Canadian citizenship.

The dialectic relationship between citizenship and the state is the focus of Osborne's (2002) research between the theory and practice of citizenship and the exercise of hegemony. This is where theorists merge whereby Osborne's reference to hegemony has linkages with Barthes' (1972) definition of myth since both refer to the official discourse as a source for understanding how those in power attempt to communicate messages about their ideal of society.

Maintaining a consistent myth is critical for a cohesive identity, and the federal government influenced citizenship education in Canada with various programs over time with the goal of creating an overarching national identity (Sears, 1997). From 1940 to 1960 that effort included the creation of booklets and filmstrips aimed at immigrants and distributed through the classrooms. In the 1970s and 1980s the focus was on establishing provincial-federal agreements that involved citizenship topics training for English and French instructors. The other avenue chosen by the federal government was the use of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board to produce educational materials aimed at immigrants and those learning one of the official languages.

The use of English as an Additional Language classes with new immigrants as a place to introduce citizenship education was the next approach (Derwing & Thomson, 2005). Derwing and Thomson (2005) surveyed the instructors delivering the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program across Canada, in relation to citizenship education concepts included in LINC teacher resource materials. The authors'

findings show that class discussions were the preferred method to introduce citizenship concepts to new immigrants, but a great majority of instructors felt that while including citizenship education in the LINC program was important, it did not replace the need for further instruction that dealt specifically with the acquisition of Canadian citizenship through the successful completion of the citizenship test.

Derwing and Thomson's work seem to validate the approach suggested here regarding the connection between official citizenship documents, including study materials, and citizenship education for adult learners. The authors were more interested in the impact of the educational materials prepared by the government in language classes for immigrants, and did not study the actual construction of an ideal new citizen as this research did.

The impact of English as an Additional Language classes on the construction of a new national identity at the individual level was examined by Fleming (2010). The most important finding from the interviews was that most respondents highlighted the importance of obtaining Canadian citizenship to gain better access to citizenship rights rather than focus on citizenship responsibilities (Fleming, 2010).

Citizenship education is conceived as a continuum or progression by Sears and Hughes (1996). At one end is a normative view of citizenship education, with citizens attached by virtue of responsibilities and rights. In the other end of the spectrum there is an activist citizen that engages in community life and fully participates in civic life. Through surveys and interviews, Sears and Hughes conclude that citizenship education is trending toward the activist end of the continuum.

The importance that permanent residents give to acquiring citizenship is highlighted in a study by Derwing, Munro, and Jamieson (1998). Telephone interviews with instructors that provide citizenship education classes to Canadian citizenship applicants revealed that eighty-one percent of the respondents reported that most of their students had lived in Canada between 2 and 5 years, and that most students apply for citizenship and take the test as soon as they are eligible.

A new written multiple-choice test based on the Canadian Citizenship Guides was introduced by the government in 1995 to replace the meeting with a citizenship judge who would ask questions about the intentions of the candidate and his/her knowledge of the materials provided when applying. The new multiple-choice exam was studied by Derwing and Joshee (2005) who analyzed data from intercept surveys to citizenship candidates immediately after completing their written test. Those taking the test were disappointed because the test was deemed "too easy" and there was no opportunity to include the applicant's personal views on the meaning of Canadian citizenship. According to the authors, while there were some issues with arbitrary behaviours on the part of the judges, the process gave future citizens and opportunity to share what becoming a Canadian citizen meant to them. Economic reasons seem to be involved in this change: With the standardized test, the government was now able to process double the amount of applications for the same cost, and also the nature of the test-which encourages memorization that can be facilitated outside the classroom-led to significant cuts in funding for adult education citizenship programs (Derwing and Joshee, 2005).

The authors argue that the current governmental view on immigration is based purely on economic basis, and therefore devalues the concept of citizenship education for adults and the entire process of citizenship acquisition. Interaction between state policies is at the heart of the challenges surrounding adult citizenship education, according to Derwing and Joshee (2005) who highlight three policy areas that directly shape the type of educational materials and the content of adult citizenship education in Canada: immigration, multiculturalism and naturalization. Immigration and citizenship policies are also part of the backdrop for the mythical analysis of the Canadian Citizenship Guides in this study.

# Chapter III

# Methodology

The research paradigm for this study is presented in this chapter. The plan for the data organization, search and selection of materials for this study, as well as the operationalization of the methodology as applied to the data are introduced in this chapter. Included also in the chapter are the criteria for quality, limitations of the method, and the assumptions and biases of the researcher.

# Research Paradigm

Based on the purpose of the study and the research questions, this study could be considered to fall under the category of *analytical research*, "a mode of inquiry in which events, ideas, concepts, or artifacts are investigated by analyzing documents, records, recordings, and other media. Like qualitative studies (...), contextual information is very important to accurate interpretation of the data" (McMillan, 2012, p. 15).

Within the broader category of analytical studies, this research could be classified as *historical analysis*, where "there is a systematic gathering and criticism of documents, records, and artifacts to provide a description and interpretation of past events or persons" (McMillan, 2012, p. 15).

Historical research not only can provide descriptions and interpretations of past events but could also offer some explanation to current matters. In this sense, historical research is "the collection and objective study of documents and artifacts related to a past event, often including a description of patterns or trends, in an attempt to explain a phenomenon or test a hypothesis with present-day relevance" (Suter, 2006, p. 325). To develop historical research, it is imperative to obtain trustworthy, authentic documents for description and analysis: "Historical accuracy requires that many sources of information be primary sources – the original documents … that shed light on history" (Suter, 2006, p. 326).

# **Data Organization**

This Data Matrix provides a means of organizing the research questions and related data:

Table 2 Data matrix for research questions

Research Questions	Data	
- What narrative of a	Canadian Citizenship Guides.	
Canadian citizen is	Political and social context, and relevant	
constructed in each	immigration and citizenship legislation and trends	
Canadian Citizenship	contemporary to each Canadian Citizenship Guide.	
Guide through narratives		
about Canada, adaption to		
Canadian culture, and		
expected citizenship		
participation?		
- What are the continuities	Canadian Citizenship Guides.	
and disruptions of the	Political and social context, and relevant	
narratives over time?	immigration and citizenship legislation and trends	
	contemporary to each Canadian Citizenship Guide.	

### Data Search

For this study, I searched documents published by the Government of Canada which were located in various libraries and archives across the country, as well as information about current relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

The main sources for copies of the Canadian Citizenship Guides were:

- Library and Archives Canada (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca): The search employed
   the AMICUS database that lists 30 million records of published materials held at Library
   and Archives Canada and 1300 Canadian libraries (Library and Archives Canada, 2012).
- University of Manitoba's Libraries (http://umanitoba.ca/libraries): In addition to the guides available at the Elizabeth Dafoe Library and the E. K. Williams Law Library, the Document Delivery department lent publications from other institutions in Canada (University of Manitoba Libraries, 2012).

The search of Canadian Citizenship Guides yielded the following list of publications that were retrieved and then collected in electronic format:

Table 3 Collection of Canadian Citizenship Guides

Guide	Year of Issue
How to become a Canadian Citizen	1947
Guide to Canadian Citizenship	1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1971
Canada. Guide for Citizenship	1976
A Look at Canada (folder)	1979
The Canadian Citizen	1978, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1994
A Look at Canada	1995, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007
Discover Canada	2009, 2011

See Appendix III (pp. 226-7) for listing of Citizenship Guides with their Amicus number.

The main sources to obtain information about current relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends were:

- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (http://www.cic.gc.ca): This governmental agency develops and implements policies, programs and services that regulate the arrival of people to the country and facilitate their integration into Canada, and enhances the values and promotes the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). The site features a listing of citizenship and immigration laws and policies (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/laws-policy/index.asp) with links connecting to the Department of Justice (http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca).
- Kelley, N., & Trebilcock, M. J. (2010). *The making of the mosaic: A history of Canadian immigration policy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Knowles, V. (1997). Strangers at our gates: Canadian immigration and immigration policy, 1540-1997. Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press.
- Knowles, V. (2000). Forging our legacy: Canadian citizenship and immigration, 1900-1977. Ottawa, ON: Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Knowles, V. (2007). Strangers at our gates: Canadian immigration and immigration policy, 1540-2006 (Rev. ed.). Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press.

The research of key citizenship and immigration legislation between 1947 and 2012 yielded the following major acts and bills:

Table 4 Key citizenship and immigration legislation

Legislation	Year
Canadian Citizenship Act	1947
Immigration Act	1952

Immigration regulations	1962
Immigration Points System	1967
Immigration Act	1976
Citizenship Act	1977
Bill C-55 Refugee Reform Bill	1987
Bill C-86 Amendments to Immigration Act	1992
Immigration and Refugee Protection Act	2002
Immigration regulations in Budget Implementation Act	2008
Citizenship Act	2009

## **Data Selection**

For this study, I chose the first available issues of Canadian Citizenship Guides that feature a complete re-development of the publication content, including its name. The following six Canadian citizenship guides met the criteria, which is further supported by the policy research developed by Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) and Alboim and Cohl (2012) (included in the historical context sections presented in Chapter IV):

Table 5 Selected Canadian Citizenship Guides and rationale

Guide	Year	Rationale
How to become a	1947	This guide –the first Canadian Citizenship Guide–was
Canadian Citizen		developed after the end of the Second World War II and
		the enactment of the Citizenship Act in 1946, opening a
		period of selective immigration to Canada (Kelley and
		Trebilcock, 2010).
Guide to	1963	This guide was developed following the immigration
Canadian		regulations of 1962 which began to remove discriminative
Citizenship		criteria in the selection of immigrants to Canada, opening a
		period of democratization in the admission process of

		immigrant applications (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010).
Canada. Guide	1976	This guide was developed following the immigration
for Citizenship"		regulations of 1967 and political and public debate about
		immigration policy that spread from mid-1960s to mid-
		1970s, and is contemporary to the development of the
		Canadian Multiculturalism policy (Kelley and Trebilcock,
		2010).
The Canadian	Guide:	This guide and folder followed the Immigration Act of
Citizen (guide)	1978	1976 approved by consensus by all political and social
+	Folder:	sectors, and the Citizenship Act of 1977 that cemented the
A Look at	1979	anti-discriminatory immigration policy that had started to
Canada (folder)		be developed during the previous decade (Kelley and
		Trebilcock, 2010).
A Look at	1995	This guide –the first one to be tested by a written exam–
Canada		followed a period of disagreement around immigration
		policy, especially around the issue pertaining to the high
		increase of refugee claims, and opens a period that would
		be marked by debates about issues of security following
		the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in United States,
		and the return to decisions related to immigration policy
		by the Executive (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010).
Discover Canada	2009	This guide shows a major content revision reflecting a
		period of increase of Conservative power, amendments to
		the Citizenship Act, and the beginning of a period of
		ongoing Executive changes in immigration policy that
		continue today (Alboim & Cohl, 2012).
4	1	ı l

# Data Analysis

This study can be considered a qualitative data analysis which "is inductive in form, going from particular (...) to the general (...). Although the initial analysis consists of subdividing the data, the final goal is to generate a larger, consolidated picture" (Creswell, 2005, p. 231). In the case of this study, the morphological and semantic description and the rhetorical analysis are useful to identify the operations in language that are intended to generate certain effects in the receiver with the end objective of describing the historically-anchored narratives of each of the six studied Canadian Citizenship Guide, and how they changed over time.

The methodology for this research project can be summarized in four steps: a) historical context; b) morphological and semantic description; c) rhetorical analysis, and d) discussion of the construction of the narrative. These four steps are presented below from the more discrete units of analysis to the final goal of producing narratives.

Step I - Historical context: The historical background included a social and political overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to each Canadian Citizenship Guide. Since the myths present in a text are historically-situated (Barthes, 1972), it was important then to account for the historical context in which the Canadian Citizenship Guides were produced in order to reconstruct the narrative. Given that the production of the text that includes the morphological, semantic and rhetorical choices present in the guides is also historically-anchored (Verón, 1993) the development of the historical context of each Canadian Citizenship Guide was the first step in this study.

Step II - Morphological and semantic description: This step included a morphological description of form and structure of the guide that identified the print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. This step also included a semantic description done through *Tropes*, a qualitative data analysis computer program (Creswell, 2005) that identified categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors; the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives, and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. The categories are presented in percentages due to fact that *Tropes* parses the entire text, generates categories, and the total number of words in each category becomes 100%. The frequency is based in actual words included in the entire text without any categorization, and therefore are presented in absolute numbers. *See Appendix IV (pp. 228-230) for glossary of linguistic terms employed in this study*.

**Step III - Rhetorical analysis**: Given that myths are built on the foundation of rhetoric (Barthes, 1972), the analysis of the Canadian Citizenship Guides focused on the study of metaboles which are figures of rhetoric that change the expression or content in a text (Dubois et al., 1981). The analysis focused on the metasememes and metalogisms, which are the strategies that deal with the content (meaning), and included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text (Dubois et al., 1981). To facilitate the reference to the rhetorical figures included in this study, the rhetorical figures have been numbered sequentially across the rhetorical analysis of all the studied Canadian Citizenship Guides. *See Appendix V (pp. 231-234) for glossary of rhetorical terms employed in this study*.

Step IV – Discussion of the construction of the narrative: The last methodological step was to construct narratives of what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen, based on studying the Canadian Citizenship Guides through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. These narratives were produced with historically-anchored intentions (Barthes, 1972) that embedded an abstract figure of an ideal reader (Verón, 1993) in terms of what the citizenship applicant can understand and should know about Canadian citizenship and what attitudes are expected of a new citizen.

## Criteria for Quality

The criteria to assess the validity of this qualitative research is the one developed by Guba (1981) who indicated that the trustworthiness of qualitative research could be judged by addressing the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the inquiry.

Credibility refers to the "array of interlocking factor patterns that (...) pose formidable problems of interpretation (...) [and how to] take account of the complexities" (Guba, 1981, p. 84). The actions implemented in this study to address the credibility of this research included: a) persistent, in-depth observation and analysis of the collected documents; b) peer debriefing with academic advisor and review by advisory committee; c) triangulation by contextualizing the Canadian Citizenship Guides with governmental immigration and citizenship legislation; d) collection of referential materials for future research and study, and e) all sources for the literature review are from peer reviewed publications.

Transferability is concerned with "all social/behavioral phenomena [being] (...) context-bound" and since it is not possible to produce "statements that have general applicability (...), statements [should be] descriptive or interpretative of a given context" (Guba, 1981, p. 86). The actions implemented in this study to address the transferability of this research included: a) purposive sampling by selecting citizenship guides that feature a complete re-development of the content, and b) collecting descriptive data by employing a semiological text analysis method.

Dependability is concerned with "the stability of data (...) [and] make allowance for apparent instabilities arising either because different realities are being tapped or because of instrumental shifts stability of the data" (Guba, 1981, p. 86). The actions implemented in this study to address the transferability of this research included: a) overlapping methods by placing the semiological analysis in the historical context of each guide, and b) establishing an audit trail by providing references to the location of the collected data and the theoretical framework and methodology applied to the study.

Confirmability refers to "the shift (...) from the concept of investigator objectivity toward the concept of data (and interpretational) confirmability" (Guba, 1981, p. 87). The actions implemented in this study to address the credibility of this research included: a) practicing reflexivity since the underlying epistemological assumptions of the study were described in detail (Theoretical Framework and Methodology), and b) taking account of the limitations of the method, assumptions, and the researcher's biases.

### Limitations of the Method

The method chosen to analyze the corpus of texts was a forensic approach. The data collected was interpreted by the researcher, and while the interpretation was based on well-established linguistic and rhetorical methods, it is a speculative exercise: Unless individuals in charge of writing the guides are interviewed to confirm that the intentions of the Canadian Citizenship Guides align with the results of the semiological analysis, it is not possible to independently confirm the findings of this research.

In addition, while the narratives provided one possible interpretation based on the linguistic and rhetorical analysis, the examination of the rhetorical figures in this study was also not exhaustive, focusing on those rhetorical operations that were seen as the building blocks of the narrator and the constructed receiver, related to the research questions.

By centering the analysis in the emitter of the guides (The Government of Canada) and how those guides constructed an ideal student in terms of what this citizen applicant should know about Canadian citizenship and what behaviours are expected from the new citizen, this research project did not tackle the actual effectiveness of the Canadian Citizenship Guides or the *real* decoding of the information.

As described in the theoretical framework section, the notion of myth proposed by Barthes (1972) was very useful in the context of studying the official narrative of a government. However, Barthes was fairly vague in his descriptions of how myths are built and his writings seem more focused on showing how he used the concept than defining a methodology that was best suitable for mythology-analysts other than him.

The methodological approach used in this research was thus an *interpretation* of what Barthes suggested as a viable path to build the narrative.

Finally, given that the concept of myth and the rhetorical framework is based on a binary model of the sign (the relationship between a signified and a signifier) developed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1959 [1916]), it could be argued that a triadic model of the sign (based on a relationship between a sign vehicle, a sign object and an interpretant) developed by Charles Peirce (Peirce, Houser & Kloesel, 1998 [1893-1913]) would complement this study. However, the required theoretical work to convert a binary-based myth into a triadic-based one was beyond the scope of this study.

# Assumptions

For this study, I assumed that there was a correlation between the policies that are enacted during the tenure of a government and the Canadian Citizenship Guides. In other words, I assumed that changes in legislation or policies in the areas of immigration and citizenship had at least a partial origin in the politicians that led the country at that point in history, and federal employees in charge of producing the Canadian Citizenship Guides took into consideration those changes when modifying the content of the guides.

I also assumed that content developers were immersed in their contemporary historical context when producing each of the Canadian Citizenship Guides.

For this research project, I also assumed that the Canadian Citizenship Guides represented the Government of Canada's official views on citizenship—and in particular what it meant to be a Canadian citizen and what was expected from a new Canadian citizen—at the time the guides were published.

Finally, it is important to note that in this study I assumed that the use of language to communicate information required rhetorical figures in order to achieve its didactic and communicative objectives. That is not to say that the writers of the Canadian Citizenship Guides where consciously selecting rhetorical figures, but that in the process of writing they necessarily had to use rhetorical figures in order to communicate their intended messages.

### Bias of the Researcher

This researcher was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina and immigrated to Winnipeg, Canada in 2001. The researcher became a Canadian citizen in 2006 without having to relinquish her Argentinean citizenship. In order to pass the mandatory written citizenship test to obtain Canadian, the researcher studied the *A Look at Canada* citizenship guide (2005 edition).

This researcher's professional experience in Canada is related to the development of educational programs to promote diversity awareness and understanding, intercultural skills development, and Canadian culture knowledge, targeted to post-secondary students, in particular, landed immigrants, international students, and refugees.

This researcher's educational background is in communication and semiology, which main interest is the study of symbols and the exchange of meaning, an activity that is based on subjective analysis of objective data (texts). The researcher also assumes that reality is a construct: It does not matter what objective reality may be; the key is what people *think* is their reality.

# Chapter IV

# Historical Context, Semiological Analysis and Discussion of Narratives

The operationalization of the semiological approach employed in the text analysis of the following six Canadian Citizenship Guides: 1) *How to become a Canadian Citizen* (1947), 2) *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963), 3) *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976), 4) *The Canadian Citizen* (1978) and additional folder *A Look at Canada* (1979), 5) *A Look at Canada* (1995), and 6) *Discover Canada* (2009) is presented in this chapter.

The analysis began with the historical context that situated each of the guides in a given point in time. The analysis continued with the identification of the morphological and semantic descriptions and the rhetorical analysis of the texts of each guide. All previous steps led to the discussion of the construction of the narratives that were theorized to be to be present in each guide. See Appendix VI (pp. 235-237) for tables with results from morphological description from this study and Appendix VII (pp. 238-240) for a listing of the rhetorical figures included in this study.

# How to become a Canadian Citizen (1947)

The 1947 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide called *How to become a Canadian Citizen* was published by the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database

through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 7733727.

#### **Step I - Historical Context.**

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Political and social overview.

Following the Depression period 1929-1939, with the start of the Second World War in 1939 and the demand for grain and transportation vehicles and arms, Canada's economy began again a time of prosperity. On May 7, 1945 Germany surrendered to the Allied forces, the beginning of the end of the Second World War. Despite some debate within government and the public opinion regarding the benefits of a more centralized, planned approach to the economy and society—an approach utilized during the war efforts, the Liberal party that was re-elected on June 11, 1945 with William Lyon Mackenzie King as Prime Minister had a plan to shape post-war Canada as a "free enterprise society" (Bothwell, Drummond, and English, 1989, p. 51).

Prime Minister King's mandate lasted until November 15, 1948, when he retired and was succeeded by Louis Stephen St. Laurent. In those final years of King's tenure in office one of the critical topics that dominated the public opinion debates was definition of Canada as a fully independent, sovereign country: "Canada emerged after the Second World War with more self-assurance and confidence. [...] (Canada) had made a huge

contribution in manpower and matériel to the Allied war effort and had developed (...) new and durable industries in the process" (Knowles, 2000, p. 63). To be recognized as a sovereign country, "the remaining emblems of colonialism had to be removed and the symbols of independent nationhood substituted. (...) one significant symbol of independent nationhood—Canadian citizenship—would find legal recognition in 1947, two years after the war" (Knowles, 2000, p. 64). Canadian nationals were defined previously as British subjects and the "credit for fathering the project that gave legal recognition to the term 'Canadian citizen' goes to the Liberal Cabinet Minister Paul Martin Sr." (Knowles, 2000, p. 64) who at the time of introducing the bill in the House of Commons on October 22, 1945 stated:

For the national unity of Canada and for the future and greatness of this country it is felt to be of utmost importance that all of us, new Canadians or old, have a consciousness of a common purpose and common interests as Canadians; that all of us are able to say with pride and say with meaning: "I am a Canadian citizen." (Knowles, 2000, p. 65)

While the path to Canadian citizenship was being discussed, the challenges of receiving the new immigrants and integrate them to the Canadian society were also becoming very visible: "In the push to have the newcomers conform to 'Canadian ways' – which usually reflected Anglo-American middle-class ideals – the accent was on everything from food customs and child-rearing methods, or marriage and family dynamics, to participatory democracy and anti-communist activism" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 11).

## Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

The Canadian Citizenship Act enacted on June, 27 1946 and coming into force on January, 1 1947 superseded the Naturalization Act of 1914 and the Canadian Nationals Act of 1921. The Canadian Citizenship Act "marked the first time that a Commonwealth nation had created its own class of citizenship separate from that of Britain. Prior to this time, the highest status that immigrants could attain was British subject status, which was conferred by naturalization" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 319). "Canadian citizenship could be acquired by immigrants who had been naturalized in Canada, non-Canadian British subjects who had lived in Canada for five or more years, and non-Canadian women who had married Canadian citizens and (came) to live in Canada" (Knowles, 2000, p. 66).

The 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act contains many prescriptions in regards to who could or could not qualify for citizenship. In general, "immigrants (including those from the Commonwealth) would not qualify for full citizenship until they had been resident in Canada for five years (...). Citizenship would be lost under certain circumstances, such as the adoption of citizenship of another country" (Knowles, 2000, p. 65). The Canadian Citizenship Act also regulates specific situations: "Immigrants who had served in the Canadian armed forces during the (...) World War(s) would qualify for naturalization after only one year. (...) (Applicants) could substitute 20 years of residence in Canada for a knowledge of English or French" (Knowles, 2000, pp. 65-66). The Act also states that a "provision would be made for instruction in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and for appropriate citizenship ceremonies, including a revised oath of allegiance" (Knowles, 2000, p. 65).

Contemporary to the establishment of the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, in 1947 Prime Minister King announced that "the policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement to immigration. (...) the goal of immigration was to improve the Canadian standard of living" (Simmons, 2010, p. 72). In terms of prospective immigrants, King was clear in that "Canada would remain a White European nation in the Americas (...) [and] would remain opposed to 'large-scale immigration for the Orient'" (Simmons, 2010, p. 72). In this way, King confirmed that "the goals would be economic, that those admitted would be largely Europeans, and that careful selection and total numbers of immigrants admitted would not exceed absorptive capacity" (Simmons, 2010, p. 72).

In this way, following the implementation of the *Canadian Citizenship Act*, a new *Immigration Act* was enacted in 1952, which superseded the Immigration Act of 1910 and subsequent revisions (Knowles, 2000, p. 72). Although the 1952 Act was implemented a few years later to the creation of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide issued in 1947, it still can provide a sense of the immigration framework during the time of this citizenship guide. In this sense, the 1952 Immigration *Act* "provided a skeletal statutory framework within which the government of the day could adopt orders and regulations that reflected prevailing immigration priorities" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 329). With regards to the requirements for entry to the country as immigrants, "the Cabinet could prohibit or limit the admission of persons by reason of such factors as nationality, ethnic group, occupation, lifestyle, unsuitability with regard to Canada's climate, and perceived inability to become readily assimilated into Canadian society" (Knowles, 2000, p. 73).

In terms of immigration trends, during the war time, "admission to Canada continued to be limited to American and British subjects with adequate capital, European agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm in Canada", as well as wives and minor children of Canadian residents (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 254). In this sense, "between 1938 and 1940 these groups made up approximately 57 per cent of admissions, and in each of the following five years their proportion increased to 98 per cent of all those entering" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 264). According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010), during the war time Canada established various barriers to immigration from Jewish refugees, and regulations for internment of residents suspected of acting against Canada, most of them German, Italian or Japanese descents (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 312-313).

After the Second World War, immigration to Canada "reached mass proportions – although, in accordance with the country's long standing 'White Canada' policy, almost all of it was from white nations" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 10). However, even though "United Kingdom and the United States continued to furnish Canada with large numbers of newcomers, [...] no longer were they the predominant sources of immigrants. Now the majority of new arrivals came from continental Europe" (Knowles, 2000, p. 76). "While they shared certain experiences, the European newcomers were not a homogeneous group" since this diaspora came from different countries, classes, religions, educational levels, and political perspectives (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 7).

Canada was shifting from Anglo to Continental European immigration to respond to its economic needs, and shifting the basis of its citizenship criteria from social to economic skills based. Given "the need for both skilled and unskilled labour in many of

the growth sectors of the economy" there was "a gradual liberalization of admission policies and a dramatic increase in immigration" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 318). As part of the post-World War II process, "in 1947, the government adopted a contract labour scheme to respond to the needs of specific industries" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 340). In this sense, Canada was part of the effort that Western Allies made in receiving refugees from the displaced persons (DP) camps in Europe and "most of the DPs came as labour recruits to fill 'bulk orders' for contract workers in Canadian industries, with the remaining of them being family members sponsored by earlier arrivals" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 5). The Canadian society was a recipient of refugees from Eastern Bloc countries by the early 1950s, "who had escaped directly from Iron Curtain countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, or Tito's Yugoslavia" (Iacovetta, 2000, p. 36). In this sense, "of the 165,000 DPs who arrived between 1947 and 1953, the largest groups were Poles (23 per cent) and Ukrainians (16 per cent)" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 5). Smaller groups included "Germans and Austrians (11 per cent), Jews (10 per cent), Latvians (6 per cent), Lithuanians (6 per cent), Hungarians (5 per cent), Czechs (3 per cent), Dutch (3 per cent), and Russians (4 per cent)" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 5).

In addition to restrictions related to country of origin and ethnic background, sexual orientation and political affiliation were also causes for limitation to entry to Canada. "Cold War concerns about Communists and homosexuals also pervaded postwar immigration policy. As the country gradually opened its doors to immigrants in the post-war years (...), security checks of prospective immigrants began in 1946" (Finkel, 1997, p. 34).

# Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

This section begins with a morphological description of form and structure of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) that identified print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. The section then includes a semantic description implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* that identified categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors, as well as the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives, and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

## Morphological description.

The *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) was printed in black and white, half letter size, and it is composed of text in what can be described as a Times New Roman font style. The guide doesn't include any pictures, illustrations, maps or graphs. The cover exhibits the Canadian Coat of Arms on the top, the title *How to become a Canadian Citizen*, and the publishing information (Published by Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, Canada).

The guide has 62 pages—with a table of contents in the beginning of the guide—and it is divided in three chapters: The Canadian Citizenship Act (26 pages), Facts about Canada (16 pages) and Questions and Answers (14 pages with 116 questions and answers related to federal, provincial and local governments, history, and general interest).

The relative weight of each thematic component in this guide could be aggregated as follows: Citizenship Procedures (46%), Study Questions (25%), History (9%), Geography (9%), Government System (7%) and Economy (4%).

### Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 42.4% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), 40.5% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), and 17.1% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 62.1% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 26.4% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives), and 11.5% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "he" (57.8%), followed by "they" (8%), "I" (6.3%), "you" (0.7%) and "we" (0.3%).

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 27.9% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 26.5% were numeral, 22.1% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 19.5% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 14.1% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), 13% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.), 2.9% were adverbs of assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.), and 0.6% were adverbs of doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 44.3% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 22.6% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 9.5% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 8.4% were connectors of time ("when", "while", "since", etc.), 6.9% were connectors of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), 5.8% were connectors of opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.), 1.7% were connectors of cause ("because", "in consequence of", "therefore", etc.), 0.6% were connectors of goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.), and 0.1% were connectors of place ("whereby", "whereupon", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* citizenship guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (371), "Have" (80), "Must" (71),

"May" (57), "Reside" (37), "Make" (37), "Shall" (35), "Become" (34), "Grant" (27), "Do" (26), and "Lead" (18).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "Canadian" (97), "Provincial" (36), "Such" (29), "Large" (20), "Other" (19), "Same" (18), "Permanent" (15), "Born" (15), "Both" (15), "Part" (14), "Each" (14), "Alien" (14), and "All" (14).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (197), "Citizen" (115), "Canadian" (115), "Province" (95), "Year" (69), "Court" (69), "Act" (68), "Government" (63), "Petition" (59), "Member" (41), "House of Commons" (41), and "Secretary of State" (40).

The parsing of the text of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* citizenship guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "United Kingdom" (65), "Child" (45), "Person" (39), "Case" (37), "Subject" (29), "Population" (28), "Alien" (25), "Woman" (25), "Area" (23), "Naturalness" (22), and "Head of Government" (15). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Canada" (386), "Citizenship" (159), "Certificate" (142), "Citizen" (122), "Canadian" (115), "Province" (95), "Government" (90), "Tribunal" (76), "Year" (69), and "Act" (68).

# Step III - Rhetorical analysis.

The rhetorical analysis of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) focused on the metasememes (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

### Metasememes.

The text analysis of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

1) (...) and a series of ready questions and answers on these subjects which may prove useful in gaining further knowledge of this great nation. (Foreword, p. 1)

The use of *great nation* in this sentence could be described as a metonymy. The text is referring to Canada as a great nation, which could be interpreted as a complete substitution: Instead of Canada, our country, the term great nation is used to qualify said country.

- 2) An alien is subject to the following disabilities (...) (p. 10)
- In this sentence the word *disabilities* seems to be used as a metaphor for the term *prohibitions*. The reason for this metaphor may be the choice of using legal language or may have been a rhetorical strategy to lessen the tone of the language to a term that may be perceived as less negative.
- 3) The person making the application must be the "responsible parent" of the child. This

means the father, except that where the father is dead or where the custody of the child has been awarded to the mother by order of a court of competent jurisdiction, or where the child was born out of wedlock and resides with his mother, "responsible parent" means the mother. (p. 17)

In this paragraph the term *responsible parent* seems to be used as a metaphor for *legal guardian* or for the person that can legally make decisions on behalf of the child. The metaphor is within quotation marks and then explained based on its legal definition.

4) An extensive programme of colonization in the last decade of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth led to an influx of thousands of hardy settlers from European countries and the United States. (p. 36)

The term *hardy settlers* seem to be working in this sentence as a metaphor via generalizing synecdoche, to summarize the qualities of the immigrants coming to settle in Western Canada (the sentence prior to this one describes the settlement of the West): The term *hardy* could be seen as casting a positive light to these immigrants but also suggest difficult conditions, for example, weather, or geography, to name a few.

## Metalogisms.

The text analysis of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

5) May I express my continued interest in your progress towards full and complete membership in the Canadian family. (Foreword, p. 1)

This sentence suggests that a litotes is employed. First, the sentence uses a metaphor (*Canadian family*) to refer to the Canadian society as if it were a family. Once the metaphor is established, the sentence then goes on with a litotes where the reader is

defined as someone who is assumed not yet to be a citizen: Permanent residents (called 'aliens' in this guide) that are not yet citizens are not fully or completely part of Canadian society.

6) What the Applicant Will be Expected to Know: (a) He must have an adequate knowledge of either the English or the French language, or, if he has not such an adequate knowledge, he must have resided continuously in Canada for more than twenty years. (b) He must have an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship. With respect to (a) and (b) above, it is the prerogative of the presiding judge to determine what shall constitute "an adequate knowledge".

The Applicant's Character: At the final hearing an inquiry is made into the applicant's character and criminal record. It is very important for an applicant - seeking citizenship to have a clean record of good behaviour, since a person who has been convicted of any major crime might find it difficult to get Canadian citizenship. The definition of "good character" raises a point involving wide differences of opinion as some judges are stricter than others. The final decision, however, rests in the hands of the individual judge who must decide whether or not the applicant has fulfilled the requisites of good character. (pp. 13-14)

These paragraphs seem to feature a paradox. Both paragraphs confront the challenge of explaining to the reader that the Canadian Citizenship Act describes certain requirements that the applicant must fulfil, without fully defining said requirements. All those traits that are listed in these paragraphs as requirements (adequate knowledge of English, French or long term residence, adequate knowledge of citizenship responsibilities and

privileges, to have good character) are not defined to the reader: One must meet those criteria without knowing what those criteria may mean, because the interpretation was left to individual judges at their time. The text does clarify that the interpretation of the criteria is left to each judge, but in doing so it adds to the rhetorical paradox by explaining that there is no expectation of uniformity of interpretation; as a matter of fact the opposite is affirmed: Some judges may be stricter than others.

7) It might be noted that the Canadian Citizenship Act confers equal rights to both men and women. (p. 25)

The language chosen in this sentence seems to be revealing a euphemism via litotes. The sentence begins with *It might be noted* which could be considered a linguistic strategy to highlight the information that immediately follows: The Canadian Citizenship Act provides equal rights to men and women. This strategy could be in play in order to highlight a fact that the writers of the guide may have thought was not common knowledge or that may surprise the reader of the text: equal gender rights. While there is no mention to other countries or any contemporary debate on the issue, the euphemism used to present the information may be pointing to either of the issues noted above.

8) Canada is a new country. The civilizations of China, Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome had come and gone nearly a thousand years before a white man had even seen the shores of North America. Canada is the result of immigration from other lands. Even the native Indian tribes descend from peoples who migrated from Asia dim ages ago. Canada is truly part of the New World. (p. 33)

This paragraph could be classified as an allegory centred specifically on the term *New World*. That term seems to be used as a metaphor for empty or vacant land. First the

paragraph situates the European discovery of North America in a broad historical timeline, and then proceeds to classify the non-European population (*native Indian tribes*) present in the region before European contact as immigrants. By placing all population in historical equal footing and classifying the land that Canada occupies as truly new, the text could be described as creating the allegory of a completely undiscovered land that was progressively populated, but in which no specific group can have a precursory claim to the land: Everybody came from somewhere else, therefore the land was up for taking by everyone.

9) In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a Breton from St. Malo, undertook a series of voyages which resulted in the first real exploration of the coasts of Canada. (p. 33)

It can be argued that the sentence cited above is using the rhetorical strategy of euphemism to qualify any previous exploration to the eastern shores of Canada. The section of the guide in which this sentence is located discusses the nature of Canada as a new country and the explorations of the eastern shores by Vikings and John Cabot. Using the term *real exploration*, the sentence is qualifying all previous visits as of lesser value, and it could be said that it is ignoring the fact—acknowledged two paragraphs above this sentence—that aboriginal population did settle in the area before the arrival of Europeans. All those previous explorers or inhabitants seem to be placed in a lower category, and therefore the operation of euphemism takes place.

10) It is worthy of note that the immigrants remained loyal to the land of their adoption with few exceptions. (p. 37)

The language chosen in this sentence seems to be revealing the rhetorical figure of

euphemism via litotes. The sentence begins with *It is worthy of note* which could be considered a linguistic strategy to highlight the information that immediately follows: Immigrants remained loyal to Canada. The rhetorical strategy may be showcasing the loyalty shown by immigrants as a desirable trait that the candidates for Canadian citizenship may either already have or should have in order to be fully accepted as member of the Canadian society.

11) The Second World War saw Canada take her place at the side of the other nations of the British Commonwealth and the world at large in the defence of freedom and the liberation of the oppressed. From that perilous struggle, Canada has emerged as a great nation. Her vast resources, her agricultural and industrial capacity, exercise a profound influence on world affairs. Her people, drawn from every racial group, are welded into a mighty democratic force through their love of freedom, hatred of oppression, and the steadfast determination that the powers of government shall be exercised by and through the people for the common benefit of all. (p. 37)

The above-cited paragraph could be considered an allegory: It contains metaphors and a repetition that combined to provide Canada the country and its citizens with a set of desirable characteristics that should be adopted and defended by all. The narrative begins with what the text refers to as the Second World War, in which Canada, according to the content of the paragraph, emerged as a fully independent nation via the metaphor *take her place*. The war is then defined by another metaphor *perilous struggle* that in the logic of the narration seem to be a catalyst for the establishment of Canada as a great nation. The text moves then to the use of repetitio to list a series of positive attributes (resources and people) as the condition for becoming influential in the world. Then the text concludes

with another metaphor *people welded into a mighty democratic force* to highlight the core values that all residents of Canada share or should share. It can be argued that the combination of all these rhetorical figures leads to an allegory that summarily constructs the formation of Canada as an independent country.

12) Canada leads the world in the production of newsprint, nickel, radium, platinum, and asbestos. It is the world's second largest producer of wood pulp, molybdenum, aluminium, and gold. It stands third in world production of copper, zinc, silver, lead, and arsenic. It stands fourth among the nations in the production of wheat and magnesium. It is the leading exporter of base metals in the world, and the second greatest exporting nation. It has a substantial percentage of the world's supply of uranium and as a consequence occupies a unique position among world powers in the potential production of atomic energy. (p. 39)

The listing that appears in these six sentences could be described as a repetitio. These sentences are set in reference to world rankings, which seem to be used as proof that Canada is an economic world leader by virtue of being at the top or close to the top of all those lists being referenced and new immigrants are valued members with access to this wealth.

13) The substantial scale of wages for industrial workers throughout Canada together with the outstanding production of consumer goods has resulted in the establishment of a scale of living which is among the highest to be found in the world. (p. 39)

This can be seen as hyperbole, via particularizing synecdoche. In the sentence provided above, the standard of living in Canada is situated as very high compared to any other country in the world, which may be construed as a rhetorical hyperbole, exemplified or

sustained by two elements: high wages and the quality of the products produced in the country. This constitutes a particularizing synecdoche because it reduces the attributes required to be a world leader to only those two elements.

14) The Canadian Government exercises absolute control over all internal and external matters, including the right to declare war. The only exception is that the Canadian Government may not alter or amend the British North America Act without submitting the proposed alteration to the Government of the United Kingdom. In fact, how- ever, such submission is a mere formality, since the British Government has invariably consented to suggested amendments. (pp. 40-41)

This paragraph seems to be using a paradox, in which certain words that may have by themselves a precise meaning are diluted by the narration. In this case, the first sentence of this paragraph begins with the assertion that the Canadian Government exercises absolute control over all its affairs. Immediately following that assertion, there is a qualifier: Amendments to the British North America Act can only be changed by asking the Parliament of the United Kingdom. So the term absolute control could be described as a rhetorical paradox: It is absolute, but has a clear limit, therefore it is no longer absolute. In this rhetorical paradox, there seems to be an attempt to resolve it through the description of the actions of the British Parliament as a mere formality, with the adjective mere highlighting non-interference.

### Narrative point of view.

The *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) seems to be using an objective narration point of view. The narrator does not seem to be revealing its presence to the reader, and evaluative judgements are not formally disclosed but rather emitted

through the use of rhetorical strategies. The reader does not seem involved in the narration; most of the action seems to be described in third person. The only exception to this objective point of view is the Foreword on page 1, which is built as a letter from the Secretary of State to all prospective Canadian Citizens and uses the first-person ("I") and second-person ("you").

# Step IV – Discussion of the construction of the narrative.

The construction of the narrative of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) could be called the narrative of the *good character* citizen.

### The narrative of the good character citizen.

The emitter of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) seems to display an objective narrative point of view: The role of the emitter is to provide information about the legal steps required to obtain Canadian citizenship and then present a brief history of the country and the expectations that current citizens have regarding what the new citizens should do. This detached style can be seen in the most frequent pronoun used in this guide which was "he" (57.8%), which in the case of this text may represent the prospective citizen or Canada.

The notion that may represent the conversion from alien (one of the most frequent actants in the text showing 25 mentions) to a proper citizen may be the concept of *good character*. The paradox about the role of the judge in the citizenship process (rhetorical figure # 6) makes it clear that the judge is the only person that will really assess the qualifications of the candidate (his/her *adequate knowledge* and *good character*) and therefore his/her suitability as a Canadian citizen. The guide is there to assist the reader, but its usefulness may be limited: While the guide offers 116 study questions, the candidate is encouraged in the foreword of the guide to consult with the court's clerk to see what books or information the citizenship candidate should read. The term *good character* also seems aligned to the list of most frequently used verbs seemed as well as with the metaphor of the *responsible parent* (rhetorical figure # 3) and the metaphor about the *hardy* character of the immigrant (rhetorical figure # 4).

### Narratives about Canada.

The emitter of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) presents the history of Canada as a young country (rhetorical figure # 8) that has reached full and complete autonomy thanks to the bravery of its armed forces in two European conflicts (the Great War and the Second World War) as seen in the allegory of Canada's role in the Second World War (rhetorical figure # 11). It can be argued that the narration utilizes that allegory to highlight that what has made Canada a force to be reckoned with is the way it has defended the former colonial owner of the land: the United Kingdom.

While Canada is a proud and independent country, the United Kingdom is presented as a key part of the historical narrative, a notion that is supported by the fact that United Kingdom is the most frequent actant in this guide (65 mentions). The United

Kingdom has given Canada its laws and social customs, and it is the place where the Sovereign resides. It could be argued that the emitter makes no attempt to address or explain what could be described as a dissonance between the fact that Canada is now a fully independent country charting its own course in the world stage and the fact that the United Kingdom has a significant presence in the guide's narrative as an actant and that culturally, socially and legally Canada has adopted almost everything from the former colonial power and is still part of the British Commonwealth. The only reference to this dissonance is in the paradox that describes that the British North America Act can only be amended by a foreign Government (The United Kingdom), but that such process is a mere formality (rhetorical figure # 14). But formality or not, the bonds that tie both countries seem present in every section of the guide.

There is also something that can be described as an effort to show—or to prove to the reader—that Canada is a world power repetition (rhetorical figure # 12), citing world rankings and presenting how high Canada is ranked in a long series of mostly economic indicators. It is also interesting to note that the historical discussions at the time included the economic value of immigration.

## Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

Becoming a citizen seems a one-sided affair: The applicant should embrace the Canadian traditions and way of life. This seems aligned with the contemporary debates regarding integrating newcomers to the Canadian society as described in the historical context of this guide. The metaphor about the Canadian family (rhetorical figure # 5) as well as the allegory about the immigrant's loyalty during the Great War (rhetorical figure

# 11) may also exemplify the implicit expectation of the emitter in terms of acculturation of new citizens. It could be argued that the emitter of this guide is espousing an assimilation ideology, in which the reader needs to publicly and privately adopt the customs and values of mainstream Canada over the immigrant's own culture.

It is also important to note that while other cultures are mentioned, they are presented in short sentences. The French heritage is mentioned but France or Quebec are not particularly frequent actants. Aboriginal people—called at the time "Indians"— are portrayed as immigrant themselves: Canada was an empty land that was populated in successive waves (rhetorical figure # 8). Everyone is part of that succession of arrivals; however the culture that trumps all others is that of the Anglo-sphere. This point could be further supported by the euphemism used in the text to refer to the initial European visits as the *first real exploration of the coast of Canada* (rhetorical figure # 9).

## Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

The *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) constructs a receiver that has lived in Canada for at least five years or has fought for Canada in one of the two big wars of the early 20th century. The judge will decide the suitability of the reader to become a citizen, but the guide tells the citizenship candidate that it must be loyal to Canada above any other loyalty that he/she may have had in the past, as seen in the euphemism via litotes about the loyalty of immigrants to Canada during the Great World War (rhetorical figure # 10). The citizenship candidate should also embrace and practice the social and cultural customs that are mostly linked to Western Europe, and more precisely to the United Kingdom, as expressed in the allegory about Canadians *welded into a mighty democratic force* (rhetorical figure # 11).

The critical trait that the receiver needs to show seems to be *good character*. What that may mean is full allegiance to the Throne and to Canada over any the prospective citizens' birthplace allegiances. The receiver is made aware that certain rights that in other countries may not be available are legal rights in Canada and should be respected, for example the euphemism via litotes about the *equal rights to both men and women* (rhetorical figure # 7).

In terms of participation, the text does not seem to ask the new citizen to be involved in any specific activity, which is reflected in the thematic components of the guide with focus on citizenship procedures, Canadian history and geography, the government system and the economy. It could be said that the emitter implies that a citizen of *good character* is one that is loyal to Canada, accepts the Canadian customs that stem from the Commonwealth history, and obeys the Canadian laws. These conditions are what the prospective citizen needs to do to obtain *full and complete membership in the Canadian family* as seen in the metaphor included in the foreword of the guide (rhetorical figure # 5).

# Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963)

The 1963 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide called *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* was published by the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 7981539.

# **Step 1 - Historical context.**

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

### Political and social overview.

The 1950s saw important developments as Canada turned its attention from the Second World War efforts to building a welfare state, including national hospital insurance, universal pension for Canadians, and compulsory union membership in unionized companies (Bothwell et al., 1989, pp. 146-150). The country also started to improve its support of the arts and cultural organizations, such as Canadian literature, theatre and ballet companies, national broadcasting and film (Bothwell et al., 1989, pp. 151-155).

In the context of the Cold War between the alliance led by the United States and the alliance led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Canada joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and between 1950 and 1957 Canada integrated its air defences with those of the United States, first monitoring the North (1951) and concluding in 1957 with the signing of the North American Air Defence Treaty which created the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) (Finkel, 1997).

On June 21, 1957 the Conservative party was, after 22 years in opposition, leading again the country with John George Diefenbaker as Prime Minister.

Diefenbaker's government featured two underlying forces: "If Canada's relationship with the United States was one of the two foci of political change during the early sixties, the other was the place of French Canada and Quebec in Canadian Confederation" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 251). In this sense, a major social and political movement started to take place in Quebec when after the 1960 election the government of the Quebec Liberals "changed dramatically the direction of government in Quebec. *Time* magazine talked about a 'Quiet Revolution' to describe the increasing secularization of education and social services, and the new involvement of the state in the Quebec economy" (Finkel 1997, p. 81).

This time was characterized by the growing relationship with United States, and the historical and high-regarded liaison with Great Britain as part of the Commonwealth (Finkel, 1997). When looking at external affairs the Korean War, the Indochina War, the acquisition of nuclear weapons, and the creation of an autonomous Jewish state in Palestine were world events that tested Canada's role as a 'middle power'. The Diefenbaker's government also showed some international actions for world disarmament, liberation of captive people, and participation in educational programs in poor countries, such as the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan and the Colombo Plan (Bothwell et al., 1989).

Towards the end of the Diefenbaker's government, the Cuban missile crisis of 1961 generated further debate regarding the need to acquire nuclear warheads as a deterrent and to support NATO, and in April 1963 the opposition leader, Liberal Lester Bowles Pearson, was elected as Prime Minister (Bothwell et al., 1989).

With the new government, "Pearson called for an inquiry to investigate 'the means of developing the bicultural character of Canada'" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 252). In addition to the relationship with Quebec, Canada also faced several social changes with the *baby boomers* (those born between 1945 and 1965), who started to challenge the traditional values of family and sexuality. The continued increase in female employment, the creation of the contraceptive pill, the social use of drugs like marijuana, increase of divorce rates, coming out process from gays and lesbians, are a few examples of this social transformation (Finkel, 1997).

## Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

For the period of 1946 to 1962 "more than 2.1 million newcomers, the great majority of them white newcomers from Britain and Europe, entered a geographically vast country whose population in 1941 had stood at only 11.5 million people" (Iacovetta, 2006, p. 10). This immigration flow was not consistent: Even though the immigration highly increased in the decade of 1947-1957, the Conservative government then halted the flow of newcomers. "As a result, immigration dropped off sharply. In 1958–59, the number of people immigrating to Canada plunged to 124,851; the following year, the number dropped again, to 106,928. Not until 1962 did it move upward again" (Knowles, 2000, p.76).

Canada was also experiencing an urbanization process that included immigrant groups moving from farms to the city. "In the off-farm migration of the 1950's all these groups became increasingly urbanized although they all remained less urban than the general population which was 70 per cent urban in 1961" (Porter, 2004, p. 53). In this sense in this period there was an increased "emphasis on skilled trades people and

professionals, instead of agricultural workers, who settled, not in rural areas, but in urban centres" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 318). This trend was reflected in the immigration demographics: "In 1948, about one in five workers arriving in Canada was a farmer or agricultural worker. By 1961, this figure was closer to one in twenty" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 318).

In terms of who could enter Canada, "until 1962 there was still preferred and non-preferred sources of immigrants built into Canadian immigration policy" (Porter, 2004, p. 47). The majority of the immigrants were still white Europeans while "only four percent of the new Canadians from 1946 to 1962 came from Africa and Asia and the bulk of the immigrants from these continents were whites from South Africa, Rhodesia, and Israel" (Finkel, 1997, p. 48).

After many decades of ethnic restrictions to immigration to the country, "Canada revised its immigration rules in 1962 and 1967, removing overtly racist criteria in favour of criteria that gave preference to immigrants who matched Canada's labour needs" (Finkel, 197, p. 129). As per the 1962 immigration regulations, "any unsponsored immigrants who had the requisite education, skill, or other qualifications were to be considered suitable for admission, irrespective of colour, race, or national origin" (Knowles, 2000, p. 81) if they could establish that "they had a specific job waiting for them in Canada or were able to support themselves until they found employment, they were not criminals or terrorists, and they did not suffer from a disease that endangered public health" (Knowles, 2000, p. 81). With the 1962 new regulation, Canada "abandoned its country-of-origin immigrant selection system that had (...) privileged the entry of British, French, and American citizens and also (...) other Europeans (...) [and]

opened immigration to individuals with desired work skills from all corners of the world" (Simmons, 2010, p. 73).

In this way, the 1962 immigration regulations mark an important hit in the immigration policy in Canada: "In the case of independent immigrants, potential economic contribution was to weigh much more heavily than race or country of origin, although family sponsorship was assuming a larger role relative to independent admissions" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 350-351). In addition, the demographic characteristics of the new immigrants also began to change: "British immigration had declined substantially, while southern Europe, especially Italy, and central Europe became much more important sources" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 350-351). When these new immigration rules were implemented on February 1, 1962, "Canada became the first of the three large receiving countries in international migration—the other two being the United States and Australia—to dismantle its discriminatory immigration policy" (Knowles, 2000, p. 82). Simmons (2004) makes an important distinction: This new immigration policy "was officially non-racist but not anti-racist, so that racism in Canadian society and in the international system continued to affect immigration policy and its outcomes to some degree" (Simmons, 2004, p. 247).

In regards with the motives to establish this new immigration policy, for Finkel (1997) a reason for this immigration regulation change was that "immigrants were not available in the 1960s from the traditional sources of recruitment in western Europe – those countries were in excellent financial shape and fewer citizens chose to immigrate" (Finkel, 1997, p. 129). In addition to the decrease of immigrants from Europe, according to Simmons (2004) "skilled workers were unemployed or underemployed (low wages) in

their home countries and hence very interested in international migration" (Simmons, 2004, pp. 247-248) and "some of these countries had long-standing political and cultural links with Canada (...) [such as] the Commonwealth Caribbean, India, Sri Lanka, and Hong Kong, all of which have become major contributors to Canadian immigration" (Simmons, 2004, pp. 247-248).

Knowles (2000) brings up another contemporary reason: Since the Bill for the Recognition and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (created in 1960 by the Diefenbaker's government) "had rejected discrimination by reason of race, colour, national origin, religion, or sex, the federal government could no longer justify selecting immigrants on the basis of race or national origin" (Knowles, 2000, p. 82). "Moreover, the long-standing discriminatory provisions now seemed anachronistic and untenable in an era when provincial governments were legislating against discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and origin in such areas as employment, education, and accommodation" (Knowles, 2000, p. 82). The role of Canada in foreign affairs also seems to have provided the appropriate environment for the termination of the white Canada in immigration policy in 1962 since "racism anywhere in Canadian policy was incompatible with Canada's rising aspirations to become a leading nation in international affairs through diplomacy, international development efforts, and peacekeeping" (Simmons, 2010, p. 75). Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) also include domestic issues to explain the changes in immigration policy since "this change in perspective reflected both the growing domestic political influence of church, community, ethnic, and other public interest groups" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 324) as well as "international considerations whereby Canada's credibility in a multi-racial British Commonwealth of newly independent nations, and its role as an honest broker, middle power, and peacekeeper in the larger global theatre, made many of its former immigration policies increasingly anachronistic" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 324). In this sense "the termination of the White Canadian immigration policy addressed both domestic economic objectives and international policy goals" (Simmons, 2010, p. 75).

## Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

The first part of this section provides a morphological description of form and structure of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) that identified print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. The section then includes a semantic description implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* that identified categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors, as well as the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives, and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

### Morphological description.

The *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) was printed in black and white, half letter size, and it is composed of text in a font that is similar to the Times New Roman style. It includes 36 pictures, 3 maps, 2 graphs, and a large folded map of Canada in colour at the back of the publication. The cover is in colour and exhibits a design of square shapes, and the title *Guide to Canadian Citizenship*.

The guide has 94 pages—with a table of contents in the beginning of the guide—and it is divided in 8 chapters: The Story of Canada (17 pages with 19 questions at

the end of the section), People and Life in Canada (18 pages with 10 questions at the end of the section), The Land (12 pages with 10 questions at the end of the section), Resources and Industries (15 pages with 14 questions at the end of the section), How Canada is Governed (19 pages with 24 questions at the end of the section), Rights and Responsibilities of a Citizen (5 pages with 6 questions at the end of the section), Appendices (4 pages with Oath of Allegiance and Steps to Citizenship) and Index (4 pages).

The relative weight of each thematic component in this guide could be aggregated as follows: Government System (22%), Society (20%), Economy (17%), History (17%), Geography (14%), Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (6%) and Citizenship Procedures (4%).

## Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the publication *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 43.6% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), 43% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), and 13.4% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 65.4% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 17.9% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.), and 16.7% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "they" (25.7%), followed by "he" (21.3%), "you" (7.1%), "we" (5.5%), "somebody" (4.7%), "I" (2%), and "thou" (1.6%).

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 29.1% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 25.1% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), 20.3% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 15.3% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 6.9% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.), 1.9% were adverbs of doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.), and 1.4% were adverbs of assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 66.1% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 9.6% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 9.6% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 5.4% were connectors of opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.), 4.7% were connectors of time ("when", "while", "since", etc.), 2.5% were connectors of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), 1.2% were connectors of cause ("because", "in consequence

of", "therefore", etc.), 0.8% were connectors of goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.), and 0.1% were connectors of place ("whereby", "whereupon", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the publication *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (521), "Have" (70), "Come" (38), "May" (37), "Do" (34), "Include" (33), "Make" (31), "Give" (26), "Take" (25), and "Must" (23).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "Other" (84), "Large" (61), "Many" (58), "Important" (50), "Great" (48), "All" (39), "Canadian" (37), "Provincial" (37), "Main" (27), "Municipal" (27), and "National" (22).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (271), "Province" (107), "Government" (86), "Canadian" (61), "Country" (60), "People" (58), "Quebec" (51), "Member" (46), "Year" (43), and "Ontario" (38).

The parsing of the text of the publication *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before

verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "Canada" (578), "Canadian" (61), "France" (55), "City" (54), "United Kingdom" (53), "Group" (39), "Council" (36), "Act" (34), "Name" (27), and "Person" (26). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Canada" (565), "Province" (107), "Government" (94), "Country" (63), "Canadian" (61), "People" (58), "Part" (50), "City" (50), "Industry" (46), "Member" (45), and "Citizen" (43).

# **Step III - Rhetorical analysis.**

The rhetorical analysis of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) focused on the (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Metasememes.

The text analysis of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

## 15) *The story of Canada* (p. 1)

The term *story* may qualify as a metonymy, since it is replacing the term *history* and placing both terms within the same category. The choice of word (*story* instead of *history*) may have been a decision to *downgrade* the information: It is not a

comprehensive history of Canada but rather a selection of moments that are told as a story.

16) In the next one hundred years the French and British established colonies in the new world. (p. 2)

The above-cited sentence contains what can be classified as a metaphor in absentia, where the term *new world* may be replacing the term *North America*. The text does not utilize quotation marks or mentions North America in the sentences and paragraphs preceding this metaphor, but based on the context of the sentence it is possible to conclude that a metaphor is at play: There is no other mention of new world as a territory different than Canada, the subject matter of the guide.

17) When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, Canada was united "from sea to sea". (p. 11)

The term *from sea to sea*, which is presented within quotation marks, could be considered a metonymy. The operation at play here may be fairly complex: Without the quotation marks, as zero-degree denotative words, the term from sea to sea is accurately depicting the fact that Canada was able to build a railway system connecting Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The addition of quotation marks could have been done to alert the reader than some additional meaning is also intended. Canada's motto is *A Mari Usque Ad Mare*, which could be translated into English as precisely *from sea to sea*. In this interpretation, the term is a metonymy since the achievements of the railroad and the country's motto are being connected in contiguity through the term *from sea to sea*.

18) Canada co-operates with the United States in many other fields besides defence.

Close and friendly relations in trade, economic, scientific and cultural activities have

grown up over the years between these two close neighbours. (p. 16)

This paragraph could be using the rhetorical recourse of metonymy to highlight the importance of the Canadian-United States relationship. The word *close* is used first to show the importance of the links between Canada and the United States, and then the same word *close* is employed as a geographical reference.

19) In the last twenty or thirty years, and particularly since the war, there has been a strong cultural upsurge in Canada. (p. 22)

In the above-cited sentence, the words *strong cultural upsurge* may be classified as a metaphor that might be referencing increased cultural activity. The metaphor may be working in absentia: The increased cultural activity is like a strong upsurge, with the term *cultural* as the link between both ideas. This interpretation is based on the fact that at the time of producing this text, the Government of Canada was investing in creating structures to enhance the cultural organizations and individuals working in the cultural industries.

## Metalogisms.

The text analysis of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

20) In 1689 a new series of wars between Britain and France began. This meant that the struggle between colonies in North America continued. At the same time violent wars broke out among the Indian tribes, who had allied themselves with either the French or British settlers. Communities were often attacked by hostile Indians and the inhabitants killed, or carried off as captives. (p. 5)

This paragraph could be considered to be featuring a euphemism. The text may be

constructing a parallel track: the Europeans (Britain and France) fighting for the control of the North American colonies, while the non-European population also taking sides and attacking communities with devastating results. It can be said that the text is placing all inhabitants of North America in 1689 at the same level (all fighting), but attributing a higher degree of violence to the non-European population without actually saying that the acts committed by the natives were worse.

21) The coming of the Loyalists brought many changes for the French settlers. In a colony which had been mainly French for over a century there was now a large British population. These new British inhabitants had been used to an elected assembly in the American colonies and a share in the government. They wanted the same thing in Canada. (p. 7)

This could be another example of euphemism. In this case, the last sentence of the paragraph makes a reference that could be construed as a veiled critique: The British inhabitants from the American colonies now arrived in what was a French-speaking part of North America and wanted certain rights (elected Assembly and a share in government) that, based on the text, the French-speaking group did not want or thought as a priority. While the text does not openly explore the virtues of an elected assembly, the information is provided in a context in which relations between both sides (French and English) were strained and it led, according to the guide, to a rebellion. The rhetorical operation seems to be subtly implying that if the French settlers were in favour of the elected assembly and to share in the government, there would be no tension. It can be also said that the selection of those two topics to show the disagreements between the parties may be considered a particularizing synecdoche, since the authors of the text may

have chosen many other issues that were also at play in the social tensions brought by the British Empire Loyalists.

22) At the end of the war one of Canada's great periods of immigration began. Since 1945 close to three million immigrants have come to Canada from nearly every part of the world. They are united with all Canadians in their love of freedom, their desire to live under a democratic form of government and their hopes of a great future for Canada. (p. 14)

In this paragraph the text seem to be using an allegory that presents the common interests and intentions that all immigrants to Canada should share. It can be said that this allegory functions both as a way to highlight the *good* characteristics or desires of immigrants as well as inform the reader that the interests of the majority of immigrants should be the reader's interests as well.

23) And now what of the people themselves? What is their background? Almost all Canadians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who have come to Canada at one time or another during the past centuries. All have brought with them the traditions of their various countries and cultures. They have settled in Canada, have become a part of it but, at the same time, they have contributed to the cultural diversity which is characteristic of the country. The vast majority of the people living in Canada were, of course, born in this country. (p. 18)

The above-cited sentence seems to be operating as a paradox. While the first paragraph notes as a fact that almost all Canadians are immigrants and their cultural background is varied, the last part of the paragraph provides as a well-known fact that the majority of the population was born in Canada, which displaces the traditions and cultures brought by

the immigrants to a different level, without providing any specific clues in terms of where those different traditions and cultures stand (hence the use of the rhetorical paradox). It is left to the reader to understand if those immigrant traditions should be superseded by the Canadian culture, or if they are tolerated, or if they are part of the mainstream Canadian culture.

24) Over the years immigrants have come from many different backgrounds and they now comprise roughly a quarter of the population. From the point of view of language and cultural life, however, there continue to be two main groups—French-speaking and English-speaking. (p. 20)

This slightly different paradox seems to provide better clarity in terms of the positioning of various cultures. It can be argued that in this case the paradox is resolved with the acknowledgement that a quarter of the entire population are immigrants while at the same time their culture and languages are firmly below the two state-supported cultures: English and French.

25) Voluntary action represents initiative and responsibility on the part of the individual citizen. A feeling of personal responsibility for our community and our country is at the heart of democracy. That is why voluntary organizations are closely related to the democratic way of life in Canada. (p. 33)

This paragraph might be considered an allegory. The rhetorical strategy at play could be described as follows: Through the use of the metaphor *heart of democracy*, volunteering is given a preferential status as an optimal way of engaging in citizenship. The fact is further amplified by placing the voluntary organizations again as a key element of a democratic Canada. If the reader of the guide wants to adopt model citizenship

behaviours, then volunteering seems to be strongly encouraged by the writers of the guide.

26) Canada is the second largest country in the world. (p. 36)

It is here [Prairies] that part of the world's wheat supply is grown. (p. 39)

The St. Lawrence River itself, one of the world's greatest rivers (...). (p. 41),

*The Great Lakes are the largest chain of inland fresh water lakes in the world.* (p. 42)

*Of the twenty-four time zones that cover the world, Canada has seven.* (p. 44)

Canadians (...) built transportation and communication systems which are among the finest in the world. (p. 46)

Canada has long been the leading world producer of Nickel. (p. 49)

Canadian reserves of Uranium are the largest in the world (...). (p. 50)

Canada supplies about one half the world's total requirements of asbestos. (p. 50)

Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, is among the world's most important grain markets. (p. 52)

Some of the largest trees in the world are found in British Columbia (...). (p. 55)

Canada is one of the world's greatest pulp exporters (...). (p. 55)

Canada ranks fourth among the nations of the world in the production of electric power. (p. 56)

Canada is the fifth trading nation in the world. (p. 60)

These are some examples of hyperboles which are used to highlight and compare the standing of Canada with other countries. This strategy can be found especially in the sections devoted to geography (The Land) and economy (Resources and Industries).

27) There is general agreement that one duty of every person in Canada is to obey the

*laws.* (p. 84)

This sentence could be construed as a euphemism. The phrase *There is general agreement* may be working as a generalizing synecdoche (the views of the writers of the guide being combined with what could be dubbed as the public opinion or at the very least the opinion of the majority) which gives support to the second part of the sentence in which something that could be described as almost an interdiction is expressed: Every person in Canada must obey the laws. The way both parts of the sentence interact avoids to directly asking the reader to obey the laws, but puts the reader in a position in where that inference is possible.

28) Good citizenship in a democracy is, indeed, a matter of conscience. It is based on a sense of responsibility. King Louis XIV of France is said to have remarked "I am the state", but in a democracy we say, "We, the people, are the state." We, the people, are responsible for our own country, our government and way of life. The responsibilities of citizenship are therefore many. (pp. 84-85)

The above-cited paragraph seems to have two rhetorical figures working in tandem. The reference to King Louis XIV in quotation marks and the response (also in quotation marks) by the writers could be construed as an antithesis: The King's phrase is judged against an inclusive definition of democracy. That antithesis leads to a hyperbole, in which the reader is introduced to the many responsibilities of citizenship that are summarized in a manner that includes almost every aspect of managing the affairs of the country. The reason why the sentence could be classified as a hyperbole is because elsewhere in the publication text is explained that democracy in Canada works via delegation.

### Narrative point of view.

The *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) seems to be using an objective narration point of view. It can be argued that the narrator does not reveal its presence to the reader, and evaluative judgements are not formally disclosed but rather emitted through the use of rhetorical strategies. The reader is also not involved in the narration; most of the action seems to be described in third person. The only exception to this objective point of view is the Preface found on page 2, which begins as an objective narration but then personalizes the message including the reader as part of the discourse.

# Step IV - Discussion of the construction of the narrative.

The construction of the narrative of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) could be called the narrative of the *responsible* citizen.

## The narrative of the responsible citizen.

The emitter of the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) seems to display an objective narrative point of view: The role of the emitter is to provide information that should be useful for the receiver as he/she prepares to meet the judge, who will ultimately decide if the candidate meets the criteria to become a Canadian citizen. This detached

style can be seen in the most frequent pronouns used in this guide which were "they" (25.7%) and "he" (21.3%), which in the case of this text may represent the prospective citizen, Canada, or the Canadian people.

The text in this guide seems to provide greater certainty than the *How to become a* Canadian Citizen guide (1947 edition) in terms of what to expect of the judge examination: Beyond good character, a trait that remains as a part of the judge's assessment, the focus seems to be now more about the responsibilities and privileges of a citizen (in that order), and to ensure that the person applying for citizenship is indeed planning to stay in Canada and be loyal to the country. Becoming a citizen is presented as mostly a privilege that is given to those who are planning to invest long-term in being Canadian, with two additional requirements: The prospective citizen should be lawabiding as seen in the euphemism about every person in Canada obeying the laws (rhetorical figure # 27) and also firmly committed to a western-style democracy, as described in allegory that presents the interests and intentions that Canadian immigrants should have (rhetorical figure # 22). At the time where according to the historical review one of the biggest geopolitical issues was the Cold War between the alliance led by the United States and the alliance led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) highlighting western-style democracy is a plausible strategy to communicate to new citizens what type of political and social organization they should support if they wanted to be responsible and conscious Canadians. The common thread in the various sections of the guide seemed to be the notion of responsibility, a concept that permeates the text when it presents history, society, the political system and the expectations the guide

places in the new citizen, as seen in the combined antithesis and hyperbole about what good citizenship means (rhetorical figure # 28).

#### Narratives about Canada.

Canadian history is presented almost entirely from a European perspective, and the actantial report shows a strong linkage with France and the United Kingdom. The discovery of the land is attributed to the Scandinavians (Vikings), John Cabot and Jacques Cartier. The narration calls the pre-European population *Indians* and they suddenly appear as such in the text without any introduction or acknowledgement of their activities other than to indicate that these groups traded with the Europeans and that some tribes took sides with the English while others aligned with the French, as seen in the euphemism about the series of wars in 1689 (rhetorical figure # 20). History then moves to explain in more detail the evolution of the relationship between English-speaking and French-speaking settlers, with the French essentially happy to keep their religion and laws with the English seeking an elected government since they wanted to be at least partially responsible for running their own affairs, which is also presented in the text using an euphemism (rhetorical figure # 21). Only after Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered a Confederation is when Western Canada appears in the story, as essentially settled via immigration and thanks to the construction of the railway, referred in a metonymy about uniting Canada from sea to sea (rhetorical figure # 17).

In the contemporary narrative of Canada, the guide mentions the *close* relationship that Canada enjoys with the United States, a relationship that in the text is presented via metonymy (rhetorical figure # 18). The guide dedicates an equal amount of

attention to Canada's economy than to its history (17% in both cases). There is a detailed description of the various natural resources that Canada exports as well as its manufacturing industries, which may be an indication of the focus that immigration recruitment had at the time, shifting towards a recruitment strategy matching immigrants with the needs of industry, as seen in the historical overview. In this sense, the text highlights how Canada stacks up against other countries in various economic indicators, and in research as well, with the text using numerous hyperboles to highlight these facts (rhetorical figure # 26).

The other aspect that could be highlighted is what can be described as the markings of a welfare state: the mention of public education, health care, minimum wage, equal-pay laws, and the organization of the workers of large industries in labour unions. The creation of the welfare state shaped Canada's identity, as seen in the historical review, and this is the only analyzed guide that provides a dedicated sub-section—under the People and Life in Canada section—that explains the role of Unions. This guide also uses a metaphor about the *strong cultural upsurge* (rhetorical figure #19) to highlight the quality of Canadian art and culture, also described in the historical context.

## Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

The French-English axis continues throughout the historical narration and permeates into the other sections of the guide that deal with contemporary affairs and culture, as seen in the paradox that acknowledges the cultural diversity of the new immigrants but places those traditions at a lower rhetorical level than mainstream Canadian culture (rhetorical figure # 24). While the text recognizes that the reader may

have other cultural backgrounds, it does sum it up into *two main groups*, being those French-speaking and English-speaking people. Bilingualism is defined by these two main groups and the guide goes as far as to clearly state that the French and English are in a different position (presumably meaning *higher*) than the other 16 different ethnic groups mentioned by the text.

Ethnic diversity beyond British immigration had been shaping the Canadian population for at least a decade, as seen in the historical review. However, the emitter of this guide seemed to have a civic ideology approach to the process of adaptation to Canada as seen in the previous paradox that acknowledge the varied backgrounds of the immigrants to Canada, but places them on a different level that mainstream traditions and values.

# Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

The *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) presents citizenship as full membership in Canadian society. The Tropes software parsing shows that the word *member* (with 45 mentions) is a frequent actor of the text. There is less focus than in the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) on the actual mechanics of acquiring Canadian citizenship and more descriptions on expected behaviours.

The baseline for the new citizen seems to be the daily work and be law-abiding, described using euphemism (rhetorical figure # 27). Moderation may also be valued: The rights of others may sometimes trump individual rights, and consideration for others is portrayed as the *mark of a good citizen*. Despite proposing this baseline, the text seems to place higher expectations for the new citizen than in the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition). Believing in democracy—as understood in western

societies—and defending that way of life was important for the emitter, as seen in the allegory that presents the interests and intentions that Canadian immigrants should have (rhetorical figure # 22). The text also highlights the importance of volunteering, as described in the allegory about voluntary action (rhetorical figure # 25). Voting is another aspect of citizenship that the text highlights, and the guide provides detailed explanations on the voting process and the way candidates are chosen. The new citizen is invited to vote, but not to engage further in the political process: The main thrust for engagement in society seems to be through volunteering.

It could be argued that the ideal citizen constructed by the text is a moderate, responsible individual that works hard, obeys the laws, commits to the Western values, understands his/her limits, and volunteers in the community. The guide concludes with the combined antithesis and hyperbole about what good citizenship means (rhetorical figure # 28) that highlights the importance of democracy and community engagement for the well-being of fellow citizens and the country.

# Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976)

The 1976 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide called *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* was published by Secretary of State, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 1830623.

# **Step I - Historical context.**

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary

to the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Political and social overview.

The Pearson years were marked by the strains in the Canada-United States relationship—especially when the United States began to bomb North Vietnam in 1965—and the Ottawa-Quebec relationship that had its flashpoint during General Charles De Gaulle's visit to Canada in 1967 (Bothwell et al., 1989).

The combination of Canada's Centennial in 1967, the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War, and the Canadian prosperity at the time "made Canadians, so complacent about American control in the 1950s, more anxious to assert their independence of the Americans in the 1960s and 1970s politically, economically, and culturally" (Finkel, 1997, p. 157). However, "the nationalism that defined Canada's identity, in terms of protection of Canadian business and cultural institutions from American control, was mainly potent in English-speaking Canada" (Finkel, 1997, p. 158). "For francophones, particularly in Quebec, cultural protection meant preservation (...) of the cultural language" and "the national issue' in the province largely referred to relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada" (Finkel, 1997, p. 158).

The Quiet Revolution under the Quebec Liberals, that saw a strong public presence in the provincial education and economy (Finkel, 1997), was based on "a dream that finally a common nationality might come from the 'modernization' of Quebec and the breakdown of the barrier of traditional Quebec nationalism" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 266). However, "change came to Quebec less quietly that was first thought and, when it

came, proved far more resistant to management and government control than political scientists suggested" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 266). At this time, while Pearson was moving towards bilingualism and biculturalism, bombs started to explode in Montreal mailboxes (Bothwell et al., 1989).

The internal relationship between Ottawa and Quebec also impacted foreign relationships, especially with General Charles de Gaulle's visit for Canada's centennial celebrations in 1967 and the role of Ottawa and Quebec in planning this visit. De Gaulle's speech in Quebec regarding the *Liberation* and a *free Quebec* caused Pearson to declare that "the people of Canada are free. Every province of Canada is free. Canadians do not need to be liberated" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 285). The issue of Quebec nationalism and separatism was now in discussion: Following De Gaulle's visit, the *Option Quebec*, an appeal for Quebec sovereignty was issued and then defeated, the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association was formed, and the Parti Québécois (PQ) was created. (Bothwell et al., 1989).

In addition to the Quebec nationalist movement, the Native movement also challenged Canadian society in the 1960s and 1970s. "By the late 1960s, the various local native organizations became vocal in asserting their rights to practise their traditional ways, and to have control over their resources, schools, and health" (Finkel, 1997, p. 243). The White Paper of 1969 was a key policy document for the Native movement: The White Paper "correctly identified racial discrimination as a phenomenon that robbed Native people of participation in the larger society. Controversially, however, it suggested that segregation on reserves contributed to the separation of white and Indian that produced stereotypes" (Finkel, 1997, p. 249). The document suggested "the gradual

elimination of reserves with native people coming under the jurisdiction of the provinces" (Finkel, 1997, p. 249). The Native people opposed to the White Paper and prepared the Red Paper that stated that "Natives in Canada had become 'citizen minus' who needed to be treated as 'citizen plus' for some time in order that they catch up with average Canadian living standards" (Finkel, 1997, p. 250).

In terms of social reforms, "the sixties finally brought to Canada that social service state whose first glimmerings had been seen during the First World War" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 287), including pension plans, medicare, education programs, and grants (Bothwell, 1989) and the Canada Assistance Plan (Finkel, 1997). "The 'welfare state' measures of the sixties, particularly medicare, became for many Canadians part of the emerging –and always contested- identity of Canada (...)— a caring, sharing country, not socialist, but not purely grubby capitalist either" (Finkel, 1997, pp. 152-3).

Canadian society presented some visible social changes such as the creation of new colleges across the country, a higher number of young people attending universities, student activism, and experimentation with drugs and sex (Bothwell et al., 1989). There was also an increased government's role in the promotion of culture (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 400) and a growing nationalism in the arts (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 312). As part of this focus on Canadian identity, the red maple leaf became the Canadian emblem in 1967, year of Canada's Centennial (Bothwell et al., 1989).

Following Canada's Centennial, Pearson announced his resignation. Pierre Trudeau became Prime Minister in 1968, with strong vote from his native Quebec (Bothwell et al., 1989). Attack of the inefficiency and conservatism of the bureaucracy, change of the administration structure, and disdain of traditional political machinery and

party dynamics marked Trudeau's first years in government (Bothwell et al., 1989). In regards with the local economy, "when Trudeau assumed office, Canada was in the midst of a period of exceptional growth that lasted from 1962 to 1973" (Finkel, 1997, p. 141) but inflation and unemployment began to rise in Canada in the early 1970s (Finkel 1997).

In terms of foreign affairs, despite Pearson's request to cease the American bombing in North Vietnam, "Canada continued to support the American effort in Southeast Asia", and "there was little visible change in Canada's stance on the war when Pierre Trudeau succeeded Pearson" (Finkel, 1997, pp. 153-4). Trudeau also implemented some foreign policy actions such as recognizing the government of mainland China or removing subsidies from companies involved in the Apartheid regime in South Africa (Finkel, 1997).

In the national front, in 1970 the government faced the *October crisis* with the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ)'s kidnappings, and Trudeau declared the War Measures Act, that "gave the federal government and its agencies, including the RCMP and the military, the power to arrest and detain individuals without stating a cause" (Finkel, 1997, p. 194). A strong supporter of federalism and opposed to any sovereignist ideas (Finkel, 1997, p. 203), Trudeau believed that "if Quebec were to leave Confederation or become a de facto nation within the nation-state of Canada, the rights of Anglophones within Quebec and francophones outside Quebec would suffer" (Finkel, 1997, p. 203).

#### Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

Following the 1962 immigration regulations, a new points system was introduced in the immigration policy in 1967 to ensure that new immigrants would have the

necessary skills to enter in the workforce (Knowles, 2000). "In the points system, immigration officers assign points up to a fixed maximum in each of several categories, such as education, employment opportunities in Canada, age, the individual's personal characteristics, and degree of fluency in English or French" (Knowles, 2000, p. 84); the points system "assigned no explicit weight to country of origin" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 354-355). In addition to the points, "other features of these regulations included the elimination of discrimination based on nationality or race from all classes of immigrants and the creation of a special provision that allowed visitors to apply for immigrant status while in Canada" (Knowles, 2000, p. 84). The 1967 regulations also allowed relatives of Canadian residents—not only Canadian citizens—to immigrate to Canada, "but confined the sponsorship category to a relatively limited range of relatives (...) [while] "more distant relatives to Canadian citizens of landed immigrants (...) were required to pass a relaxed version of the point system" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 358).

The 1967 immigration regulations "were a breakthrough in Canadian immigration policy and management. They established without reservations a policy which is universal, non-discriminatory, selective, and particularly directed to meeting Canada's manpower needs" (Hawkins, 2004, p. 60). In this sense, the 1967 regulations "reflected a significant shift of thinking with respect to both matters of process and matters of substance" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 357). In regards with the process, "by assigning a set of publicly announced weights to different factors to be evaluated in determining the admissibility of non-sponsored immigrants, the regulations attempted to confine and structure the exercise of administrative discretion by immigration officials"

(Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 357). In regards with the substance, "the 1967 regulations finally removed all explicit traces of racial discrimination from Canada's immigration laws" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 357). The 1962 regulations and the 1967 regulations "are different, but they can also be viewed as part of a single policy designed to ensure that Canada would have access to large numbers of the kind of skilled immigrants it desired to support industrial expansion" (Simmons, 2010, p. 73). While "the 1962 regulations called for a person to be admitted to Canada 'who by reason of his education, training, skills, or other special qualifications is likely to be able to establish himself successfully in Canada'" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 338), it is with the 1967 regulations that the selection of applicants would be delimited by a "points system that identified and weighted categories of credentials and skills" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 338).

In terms of immigration levels to Canada, the positive economic conditions during the 1963-76 period "yielded high levels of immigration for most of the period and an increasingly more diverse composition of the immigrant intake" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 353). In this sense, the "total intake for the period 1963-76 was 2.25 million people" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 353). But economics influenced the number of people immigrating to Canada and "immigration would climb to 184,200 in 1973 and then to 218,465 in 1974 before dipping to 187,881 in 1975 and 149,429 in 1976" (Knowles, 2000, p. 85) when the economy started to show signs of deterioration (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 353).

The immigrant demographics started to change thanks to the 1967 regulations. "In 1962, 78 per cent of all immigrants came from Europe, a figure that fell to 38 per cent in

1976. British immigration fell from 28 to 16 percent and Italian immigration from 17 to 3 percent" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 354). At the same time, "the proportion of immigrants coming from Asia and the Caribbean increased dramatically, from 10 percent in 1965-6 to 23 percent in 1969-70. By 1976, more than a quarter of all arriving immigrants were Asian in origin" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 354).

In regards to the work sectors affected by the integration of new immigrants "manufacturing, mechanical, managerial, professional, technical, and clerical occupations grew in importance, while service, labour, and agricultural occupations became less common" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 354). Immigrants would prefer to settle in the most populated areas of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Knowles, 2000), where "it was obvious that visible ethnic and racial minorities were becoming a significant part of Canada's social fabric. By contrast, other parts of the country, such as the four Atlantic provinces, remained virtually untouched by this immigration" (Knowles, 2000, p. 88).

Contemporary to the 1967 immigration regulations and the following changes in immigration demographics, the *Official Languages Act* in 1969 established official bilingualism of Canada with the English and French languages, and then *Multiculturalism policy* in 1971 established four objectives for the Government of Canada:

Support all of Canada's cultures and (...) the development of (...) cultural groups (...); assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity, and assist immigrant to acquire at least one Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society. (Kallen, 2004, p. 79)

# Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

The first part of this section provides a morphological description of form and structure of the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) that identified print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. The section then includes a semantic description implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* that identified categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors, as well as the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives, and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

## Morphological description.

The *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) was first published in 1974 and revised in 1975 (editions not available for this study) with the 1975 guide reprinted in 1976, the latter being the one used for this study. The guide was printed in colour, measures 7 ½ inches by 7 ½ inches, and it is composed of text in what could be considered an Arial font style. The guide also includes 32 pictures and 1 small map. The cover is in colour and exhibits six more pictures (children, adults and seniors smiling, talking or doing activities), the title *Canada. Guide for Citizenship*, and the Secretary of State Monogram and logo with the new Canadian flag (with the maple leaf).

The guide has 34 pages—with a table of contents in the beginning of the guide—and it is divided in 8 chapters: Introduction (1 page), Geography (7 pages), People and their work (3 pages), History (4 pages), Cultural growth and education (4 pages), Government (4 pages), International relations (2 pages) and Citizenship (2 pages). The 43

questions that refer to the content of the guide are included as subtitles for each component of information. The guide ends with 2 pages listing the Courts of Canadian Citizenship, and 3 pages listing the Regional Directorates and Local Offices of the Department of the Secretary of State.

The relative weight of each thematic component in this guide could be aggregated as follows: Society (26%), Geography (26%), History (15%), Government System (15%), Foreign Affairs (7%), Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (7%) and Introduction (4%).

This is the first guide included in this study that has a French version on the back side of the publication, with similar length and design.

## Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 43% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), 42.5% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), and 14.2% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 58.5% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects,

regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 25.4% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives), and 16.1% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "they" (33.3%), followed by "you" (28.8%), "he" (12.1%) and "somebody" (3%). The semantic analysis did not identify any pronouns "I" or "we" in this guide.

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 27.6% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 27.1% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), 19.8% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 18.2% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 4.7% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.), 2.1% were adverbs of doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.), and 1.7% were adverbs of assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 75% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 8.2% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 7.7% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 4.6% were connectors of opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.), 1.2% were connectors of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), and 1% were connectors of cause ("because", "in consequence of", "therefore", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (177), "Have" (43), "Become" (17), "Include" (17), "Make" (13), "Provide" (12), "Can" (12), "Do" (12), "Come" (11), and "Live" (9).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "Large" (32), "Other" (29), "Many" (26), "All" (19), "Canadian" (17), "Important" (17), "New" (16), "Provincial" (14), "Cultural" (14), and "First" (11).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (156), "Country" (40), "People" (38), "Government" (37), "Province" (30), "Canadian" (28), "Ontario" (26), "Language" (25), "Quebec" (22), and "Area" (22).

The parsing of the text of the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "People" (38), "Season" (23), "Area" (22), "Million" (20), "Year" (20), "Migrant" (17), "United Kingdom" (17), "Education" (14), "Capital" (13), "Development" (13), "Federal Government" (13), and "Ocean" (13). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Canada" (312), "Country" (44), "Government" (38), "Province" (30), "Canadian" (28), "Speech" (26), "Part" (25), "Industry" (24), "Group" (23), "Citizen" (19), and "Population" (19).

# Step III - Rhetorical analysis.

The rhetorical analysis of the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) focused on the metasememes (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Metasememes.

The text analysis of the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

29) Over 20,000 years ago the forefathers of Canada's Inuit and Indians arrived on this continent from Asia. (p. 14)

It can be argued that in this sentence the word *forefathers* is used as a metonymy: The relationship between *forefathers* and Inuit and Indians is mediated by Canada, which is giving both groups an identity.

30) Opening up of the Canadian West (p. 15)

This subtitle could be construed as a metaphor in absentia: According to the text the railway is what opened up the west to immigrant settlements; however it is not mentioned directly in the title and instead the term *opening up* is taking its place.

#### Metalogisms.

The text analysis of the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

31) Canada is a young country, a big country (...). (p. 3)

This sentence seems to be using the technique of repetitio as a means to highlight characteristics of Canada as a country.

32) You have already been in Canada long enough to know quite a lot about it. (p. 3)

This sentence could be understood as an euphemism: The Citizenship Act establishes that in order to apply for Canadian Citizenship the individual must have resided for certain number of years, and therefore the text seems to assume that during that time of residence the reader has been actively engaged in seeking information about Canada, and if that was not the case, the text may be indicating that the reader should have been engaged. This duality is what merits the classification of euphemism.

33) What is being done to encourage bilingualism in Canada? (p. 20)

What about other cultural groups in Canada? (p. 21)

Why does Canada have a Queen? (p. 25)

These three questions seem to be sharing the same rhetorical strategy: the use of litotes. The first question could be understood as assuming for the reader that bilingualism should (or must) be encouraged. It is a case of suppression in which by saying less, the implied message is actually saying more. The same rhetorical logic seems to have been

applied to the following question. Since there are efforts on bilingualism and it is described in the text as official policy... What is the place for other languages? In this case the argument is reduced to the term *other cultural groups* which could be seen as trying to include other languages but at the same time completes the definition of bilingualism in the previous question equating it (or at the very least placing it in proximity) to multiculturalism. Finally, the question about the monarchy seems to be using litotes as well since the fact that there is a question about why there is a Queen could be understood as implying that there are individuals that may question why the monarchy is part of Canada. In all three questions what is left unsaid seems to be as important as what is being effectively written.

34) As a peaceful, leading middle power, what are Canada's chief interests in the field of international relations? (p. 26)

This question could be interpreted has having nested metasememes and metalogisms. At the metasememe level, the term *middle power* seems to be replacing the word Canada, functioning as a metaphor in praesentia. At the metalogism level, the entire question could be seen as an allegory that may be describing Canada as a powerful country that is a world leader. It is interesting to point out that the text offers no explanation or definition of what *middle power* means or entails. This instance may be described as a litotes, in which the text requires the reader to be aware of contemporary discussions regarding the classification of Canada and its international activities in the world scene. As with the other litotes described previously, this guide seems to assume a reader that is fairly immersed in public issues.

### Narrative point of view.

The *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) seems to be using an objective narration point of view. It appears that the narrator chose not to reveal its presence to the reader, and evaluative judgements are not formally disclosed but rather emitted through the use of rhetorical strategies. The reader is also not involved in the narration; most of the action seems to be described in third person, with the exception of the introduction that directly addresses the reader.

# Step IV - Discussion of the construction of the narrative.

The construction of the narrative of the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) could be called the narrative of the *wholesome* citizen.

#### The narrative of the wholesome citizen.

The emitter of the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) seems to display an objective narrative point of view: The role of the emitter is in this case what could be described as an objective interviewer. This is the first analyzed guide where after "they" (33.3%) the second most frequent pronoun is "you" (28.8%), and most of the guide is comprised of a series of questions and answers to the reader, divided by

topics. The only exception is the Introduction, which welcomes the reader and uses an euphemism to possibly imply that the citizenship candidate knows—or should know—quite a bit about the country he/she is going to adopt (rhetorical figure # 32). Two additional examples of this strategy could be the mentioning of *as you know*, or the phrase *this notebook gives you facts and figures to remind you of some of the details about the country*. In these examples the emitter seems to assume that the reader is fairly well informed about current issues as well as having some sense of Canada's geography, economy and history.

The introduction is also the space used to encourage the reader to master at least one of the two official languages, while at the same time highlighting that the fact that the reader's own language and culture is also welcomed in Canada, with the caveat that it should be used to further enrich the local culture. This role of enriching society and participating in the community could be described as the *wholesome citizen* and seems to be central in the text, so much that the guide situates citizen active participation in decision-making activities as part of Canada's *wholesome democratic process*.

#### Narratives about Canada.

There seems to be an effort in this guide to humanize the emitter, to make it not a government document but rather to create a more casual conversation about Canada. *People* (with 38 mentions) is the most frequent actant in the text, and *Group* is among the most frequent actors (with 23 mentions). In fact, the chapter that deals with economic and demographic information is called "People and their work".

The historical overview of Canada's origins as a country is greatly reduced compared to previous guides, acknowledging the aboriginal population as *forefathers* of

Canada, as included in a metonymy (rhetorical figure # 29). The text continues mentioning the Vikings as the first Europeans to arrive to Canada, explaining that the French and the British established settlements with Britain winning a war between them, and then itemizing different immigrant groups from all over the world that came to settle in the country. It could be said that the reference to immigrants is pervasive in the historical narration: It appears immediately after mentioning the French and British settlements, as well as between the questions that refer to the First and Second World Wars and again after further references to those military conflicts. These content choices may have been influenced by the debates and tensions regarding Quebec and the rest of Canada occurring at the time. This guide is also the first to include both English and French versions in the same publication.

As with previous guides, the emitter highlights Canada's standing in the world scene. It uses the term *middle power* without fully explaining its meaning, as described in the combined metaphor and litotes that present the term *middle power* to the reader and assumes that the reader has enough knowledge of the issues of the day, and therefore providing a description of its meaning was perhaps deemed unnecessary. The need to highlight the importance of Canada can also be found in the sections that present the geographical regions, the functioning of the economy, the cultural offer, educational opportunities, and Canada's international relations. Most of these aspects of the country were areas that received government attention during this time, as explained in the historical review, and the message in the guide could be understood as follows: The reader is lucky to be in Canada, and staying in this country is a good choice because Canada is a world power on its own right. The most frequent adjectives in this text and

the repetition about the greatness of the country (rhetorical figure # 31) also seem to support the notion that the emitter may have the intention of presenting Canada as a leading country in the world stage.

# Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

The government is presented as actively providing immigrants with opportunities to promote and express their own cultural background as part of a process that is enriching Canadian society as a whole, as seen in the litotes about the multicultural program for other cultural groups (rhetorical figure # 21). These issues are reflected in the discussions at the time with the Multiculturalism policy in 1971 that followed the anti-discrimination immigration regulations from 1962 and 1967, as noted in the historical context of this guide. This active government support to cultural minorities could be placing the emitter in the pluralism ideology, and can also be seen in the use of litotes that places multiculturalism in close proximity to bilingualism.

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that immigration from Asia and the Caribbean was rapidly increasing in this time period, the reference to immigrants found in the text are linked primarily to Europe, such as the listing of largest cultural groups in Canada included in the guide.

## Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

The Canada. Guide for Citizenship publication (1976 edition) provides six specific behaviours regarding the characteristics of the citizen, which include community involvement, being interested in the common good, obeying the laws, respecting other people's rights, being informed on current affairs, and using the reader's talents to solve social issues. The text also provides a list of ways that a citizen can contact their elected

officials or seek changes in policy or government actions, not only informing but encouraging the reader to use those tools. This expectation of a more engaged new citizen could be linked to the changes in immigration policies that focused on attracting more educated and urban immigrants.

This view of the new citizen as an informed individual that is politically active can also be found in the section of the guide that presents the rights of Canadian citizens: Voting is presented as an important right, but unlike the previous guides already analyzed, this version adds the right to stand for office in all levels of government and the text seems to encourage the reader to exercise that right. It also links active citizenship with the future of Canada and the well-being of the family of the reader. It could be said that the chosen set of citizen characteristics are much more aspirational—and demanding—than in previous guides.

# The Canadian Citizen (1978)

The 1978 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide called *The Canadian Citizen* was published by Secretary of State, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 3011700.

This guide was accompanied by a folder called *A Look at Canada*. The 1979 issue of this folder was published by Secretary of State, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 1830878.

# **Step I - Historical context.**

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide and companion folder.

#### Political and social overview.

The year 1976 brought a change of leadership in the Conservative party with Joe Clark as the new leader, and a change in the government of Quebec with Rene Lévesque and the Parti Québécois (PQ) winning the election (Bothwell et al., 1989).

During this time, relationships between Anglophone and Francophone Canada were straining (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 327) and language was at the centre of the controversy: The Quebec government's "most notorious enactment, in the eyes of the rest of Canada, was its language legislation. (...) The children of all immigrants to Quebec, including immigrants from other Canadian provinces, were to attend French-language schools" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 379). The exception was with the "children of English-speaking parents [who] were automatically guaranteed a place in English schools for themselves so long as the parents had been educated in Quebec" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 379). Moreover, "the PQ charter was uncompromising in its desire to make French not only the dominant language of work and education in Quebec, but the only visible language. Store signs, billboards, and other public signs were to be exclusively in French" (Finkel, 1991, p. 200).

"Most Anglophones and allophones were hostile to the PQ government's language policy and its campaign for sovereignty" (Finkel, 1991, p. 201) and while "the PQ and its supporters spoke of sovereignty as the PQ goal, Anglophone and allophone opponents almost always used the word 'separatism', which emphasized that Quebec independence meant leaving Canada" (Finkel, 1991, p. 201). Emigration from Quebec was one of the consequences from this language and political struggle. According to Bothwell et al., "in the last half of 1977 some 50,000 people left Quebec, compared to 30,000 who left in the corresponding part of 1976 and the 28,000 during the last six months of 1975" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 379).

In regards with the Canada-United States relationship, in 1976 the Democrats won the US presidential election with Jimmy Carter as the new leader. According to Bothwell et al., Carter committed "his administration, unofficially behind the scenes, to support the federal government in Ottawa and to give no encouragement to the separatist government in Quebec city" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 427).

In regards with the Canadian economy, "from the mid-1970s, economic growth in Canada fell off sharply, inflation and unemployment rose, and government deficits soared" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 380). Consequently, in terms of social trends, while the late sixties have seen an increase in student activism, by the late seventies "the revolutionary student had largely vanished, at least partly because it was now clear that a university degree did not guarantee a good job" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 402).

Since the Parti Québécois was planning for a referendum regarding Quebec's independence in the short term, Trudeau's popularity increased in 1977 given the fear of separatism; however, he decided not to call for national elections yet until 1979 when

polls were not so positive anymore (Bothwell et al., 1989). With the support of Western Canada, the urban idle class, and the youth, the Conservative party won the elections and Joe Clark became Prime Minister. However, when presenting to the Parliament their budget with a gasoline tax proposal seven months later, the Conservatives lost a vote of confidence and the Liberals under Trudeau's leadership won the elections again in 1980 (Bothwell et al., 1989).

#### Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

After "50 public hearings in 21 cities" across the country (Knowles, 2000, p. 86), Canada established the *Immigration Act* of 1976 that came into force in 1978. According to Knowles (2000) the Act "received almost unanimous support from all parties in the House as well as the widespread approval of public and private interest groups, the media, and academics" (Knowles, 2000, p. 87).

Among the immigration policy objectives for Canada, the Immigration Act included "family reunification; the fulfillment of Canada's international obligations in relation to (...) refugees (...); non-discrimination in immigration policy; and cooperation between all levels of government and the voluntary sector in the settlement of immigrants in Canadian society" (Knowles, 2000, pp. 86-97). "The inclusion of an identifiable class for refugees, selected and admitted separately from immigrants, is another significant innovation in the new Act" (Knowles, 2000, p. 87). According to the Immigration Act, individuals could be eligible as landed immigrants under 4 different categories: family class, humanitarian class (refugees, or persecuted and displaced persons), independent Class, or assisted relatives class (Knowles, 2000).

According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010), "in less than thirty years, the country had seen a remarkable shift from Prime Minister Mackenzie King's vision in 1947" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 379). "Race and concerns about preserving Canada's demographic character were no longer major considerations for admission, while increasing respect for due process demonstrated that immigration was now seen as something more than merely a privilege" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 379).

The non-discrimination aspect of the 1976 Immigration Act went beyond races and countries, since "the previously 'prohibited' classes ('idiots, imbeciles and morons,' 'physically defective persons,' 'homosexuals,' 'the insane,' etc.) were replaced by broader categories of 'inadmissible' immigrants" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 408). The 'inadmissible immigrants' category would include "those who would be liable to endanger public health or security, or would be likely to place an excessive burden on health or social services" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 408).

The Immigration Act also required "the government to plan immigration (that is, to set target numbers for different classifications of immigrants, etc.) and to consult with the provinces regarding the planning and management of Canadian immigration" (Knowles, 2000, p. 87). In this sense, one of the federal-provincial immigration agreements was with Quebec, following the winning of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and their increased interest in immigration (Knowles, 2000, p. 93) and "the impact of English-speaking immigrants on the province" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 365). In 1978, the Cullen–Couture Agreement "declared that immigration to Quebec must contribute to the province's cultural and social development" (Knowles, 2000, p. 93). The agreement also "provided the province with a say in the selection of independent-class

immigrants (...) and refugees abroad (...) [and] allowed the province to determine financial and other criteria for family class and assisted-relative sponsorship" (Knowles, 2000, p. 93).

In terms of the amount of immigration to Canada, although these important changes in immigration legislation, the "immigration levels matched the economic climate with annual numbers falling by over 60 per cent from 1974 to 1978 (210,000 to 86,000 persons)" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 380).

In 1977, one year after the creation of the new *Immigration Act*, Canada established the new *Citizenship Act*. The Citizenship Act defined "citizen' as a 'Canadian citizen'" (Knowles, 2000, p. 87) and supressed the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act distinctions between an alien "(defined by the Act as a 'person who is not a Canadian citizen, Commonwealth citizen, British subject, or citizen of the Republic of Ireland')", and a British subject "(defined as citizens of Australia, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, Republic of South Africa and the United Kingdom)" (Knowles, 2000, p. 87). "Thanks to changing attitudes and the soaring numbers of non-British immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, the distinction in treatment between British subjects and aliens began to come under attack" (Knowles, 2000, p. 88). "The concept that citizenship is a privilege and not a right was also being questioned (...) Improved access and equal treatment of all applicants would be the guiding principles in the granting of Canadian citizenship" (Knowles, 2000, p. 88).

# Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

The first part of this section provides a morphological description of form and structure of *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) that identified print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. The section then includes a semantic description implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* that identified categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors, as well as the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives, and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide and companion folder. For the purpose of this study, both publications—the 1978 issue of the guide *The Canadian Citizen* and the 1979 issue of the companion folder *A Look at Canada* —were combined in one text for the semantic analysis software.

#### Morphological description.

The guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) was printed in colour, letter size, with text that could be considered a mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles and text. The guide also includes 4 composed illustrations, and 4 graphs (one of them a 2-page map of Canada). The cover was printed in colour and exhibits a map of Canada filled with a mosaic of about 16 pictures featuring people in various activities, the title *The Canadian Citizen*, the Secretary of State Monogram and logo, the Canada logo, and a logo that features five times the letter C (CCCCC).

The guide has 16 pages—with no table of contents in the beginning of the guide—and it is composed of 11 title sections: The Canadian Citizen (Introduction) (1 page), You and Your Ideas for Canada (2 pages), The privileges and responsibilities of citizenship (2 pages), Canada's form of government (1 page), Political parties in Canada (3 pages), How laws are passed (2 pages), How voting takes place (2 pages), Your representatives in government (1/2 page), That's just a beginning (1/2 page), Are you upto-date? (1 page with a fill out form about government representatives) and Map of Canada (1 page with a fill out map about provinces' capitals).

In the case of this guide, there are no questions that would test the knowledge of the content, but it includes an open questionnaire about government representatives and a map about provinces' capitals that in both cases required the reader to complete on his/her own.

This guide also includes a French version on the back side of the publication, with a similar length and design than the studied English version.

This guide is accompanied by a folder called *A Look at Canada*. The 1979 version (available for this study) is printed in colour, the size of 8 letter pages, folded to the size of 1 letter page. The folder is composed of text that seems to use a mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles and text. On one side of the 8-page document, there is a detailed map of Canada with its climatic regions, and information about the weather in each region. The map has the title *A Look at Canada* on the top.

When folded, the cover (first page) features a simple graph with the map of Canada, the title *A Look at Canada*, the Secretary of State Monogram and logotype, and

another logo that features five times the letter C (CCCC). The second page includes an introduction and the coat of arms for each Canadian province. The rest of the pages include the following title sections: Where have today's Canadians come from? (2 pages), On July 1, 1867 (1 page), Canada's international position (1 page), The work we do in Canada (1 page) and Where have today's Canadians come from? (1 page that includes a section for the reader to write questions s/he would like to ask about Canada). These 6 pages exhibit a composition of illustrations, with captions describing some of the drawings included in the publication.

The relative weight of each thematic component combining the content of both publications (guide and folder) could be aggregated as follows: Government System (44%), Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (18%), History (17%), Introduction (9%), Society (4%), Geography (4%) and Economy (4%).

## Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the guide *The Canadian Citizen* and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 39.9% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), 38.9% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), 21.1% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.), and 0.1% were performative (expressing an act

though the language and contained within the language, such as "I promise", "I demand", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 75.3% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 16.1% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.), and 8.5% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "you" (42.5%), followed by "they" (23.6%), "we" (8%), "somebody" (3.4%), "I" (2.3%) and "he" (1.7%).

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 28.7% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 23.1% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 20.7% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), 17.1% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 8.4% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.), 1.4% were adverbs of assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.), and 0.4% were adverbs of doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 75% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 12.4% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 8.4% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 5.9% were connectors of opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.), 5.7% were connectors

of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), 3.2% were connectors of time ("when", "while", "since", etc.), 1.9% were connectors of cause ("because", "in consequence of", "therefore", etc.), and 1.4% were connectors of goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* citizenship guide and companion folder *A Look at Canada* implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (136), "Have" (45), "Can" (32), "Vote" (22), "Do" (17), "Make" (15), "Come" (14), "Live" (13), "Will" (13), and "Become" (11).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "Other" (23), "All" (22), "Many" (18), "Politic" (18), "Provincial" (18), "Federal" (17), "Canadian" (13), "Each" (12), "Important" (12), and "Elected" (11).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (99), "Government" (39), "Party" (33), "Representative" (31), "Canadian" (29), "Law" (29), "People" (25), "Country" (21), "Election" (21), "Citizen" (18), and "Parliament" (18).

The parsing of the text of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* citizenship guide and companion folder *A Look at Canada* implemented with the semantic analysis

software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "People" (25), "Vote" (23), "Province" (22), "Senate (14), "Bills" (13), "City (13), "Head of Government" (13), "Judge" (9), "Way" (8), and "France" (8). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Canada" (120), "Government" (48), "Party" (47), "Representative" (31), "Canadian" (29), "Law" (29), "Citizen" (27), "Country" (23), "Election" (22), and "Parliament" (19).

# **Step III - Rhetorical analysis.**

The rhetorical analysis of guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) focused on the metasememes (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide and companion folder.

#### Metasememes.

The text analysis of guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

35) Canadian citizens possess certain privileges (Guide, p. 4)

*Canadians have special political privileges* (Guide, p. 5)

The most important privileges of Canadian citizens are to vote and to run for office in all political elections. (Guide, p. 5)

All these sentences seem to be using metonymies in which the terms *Canadian citizens* or *Canadians* are extended by contiguity to the reader. In this way, the privileges that Citizens enjoy could be understood as having the connotative value of telling the reader—the candidate to obtain Citizenship—that those special privileges are also theirs, and therefore certain actions are expected of them.

36) *The face of Canada has changed dramatically in this century* (Folder, p. 6)

This sentence seems to contain a metaphor in absentia in which the population of Canada is replaced by the term *face*.

37) The work we do in Canada (Folder, p. 7)

This title can be described as a metonymy, in which the word *work* and *Canada* intersect to connote a series of labour and economic activities to be described in the section. The use of *we* as the bridge between the two words can be seen as encompassing every resident of Canada.

#### Metalogisms.

The text analysis of guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

38) There are many ways in Canada to change things for the better. (Guide, p. 2)

This sentence could be featuring a litotes in which what is left unsaid is that there are things that are not good, or that at the very least can be improved, without mentioning any specific topic.

39) Whether you have been here just a few years or all your life, you can't help reacting to life around you. (Guide, p. 2)

This sentence seems to be using the technique of euphemism in which the emitter may be implying that the reader is or should be interested in social and political issues without actually asking them to be involved. Given that this is one of the first rhetorical figures of the text, this figure could be seen as setting up the expectation of a citizen that pursues social and political activities.

40) Those who vote choose the people who oversee the daily work of government and make our laws – laws that affect the lives and rights of everyone in Canada. (Guide, p. 2)

This sentence could be construed as a hyperbole, in which the initial act of voting is equated to choosing supervisors for the work of government. It could be also interpreted that the importance of voting is subsequently augmented by adding the information that those actions affect the lives and personal rights of those who vote (and of those who don't).

41) Canadians have developed a unique form of government. (...) Although each feature is shared with other countries, the particular combination of features at work here in Canada is unique. (Guide, p. 6)

This sentence seems to connect the fact that Canada is, according to the emitter, thoroughly unique, with another fact: The systems of government in place in Canada

exist elsewhere, but are not implemented in the same fashion than here. This could be construed as an antithesis, in which Canada has not developed its own features but also is not applying those features in the same way of others. It can be argued that this is a fairly complex way of connecting Canada with other countries and systems of government while maintaining that said systems are unique by virtue of combination.

42) By respecting and appreciating each other and by sharing responsibility for their country, Canadians choose to grow together. (Guide, p. 14)

This sentence seems to be using euphemism, in which the behaviours described as belonging to Canadians are therefore behaviours expected to be also acquired by the future citizen.

43) Large number of immigrants, many from China, helped to complete a railway across Canada in 1885. (Folder, p. 4)

This sentence seems to be using litotes, in which the word *helped* is supressing and replacing a much more complex description of the arrival of these Chinese immigrants to Canada and the conditions of their work. A case could be made here that the intention of the emitter was precisely to ignore the historical issue of discrimination by using the word *helped*. Regardless of the intention of the emitter, the chosen word seems to be condensing a much larger narrative and casting it in a neutral—or even positive—light.

44) The terms of the British North America Act were worked out by Canadians, the "Fathers of Confederation", and approved by the British Parliament. Canada's unification and independence grew out of negotiation, not violence. (Folder, p. 5)

This sentence seems to have two nested rhetorical figures, one a metasememe and one a metalogism: The term *Fathers of Confederation*, or more precisely the quotation marks

before and after those words could be there to indicate that the term is used as a metaphor. It can also be argued that the entire citation is an allegory, in which the peaceful process described in the text stands in contrast to a violent struggle for independence or to violent uprisings. Based on the historical context of this guide, the allegory could possibly refer to the debate about Quebec, or to provide a contrast to the history of the United States. The emphasis on the terms *worked out by Canadians* and *grew out of negotiation* may signify a closer connection with current affairs, as noted in the historical overview.

45) Get to know your Canada (Folder, p. 8)

This title could be described as generalizing synecdoche that constructs a hyperbole to enhance the connection between the emitter and the reader. The synecdoche takes the word *Canada* as all-encompassing. It could be said that the reader is given rhetorical ownership of the country, probably attempting to include the reader in the story and as part of a potential desired outcomes of the guide: to elicit action.

46) They have come from all over the world, bringing many languages, values and ways of living, bringing their energy, creativity and hopes. (Folder, p. 8)

This sentence may be using repetitio to build a picture of the Canadian immigrant.

# Narrative point of view.

The guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) seem to be using an intervening narration, given that the narrator becomes visible to the reader and it could be said that it actively engages in the action of the text. The most salient example of the intervening narration can be seen in the subtitles under the section called *You and your ideas for Canada*, inviting the reader

to take specific actions. This is the first of the studied guides that is not using an objective narration point of view, which constitutes a departure in terms of how the information is conveyed to the reader.

# **Step IV - Discussion of the construction of the narrative.**

The construction of the narrative of the guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) could be called the narrative of the *politically active* citizen.

### The narrative of the politically active citizen.

The emitter of *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) seems to display an intervening narration point of view, given that the narrator becomes visible to the reader: While still maintaining a distance, the role of the emitter seems to attempt to involve the receiver in the text and elicit certain behaviours, something that may be supported by the fact that the most frequent pronoun in this guide is "you" (42.5%).

The majority of the content in the guide focuses on the political process and the need of the Canadian citizen to be politically active and seek the betterment of laws and regulations. The importance given to politics and the political process in this guide can be seen in the way it presents the rights and responsibilities of citizens. The rights are divided into two blocks of information: Privileges (like in previous guides) and a separate section on special political privileges. The political rights such as voting, joining a political party, or running for political office are given a higher status than the more administrative privileges such as carrying a Canadian passport, as seen in the metonymies about citizen privileges (rhetorical figure # 35). This is also reflected in the semantic analysis with *Vote* as the second the most frequent actant, (second with 23 mentions), and Representative (31 mentions) and Election (22 mentions) among the 10 most frequent actors; this is the first analyzed guide that featured these words in the listing of most frequent actants and actors. The thematic distribution of the guide also reflected this focus on government system (44%) and citizenship rights and responsibilities (18%), in ambos case more than the double than in previous guides.

#### Narratives about Canada.

The narrative about Canada focused largely in the Canadian government, which is described as a political entity; a departure from the previous guides that it could be argued placed the emphasis in portraying the government as a provider of services. The narration starts with a description of the parliamentary system including the Crown, where the text seems to utilize an antithesis (rhetorical figure # 41) to present the notion that while the Canadian system does exist in other countries, Canada has implemented it in its own way. The text then spends considerable space describing in detail how the

political process unfolds, mostly at the Federal level. Political parties are explained as generators of ideas and policies; the role of the Prime Minister is also explained from a political standpoint as well as the function and importance of the parties in opposition. This text is also the first one to move beyond the description of the existence of political parties to present an argument as of why it is necessary to have such organizations and how the citizen can become active in one and start influencing their policies and direction, as seen in the hyperbole about voting as a way to affect everybody's lives in Canada (rhetorical figure # 40), and the euphemism about sharing responsibility for the country (rhetorical figure # 42). This guide does also include both English and French versions in the same publication, which may be linked to the debate at the time regarding the place of the province of Quebec in the Confederation as described in the historical context.

Canadian history is presented in the companion document *A Look at Canada*, in a similar manner as the previously analyzed *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition). The narrative of modern Canada begins with the arrival of European explorers, and then the text presents French and English Canada with various native groups taking sides. The British North America Act is described as the foundational document of modern Canada. Regarding immigration, the text seems to use litotes (rhetorical figure # 43) to present the history of the Chinese labourers that, according to the text, *helped* build the trans-Canadian railway.

The Canadian economy is presented using a metonymy (rhetorical figure # 37) in the title "The Work we do in Canada" as described in the rhetorical analysis, and it departs from previous guides by reducing the amount of text dedicated to the economy (4%), presenting just a few paragraphs of what could be described as a dual Canada with urban and rural areas. This is also the first guide that describes what could be considered some challenges that the emitter defines denotatively as *problems to be resolved*: Rapid technological change, a reduction in the size of the rural population, unemployment and poverty.

# Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

This guide presents the growing immigration to Canada using a metaphor about the changing face of Canada (rhetorical figure # 36), is possibly a reflection of the increasing number of non-European immigrants, especially those originally from Asia that were immigrating to Canada, as explained in the historical review.

The issue of adapting to the Canadian culture can be seen in the repetitio that builds a picture of the Canadian immigrant (rhetorical figure #46). New languages, values, ways of living, energy, and creativity are coming to Canada when new immigrants settle in Canada. The guide encourages immigrants to share their cultural heritage with the whole community as they also learn from others, and this seems to indicate a pluralism ideology.

## Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

It could be said that *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A Look at Canada* (1979 edition) present to the reader the need to act in the political process as the best way to ensure that the rights of the reader will be properly respected, a notion that is supported by the thematic organization of this guide which allocated 62% of its content to the government system and citizenship rights and responsibilities. In a sense, it can be said that this guide shares with the *Canada*. *Guide* 

for Citizenship publication (1976 edition) the requirement for the new citizen to be well informed on the issues of the day and to consider volunteering, but it increases the type and level of expectations specifically on the topic of political involvement. If in the Canada. Guide for Citizenship publication (1976 edition) the receiver was told through euphemism (rhetorical figure # 32) that being well informed is what makes a citizen a good citizen, this guide takes it further by equating good citizenship to an active interest in politics and public opinion. It can be argued that the emitter of this guide demands action from the reader, as seen in the euphemism about reacting to life around you (rhetorical figure # 39).

An example of this enhanced expectation is that this guide not only assumes that the reader is following the news; it also encourages the reader to write letters to the editor or attend meetings where plans are discussed. It can also be argued that this guide portrays the new Canadian citizens as individuals with full ownership of the country: Canada is *yours* (the reader's), as seen in the synecdoche about getting to know your Canada (rhetorical figure # 45), and because of this it is the reader's responsibility to be active in the political arena.

# A Look at Canada (1995)

The 1995 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide called *A Look at Canada* was published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 25343699.

# **Step I - Historical context.**

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

### Political and social overview.

The year 1980 featured many significant events in Canada. While "Trudeau's mandate was at the point of expiring in February 1979; a year later he was heading a newly elected majority government, and three months after his forces demolished the separatists in the Quebec referendum" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 389).

"During the 1980 referendum, Pierre Trudeau had promised Québécois voters that a defeat of the sovereignist option would be rewarded by constitutional changes" (Finkel 1997, p. 327), which followed with the announcement that Canada would repatriate the constitution. After a lengthy political, legislative and judicial process in Canada, Britain Parliament passed the Canada Act in 1982, signed by Queen Elizabeth II (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 394). Among the outcomes of the approved constitution, it "gave the right to education in the language of their choice to all Canadian-born individuals, regardless of the province in which they were born" (Finkel, 1997, p. 332).

In regards to the local economy, "by 1980, 'stagflation', with its combination of negligible economic growth, high unemployment, and high inflation seemed to have become a nearly permanent feature of the economics of Canada and most of the other Western countries" (Finkel, 1997, p. 281). With conservative-led governments and

economic practices in Great Britain and United States, "Canada did not follow the British or American lead whole-heartedly, though right-wing perspectives gained considerable ground in government and business circles" (Finkel, 1997, p. 284). In this sense, although Trudeau's economic practices "supported high interest rates and allowed unemployment to rise, they remained generally supportive of the social insurance programs and the Canada Assistance Policy" (Finkel, 1997, p. 287).

Canada's population was affected by cultural and social changes. "The seventies were a decade of moral change. It seemed that everything was acceptable – women's liberation, gay liberation, abortion on demand (...). The old certainties were going fast" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 417). Trudeau's legacy was also very visible: "the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; official bilingualism; a wealth of programs to support symphonies, ballet, publishers, and broadcasters; the Foreign Investment Review Agency; and the National Energy Program" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 429).

Following Brian Mulroney winning the leadership of the Progressive Conservative party to Clark, Trudeau announced his retirement and the election of 1984 saw the Progressive Conservative party obtaining a majority government. One year later, in 1985 the Liberals won the government of Quebec to the Parti Québécois, and both the federal and Quebec governments "were determined to win constitutional changes that would allow Quebec to sign the 1982 constitutional agreement. Such a signature would be purely symbolic, since the Constitution Act of 1982 already applied in Quebec" (Finkel, 1997, p. 343).

In 1987, The Meech Lake Accord—a package of constitutional reforms that included Quebec's demands related to the guarantee as a distinct society and increased

power in immigration matters (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 396)—received "the stamp of approval from all three federal parties as well as the first ministers" (Finkel, 1997, p. 344). However, "the Meech Lake accord required the approval of the federal Parliament and the ten provincial legislatures by the end of June 1990. While Parliament and several provinces quickly voted the assent needed, there were problems in other provinces", including Manitoba where the bill was not passed, causing the defeat of the accord (Finkel, 1997, pp. 346-348).

In terms of economic policy, "while the Trudeau government, in its last period in office (1980-4), remained moderately nationalist, its successor Brian Mulroney was almost unabashedly continentalist. The National Energy Policy of 1980 (...) gave way to the US-Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA) of 1988 and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1992" (Finkel, 1997, p. 303). According to Finkel, free trade brought lost jobs, wage cuts, and also "shifted the patterns of Canadian trade away from inter-provincial trade towards greater north-south exchanges" (Finkel, 1997, p. 318). In addition, the strained relationship between United States and Canada from the times of Reagan and Trudeau changed with Mulroney in government. "Mulroney was strongly pro-American, and he showed it" (Bothwell et al., 1989, p. 428).

Liberal leader Jean Chrétien won the 1993 election. "The change of government in 1993 made as little difference in foreign policy as in trade policy. Indeed, the Chrétien government stressed the linkage between the two every bit as much as the Mulroney government" (Finkel, 1997, p. 323). Internationally, "Canada continued to play an important role in international peacekeeping efforts during both Mulroney and Chrétien periods", such as Bosnia and Somalia (Finkel, 1997, p. 325). However, "having tied its

trade and its foreign policy closely to the Americans, Canada gave itself a margin of manoeuvre on the international stage that was quite restricted. In an era of deficit-cutting, Canada was also anxious to cut both its military budget and its foreign aid" (Finkel, 1997, p. 325).

In the domestic front, following the defeats of the Meech Lake accord in 1990 and another attempt for a federal/provincial agreement in 1992, Quebec announced a new referendum in 1995. "The people of Quebec would be asked whether they wanted Quebec to declare sovereignty and then spend a year trying to get Canada to negotiate the specifics of their new relationship" (Finkel, 1997, p. 352). The *non* side won again.

In terms of the social movements at this time, "while increasingly jaundiced views of politicians [believed to be 'all the same'] contributed to political passivity, oppositional movements remained strong in Canadian political life", including women, Natives, visible minorities, environmentalists and gays (Finkel, 1997, p. 360).

# Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

In regards with the immigration numbers to Canada at this time "the energy crisis and rising levels of unemployment in the late seventies together with a recession in the early eighties dampened immigration for about a decade" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187). To decrease the levels of immigration, Canada reduced the "intake of independent immigrants and reduced numbers in the 'more distant relatives' category. Politically sensitive areas such as the close family and refugee categories, were left untouched or reduced only slightly" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187).

With the economy improving by 1985, "the Conservatives began to plan for a 'moderate, controlled increase' in immigration levels, particularly in the economic

category, which had been steadily losing ground in recent years" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187). Therefore, "immigration levels matched the economic climate (...) [and] the relatively low levels of the first part of the period [early 1980s] were (...) counterbalanced by higher levels in later years [late 1980s-early 1990s]" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 380). "The total number of immigrants admitted to Canada between 1971 and 1992 was 2,268,161, an average of 141,160 a year" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 380).

The face of Canada's population continued to change at this time. "In the 1980s a trend already under way in the 1970s became even more pronounced. This saw the arrival of increasing numbers of newcomers from Asia and other non-European areas" (Knowles, 1997, p. 186) between 1978 and 1986. The statistics showed Asian-born immigrants growing from 11 per cent to 40 percent; people from the Caribbean and Central and South America increasing from 7 per cent to 15 per cent; and immigrants from the Middle East and Africa moving from 4 per cent to 8 per cent (Knowles, 1997, p. 186). "At the same time, the proportion of European-born immigrants slid from 70 percent of those who arrived before 1978 to fewer than 30 percent of those who came between 1978 and 1986" (Knowles, 1997, p. 186). And by 1990, "European immigrants accounted for less than 25 per cent of the total, while those from Asia and the Middle East represented over the 50 per cent of all arrivals" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 381).

In addition to the change in country of origin, the proportional weight of the immigration categories continued to impact the immigration process in the 1980s. "In 1971, approximately 27 percent of all immigrants were in the family class while in 1983, this proportion had increased to close to 55 percent" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187) at the same

time "independent-class immigrant continued to decline in numbers, from 72.6 percent of all immigrants who entered in Canada in 1971 to less than 30 percent of the total in 1983" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187).

Contemporary to these immigration trends, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was established in 1985 and committed "the Canadian government to supporting the full participation of all Canadians, irrespective of race, national origin, colour, or religion, in all facets of Canadian society" (Knowles, 2007, p. 271). In terms of the social dynamics influenced by immigration to Canada, Beaujot (2004) explains that immigration played "the dominant role in the socio-cultural transformations of Canada associated with the relative growth of the visible minority population. (...) [and] the geographic distribution of this population, in favor of metropolitan areas" (Beaujot, 2004, p. 194). In addition, immigration also played "an important role in Canada's changing linguistic distribution (...) producing an increase in the relative dominance of the English language in comparison to the French language" (Beaujot, 2004, p. 197).

While the 1976 Immigration Act was marked by a strong political and social consensus "on central issues such as generous family reunification policies, transparent admission criteria for independent immigrants embodying a revised form of the points system (...) and a reasonably generous refugee policy" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 381-2), "the dramatic increase in the influx of refugees from non-traditional source countries" would strain this consensus (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 379). The increase in refugee claims prompted Brian Mulroney's Conservative government to introduce in May 1987 the Refugee Reform Bill, Bill C-55, "designed to produce a refugee determination system that reduced the time required to decide the outcome of an

application for refugee status and that cleared up the backlog of claimants already living here and waiting for their claims to be processed" (Knowles, 1997, p. 184), but this new system continued to be overwhelmed by the number of claims (Knowles, 1997, p. 185). About 15 years later, the issue of refugee claims continued to persist, and a new Bill C-86 in 1992 tried again to "tighten up the immigration and refugee system by providing more stringent enforcement and control mechanisms" (Knowles, 1997, p. 197).

In addition to the changes in the refugee determination system, the Conservative government also made changes in the business-class program. "Believing strongly that business is the engine that drives the Canadian economy, the Conservatives expanded a Liberal program, first introduced in 1978, that relaxes immigration requirements for individuals in the business class" (Knowles, 1997, p. 187). To the categories of self-employed and entrepreneur, the Conservatives added the category of investor in 1986 (Knowles, 1997).

In 1990, Mulroney presented a 5-year immigration plan that would increase the numbers of admitted immigrants from 200,000 to 250,000 individuals a year, and narrowed the notion of family and who could apply as family members (Knowles, 1997). For Kelley and Trebilcock (2010), this Five-Year Immigration Plan "marked the first time in the post-Confederation history of Canadian immigration policy that a government committed itself to an increase in immigration in recessionary economic times" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 415). In regards with the specific measures included in the plan, the Mulroney government showed an "intention to tilt immigration policy away from family-sponsored immigrants, over whom it had little discretionary control, and towards independent immigrants, who most qualify under the points system" (Knowles, 1997 p.

193). By the end of the Conservative government in January 1993, Mulroney announced regulations that "reduced the maximum number of bonus points for assisted relatives and increased the number of points for applicants qualified in jobs that required advanced skills" (Knowles, 1997, p. 199). "In order to increase the average skill level of immigrants, targets for the family class were set at lower levels over this period, while targets for independent immigrants, assisted relatives, and business immigrants were set at higher levels" (Simmons, 2010, p. 84).

In 1994, the Liberal government led by Chrétien "unveiled an immigration policy with 'new directions' (...) [that included] lowering immigration levels and shifting the pendulum away from family reunification and toward independent immigrants who have the education, skills, and language to adapt readily to the New Economy" (Knowles, 1997, pp. 199-200). This *new directions* policy actually "represented the continuation of a course charted by the Conservative government" (Knowles, 1997, pp. 199-200). Regarding citizenship policies, one year later in 1995 the Chrétien government replaced the personal interview with a citizenship judge for a multiple choice written test as the key element to determine if an applicant fulfilled the requirements of the Citizenship Act. The concern for consistency in the evaluation of citizenship knowledge, the need for program financial savings and a backlog of judge hearings in large cities were some of the reasons cited for this change (Derwing & Joshee, 2005, p. 67).

# Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

The first part of this section provides a morphological description of form and structure of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) that identified print format, cover

features, sections and thematic components. The second part includes a semantic description of meaning making aspects of the text by identifying categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors; the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives; and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Morphological description.

This *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) was printed in black and white, letter size with text that could be considered a mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles. The guide also includes 13 pictures, 12 illustrations or composite illustrations, 8 maps, 1 logo, and 2 graphs. The cover is also in black and white and exhibits a group of maple leafs, the title *A Look at Canada*, and the Citizenship and Immigration Canada Monogram and logo.

The guide has 44 pages—with a table of contents in the beginning of the guide—and it is composed of 10 title sections: What does Canadian citizenship mean? (1 page), What this book is for (1/2 page), Applying for citizenship (1 and ½ pages), Introducing Canada (6 pages with subsections for Symbols of Canada, and Aboriginal peoples of Canada), Map of Canada (2 pages) The Regions of Canada (12 pages with subsections for the Atlantic Region, Central Canada, the Prairie Provinces, the West Coast, and the North), Government in Canada (9 pages with subsections for Federal elections, Making laws, Other levels of government in Canada, and Find out more about your government), Citizenship rights and responsibilities (4 pages with subsections for

Citizenship rights, and Citizenship responsibilities), To find more information (1 page that includes contacts for more information about Canadian citizenship, Citizenship classes, Canada, and Federal programs and services) and Study Questions (7 pages with 200 questions). As part of the content of this guide, it includes a 1-page questionnaire about government representatives called "Find out more about your government" to be completed by the citizenship applicant, 2 pages for notes, and a change of address form at the back of the guide.

This guide does not include a French version on the back side of the publication.

The relative weight of each thematic component in this guide could be aggregated as follows: Government System (21%), Study Questions (16%), Society (14%), Geography (14%), Economy (14%), Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (12%), History (5%), Citizenship Procedures (3%) and Introduction (1%).

## Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 42.9% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), 39.7% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), 17.3% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.), and 0.1% were performative (expressing an act

though the language and contained within the language, such as "I promise", "I demand", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 57.5% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 28.6% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives), and 13.9% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "you" (51.1%), followed by "they" (15.3%), "we" (7.9%), "I" (4.7%), "somebody" (3.7%), "thou" (2.1%) and "he" (1.1%).

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 30.4% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 21.6% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 21.3% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 21.3% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), and 5.4% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 68% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 12.3% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 6.4% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 5.8% were connectors of time ("when", "while", "since", etc.), 4.4% were connectors of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), 2.6% were connectors of opposition ("but",

"nevertheless", "however", etc.), and 0.6% were connectors of goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the *A Look at Canada* guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (268), "Do" (67), "Have" (59), "Can" (33), "Live" (32), "Make" (27), "Call" (26), "Become" (26), "Will" (23), and "Vote" (22).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "First" (42), "Important" (38), "Canadian" (35), "All" (24), "Other" (22), "Many" (20), "Federal" (19), "Aboriginal" (19), "Provincial" (18), and "Electoral" (18).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (241), "Province" (85), "People" (85), "Canadian" (64), "Right" (56), "Government" (54), "Region" (48), "Election" (44), "Industry" (38), and "Name" (37).

The parsing of the text of the *A Look at Canada* guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "People" (85), "Province" (85), "Canadian" (64), "Party" (43), "Freedom" (19), "Economy" (19), "Queen" (16), "Nations" (15), "Group/Groups" (14), and "Prime Minister" (14). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Canada" (383), "Province" (85), "Citizenship" (58), "Right" (56); "Government" (56), "Region" (48), "Election" (45), "Name" (37), "Citizen" (36), and "Vote" (32).

# **Step III - Rhetorical analysis.**

The rhetorical analysis of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) focused on the metasememes (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Metasememes.

The text analysis of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

47) The Atlantic fishery is the oldest industry in the region. Protecting the fish stocks and preventing over-fishing is now a vital issue in the Atlantic provinces. (p. 13)

This quote may be using metonymy to convey governmental action. The term *vital issue* could be seen as replacing specific actions that the Government of Canada took or attempted to take in the 1990s allocating fishing quotas that were at odds with the fishing industry in the region. By using *vital issue* the authors may be highlighting a level of

importance without the need to describe conflicts or specific actions that the term *vital* issue could be encompassing.

48) Thousands of miners first came to the Yukon during the "Gold Rush" at the end of the 1800s. (p. 23)

*The North is sometimes called the "Land of the Midnight Sun.* (p. 23)

Some of the metaphors that are present in the text are bracketed by quotation marks, possibly as a warning sign to the reader that the words don't quite mean what they say in the context in which they are applied. This may have been a deliberate choice of the authors to keep the language clear, assuming that the reader may not have yet a complete command of the English language.

## Metalogisms.

The text analysis of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

49) Canadian citizenship means being a part of Canada. (p. 1)

It could be argued that this sentence works as a euphemism via litotes: Citizenship is equated to full membership to Canada the country, which in turn means that the individual now being part of Canada must perform certain actions in order to be a Canadian Citizen. 'Being a part of Canada' seems to be working both ways as a welcoming statement but also as a call to action.

50) The office will tell you if you have been successful. (p. 3)

This citizenship guide was the first one published after the Government of Canada changed the citizenship test from a meeting with a judge to a standardized multiple-choice test. Page 3 of the guide explains the process and encourages the reader to avoid

being nervous at the text, while providing some assurances that most questions will stem directly from the actual guide. However, after the citizenship candidate completes the test, there can be two outcomes: either the person will pass the exam or will fail it. The above-referred sentence seems to choose a euphemism via litotes to deal with this issue: It highlights that the citizenship office will contact the candidate to inform the result, but it does so in a manner that only one result (passing the exam) is shown, while failure is implicit.

51) In Canada, we also believe in the importance of working together and helping one another. (p. 4)

This sentence could be described as a euphemism via litotes. The rhetorical operation consists first in using we instead of the Government of Canada and the majority of Canadians, and connecting those actors to two specific actions: working and helping. If the euphemism via litotes is accepted as a viable rhetorical operation, the sentence may seem to mean "The Government of Canada and the majority of Canadians believe that it is important to work together and help one another. Since you (the reader) are going to become a Canadian citizen, we expect you to perform those actions".

Other text fragments that seem to be using the same rhetorical figure are:

Individual Canadians and Canadian governments have the responsibility to respect the Charter rights and freedoms of everyone in Canada. (p. 33)

Being a Canadian citizen is more than voting and obeying laws. Being a citizen also means getting involved in your community and your country. (p. 36)

52) Aboriginal peoples were the first people to live in Canada. Often their survival in Canada's harsh climate depended on cooperation, sharing and respect for the environment. (p. 8)

This sentence seems to be using three particularizing synecdoches (cooperation, sharing and respect for the environment) as a means to exemplify certain traits of Aboriginal peoples. But the rhetorical construct seems to go beyond the metasememe level: The combined synechdoches could be analyzed as forming an allegory regarding key cultural traits of all Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

- 53) When Europeans arrived in what is now Canada, they began to make agreements, or treaties, with Aboriginal peoples. The treaty making process meant that Aboriginal people gave up their title to lands in exchange for certain rights and benefits. (p. 9)

  These two sentences seem to be using the rhetorical technique of euphemism in an attempt to simplify quite complex historical issues. The terms make agreements seem to imply that both sides had an equal understanding of European legal rules, which could be argued was not the case. The second sentence presents a more difficult challenge: By asserting that Aboriginal peoples gave land in exchange for certain rights, it is not clear what those rights may be. What it seems at work in these sentences is an attempt to present an historical challenging issue—the arrival of Europeans to Canada and the
- 54) More than three-quarters of Canadians who live in Quebec speak French as their first language. Over one-third of the population in Quebec speak both French and

relationship that ensued with the local populations—in simple and neutral language. If this

premise is accepted, then euphemism was required to achieve that goal.

English, making it the province with the highest number of bilingual Canadians. (p. 15)

It can be argued that this sentence features both metasememes and metalogisms. The use of 'bilingual Canadians' in this context is used to refer to individuals that can speak both official languages, English and French. The term *bilingual Canadian* could be classified in this context as a particularizing synecdoche: The totality of bilingual individuals in Canada is reduced to those that can operate in English and French only. However in 1995 there were of course many other Canadians that were bilingual, having mastered one of the official languages and speaking another language as well. In the metalogism level, the operation at work in this sentence could be classified as a euphemism via litotes: Bilingual Canadians can only be those who can be fluent in both official languages. That leaves everyone else with two languages in a different category of bilingualism; one that can be argued is of a lesser value since to be *bilingual Canadian* only English and French qualify.

55) In the late 1800s, thousands of Chinese came to British Columbia to help build the final section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Many of their descendants still live in the province. (p. 20)

This publication seems to use the rhetorical technique of litotes to replace the complex issue of bringing Chinese workers to complete the railway under extremely harsh conditions with the word *help*. The choice of word could be described as an attempt to provide a neutral stance on the specific historical issue that the sentence is addressing.

## Narrative point of view.

The *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) seems to be using primarily an objective narration point of view in which a detached narrator describes geographical and economic information to the reader. However, the first page of the guide features a first-person discourse, where the emitter asks the citizenship applicant to answer questions related to citizenship.

# **Step IV - Discussion of the construction of the narrative.**

The construction of the narrative of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) could be called the narrative of the citizenship *student*.

#### The narrative of the citizenship student.

The emitter of the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) seems to begin with a first-person discourse on the first page, and then it seems to switch to an objective narrative point of view for the remainder of the guide, a notion that could be supported by the most frequently used pronoun, "you" (51.1%). Compared to *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition), it can be said that the narrator of this guide does not involve the reader throughout the text, but it is still visible in certain sections of the guide.

A Look at Canada guide (1995 edition) is the first guide produced after the Government of Canada changed the citizenship granting process from an interview with a judge to a written exam that requires a minimum number of correct answers in order to successfully become a Canadian citizen, a change described in the historical context section. An important semiological change found in the text is a reduction in metasememes compared to previous guides. One potential explanation for this could be interpreting this change as an effort by the emitter to assist the reader to better understand the content of the guide, since it could be argued that rhetorical figures require a more complex level of language proficiency. If the guide is now the primary source of learning and is linked to a written exam, a reduction of figures of speech could be a reasonable outcome. This interpretation could be further supported by the fact that the text utilizes quotation marks (rhetorical figure # 49) to highlight rhetorical figures at the metasememe level, another strategy that could be linked to an effort to reduce misunderstandings.

The reader of this guide is presented as a citizenship *student* preparing for a written standardized test, as the introduction of the guide reads: "This book is meant to help you to prepare for your citizenship test. It is also for anyone who would like a basic introduction to Canada". It could be argued that this paragraph creates a hierarchy in which approving the test comes first, a notion further supported by the euphemism that deals with exam results (rhetorical figure # 50). Based on the overall rhetorical changes and the new direction set forth in the introductory paragraphs of the guide, it could be said that the primary objective of the text is to be a study guide for citizenship candidates. The inclusion of two hundred specific study questions (16% of the guide content) further supports this analysis.

#### Narratives about Canada.

When introducing Canada, the guide presents the official languages of the country and the importance of English and French for Canadians, the impact of the Multiculturalism Act, and an initial introduction of Aboriginal peoples of Canada, followed by some information about Canada's economy and geography. The guide presents Canada as a *large and diverse* country where people *work together and help one another*, as mentioned in the euphemism via litotes (rhetorical figure # 51). This can also be seen in the presence of the word Group/Groups as one of the most frequent actants (14 mentions), the first time that this word is used as frequently compared with the previous guides analyzed in this study.

A Look at Canada is also the first of the guides analyzed in this research study that features a separate section about aboriginal peoples, which is also reflected in that this is the first guide that includes Aboriginal as one of the most frequent adjectives (19 mentions). As described in the rhetorical analysis, the text may be using litotes (rhetorical figure # 53) to simplify the explanation of issues regarding Aboriginal peoples and their treatment and relationships with the European colonizers.

As presented in the morphological review of the text, geography-called by the text as 'regions'—and the economy are combined under one chapter, taking the largest amount of content space with 28 % of the guide. It is important to note that despite sharing the same geographical region, the guide provides separate sub-headings and information on the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, something not seen in any other region that contains more than one province. This guide is also the first of the analyzed texts to present Nunavut as the newest territory yet to be fully formed as a political entity.

Content on Canadian history is reduced significantly in this guide compared to all the previous ones reviewed for this research, with 5% of the entire content dedicated to explaining the past, compared to 9% in How to become a Canadian Citizen (1947) edition), 17% in Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition), 15% in Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976 edition), and 17% in The Canadian Citizen (1978 edition). The relative lack of historical content could be described as a significant change compared to previous citizenship guides. The section of the guide featuring the political system represents almost a quarter of the total content of the text, and the focus seems to be placed in explaining voting procedures. As with the historical section, it could be said that the emitter of this guide departs from the approach seen in previous guides by leaving out what can be described as more abstract issues such as why democracy is the chosen political system in Canada, or the function of political parties as idea generators, concentrating more on facts and voting mechanics, which can be seen in the listing of most frequent verbs still including *Vote* (22 mentions), and the listing of most frequent actors still including *Election* (44 mentions).

# Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

The inclusion of the Multiculturalism Act indicates that the emitter may be subscribing to a pluralism ideology, but in a change from the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) and *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) guides, multiculturalism is bracketed by the rhetorical strategy of euphemism via litotes (rhetorical figure # 51) that seems to be placing a higher value to public behaviours shared by all Canadians, such as volunteering, while government action to support other cultures is reduced to a mention while discussing the Multiculturalism Act.

### Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

When analysing the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition), another difference with *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) guides is what could be described as a reduction on the expectations for the new citizen. Citizenship continues to be presented as active participation in civil society, but the amount of dedicated text and the rhetorical figures linked to citizenship actions seem more generic and less imperative than what was found in the analysis of the *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition).

The way the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) presents participation and citizenship expectations is actually closer to the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition), with the concept of citizenship divided between rights and responsibilities. While the examples chosen by the emitter do include political activities, it could be said that actions such as helping your neighbour and running for office are presented on the same narrative playfield. There seems to be no hierarchy, thus leaving the new citizen with ample choice to do as little or as much as s/he may desire, as seen in the euphemism used to describe the meaning of Canadian citizenship in the rhetorical analysis (rhetorical figure # 49). Citizenship rights and responsibilities are presented more as an itemized listing of options than as a guideline for action, possibly due to the fact that the reader is now also a student whose main goal is to have enough correct answers to actually obtain Canadian citizenship. In sum, the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) guide seems to be more about helping readers pass the test than eliciting specific behaviours after the candidate becomes a citizen.

# Discover Canada (2009)

The 2009 edition of the Canadian Citizenship Guide titled *Discover Canada* was published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ottawa, Canada. A copy of this guide is listed in the Amicus database through the Library and Archives Canada website (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca) under the number 37375371.

# Step I - Historical context.

This historical background includes a political and social overview and a description of relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends contemporary to the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition), which was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

#### Political and social overview.

The mid-nineties and the following decade was marked by the increase of high-technology, especially in transportation and communication, such as the popularization of world-wide-web and cellphones related products and services, that also caused increased unemployment (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 443). In addition, "development in the late nineties and the opening years of the twenty-first century [especially after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in United States] also made Canadians increasingly conscious of terrorism and the role that security should play in relation to immigration" (Knowles, 2007, p. 246).

In the foreign affairs front, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, situations in the Middle East –such as the Gulf War and the invasion to Iraq- continued to be of concern. However, due to public anti-war sentiment

Canada declined to participate in further war-related actions led by United States (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 445).

In terms of social changes, in addition to the women's movement, "the most visible popular movement against the status quo in late twentieth-century Canada was the environmental movement" (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 483). Several legislative and judicial victories for gay rights were won in Canada at this time including adding sexual orientation in Human Rights Codes across provinces and provincial courts concluding that marriage can also include homosexual relationships (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, pp. 484-5).

In regards to domestic politics, following Liberal wins in 1997 and 2000 that allowed Chrétien to continue leading Canada, "Canadian politics experienced a variety of seismic changes between 2000 and 2004" (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 468) that ended up with Paul Martin as the new leader of the Liberals, Jack Layton as the new leader of the New Democratic Party, and Stephen Harper as the new leader of the new Conservative Party of Canada—a merge of the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 468).

At the time of the federal elections of 2004, Chrétien's government was involved in the *sponsorship scandal* by which the Liberal government was accused of diverting advertising funds to advertising agencies tied to the Liberal party, and Martin obtained a minority government (Conrad & Finkel, 2006, p. 468). Just two years later, Conservative leader Stephen Harper won a minority government in 2006 followed by a stronger minority government in 2008.

One of the major social issues that impacted the transition between Martin and Harper was the request from the Chinese community in Canada to receive a large monetary compensation for the head tax implemented to Chinese immigrants in early twentieth century, as well as an "acknowledgement by the Canadian government of the injustice and an apology or the consequences of the tax and the exclusion of Chinese immigrants effected through the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 459). While the Liberal governments had refused both demands, the newly elected Conservative government provided both an "unequivocal apology" and "compensation to those who had paid the tax" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 459-460).

## Relevant immigration and citizenship legislation and trends.

In addition to the various federal agreements with Quebec, "over time, other provinces became interested in assuming more responsibility for immigration selection, for both economic and demographic reasons and to encourage more immigrants to settle in their provinces" (Alboim & Cohl, 2012, p. 14). In this sense, "in 1996, the federal government created the Provincial Nominee Program in which provinces could nominate a limited number of economic immigrants to respond to regional needs" (Alboim & Cohl, 2012, p. 14). "By 2005, all provinces had federal-provincial immigration agreements, with Quebec's being the most extensive", and "between 1996 and 2010, the volume grew significantly as did the number of sub-streams in each provincial program" (Alboim & Cohl, 2012, p. 14). In this sense, Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) mention that "nominees and their dependants [would constitute] close to 9 per cent of annual admissions in 2008" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 432).

In February 2001-seven months before the September 11 attacks-the Liberal government introduced the Bill C-11, which came into law as the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act on June 28, 2002 (Knowles, 2007, p. 257). Before this act was established, "an applicant's eligibility depended on whether his/her work experience matched a specific occupation on the General Occupations List (...) [with immigration officials trying] to pick independent immigrants who could fill perceived skills shortages in the labour market" (Knowles, 2007, p. 259). However, due to the current labour market needs that required new and diverse occupations on an ongoing basis, the new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act proposed that "a points system and a list of attributes are employed to evaluate applicants. The criteria included formal education and language proficiency (considered the two most important attributes for success in Canada), work experience, age, arranged employment in Canada, and adaptability" (Knowles, 2007, p. 259). To reflect the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, in 2004 the points system was revised to promote "schooling rather than occupation-specific skills (....) as a measure of flexible skills that can be developed to respond to changing circumstances" in a "globalized, highly competitive, knowledge-based economy" (Simmons, 2010, p. 84). This had a strong impact in the immigration levels across immigration classes: "At the opening of the 1990s, less than 20 percent of Canada's immigrants were selected according to the points system" (Knowles, 2007, p. 268) while "in 2004, immigrants in the economic classes (which includes principal applicants chosen by the points system and their family members who are not) accounted for approximately 56 percent of newcomers to Canada" (Knowles, 2007, p. 268).

In terms of the differences with the 1976 *Immigration Act*, the 2002 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* "included broadened grounds for denying prospective immigrants admission to Canada and for restricting eligibility of refugee claimants to have their refugee claims determined", all this based on security concerns (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 425). "In regard to economic immigrants, the act provided significant room to adjust the applicable criteria and to facilitate the entry of temporary workers" to support the Canadian economy (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 425). In terms of the family class, "the new act and regulations explicitly recognized same-sex partnerships and expanded eligibility to be sponsored to include spouses; common-law partners (...) and conjugal partners (...). Other changes included (...) adopted children under this category" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 438).

Following the establishment of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1985, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act included "a reference to multiculturalism, considered (...) to be integrally linked to immigration and therefore a defining characteristic of Canadian society" (Knowles, 2007, p. 257). The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act also describes how important is the 'two-way street' approach to "integrating immigrants and refugees into Canadian society" by which "while newcomers are expected to adapt to Canadian society and its accepted practices, Canadian society and its institutions have an obligation to adapt to a diversifying population" (Knowles 2007, p. 271). While multiculturalism concentrated before "on the retention of cultures and language, it now began to stress equality, and ethnic and racial harmony" (Knowles 2007, p. 271).

Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) summarize the differences between the *Immigration*Act of 1976 and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* of 2002: While the 1976

Act was "detailed and specific and constrained executive decision making in an unprecedented manner (...) [the 20002 Act was] relatively lacking in specificity, leaving considerable discretion to the executive to determine and implement immigration admission, exclusion, and removal policies through regulations" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 457). In addition, the revision of admissibility criteria with "greater emphasis on skills and education over family ties, streamlined procedures, and an expansion of temporary worker programs" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 458) seems to revert to the time "when immigrant workers were sought for the services they could provide without any guarantees of more permanent membership in the Canadian community" as was the case with the Chinese labourers many decades ago (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 458).

In terms of immigration demographics, "the shifts in the composition of immigrants experienced in the previous period were to deepen" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 418). The new arrivals from Asia and the Middle East increased from just over 50 per cent in 1990 to 58 per cent by 2006 (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 418). In the meantime, "the proportion of Europeans immigrating to Canada continued to decline from just under 25 per cent in 1990 to about 16 per cent in 2007" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 418). For the first time in Canada's history, the proportion of the foreign-born population from Asia and the Middle East (40.8 per cent) surpassed the proportion born in Europe (36.8 per cent)" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 418-9). Moreover, given the immigration and birth rates, "near the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, one in five residents of Canada was foreign born" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 419).

In recent years, "Canada maintains a high level of permanent immigration to Canada and the government has given no indication that it intends to reduce that level. This will help to ensure that Canada's demographic challenges can be addressed" (Alboim & Cohl, 2012, p. 7). However, in terms of immigration regulations, the federal government introduced several changes in 2008, just six years after the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* was enacted (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p. 3). While changes in immigration policy in the past three decades usually followed public and parliamentary consultation and discussion (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p. 9), these amendments to the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* were introduced to Parliament (and approved) as part of the 2008 Budget Implementation Act, which didn't include any previous debates or examinations, and if not accepted would have caused a vote of non-confidence in the government (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, pp. 436-7).

Among the changes in the immigration policy, one "with the most significant impact was the granting of legislative authority for the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism to make decisions that fundamentally alter immigration policies and programs without having to go through the parliamentary process" and "issue 'Ministerial instructions' to immigration officers" (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p. 3). With this new policy, the Minister "has sole discretion to limit the number of applications processed, accelerate some applications or groups of applications, and return applications without processing them to a final conclusion" (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p. 9). Since 2008, ministerial instructions "have affected the Federal Skilled Worker Program, Canadian Experience Class, Immigrant Investor Program, Entrepreneur Program, and Parent and Grandparent Sponsorship Program" (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p.

9). In the new immigration policy, there is also a recent emphasis on short-term labour market needs that is evident in the creation of the Canadian Experience Class that "allows some international students and highly skilled temporary foreign workers to make the transition to permanent residence from within Canada" (Alboim and Cohl, 2012, p. 3).

In regards to the Canadian citizenship legislation, "the means of acquiring citizenship remained largely the same as in previous periods: Birth in Canada; birth outside Canada to a Canadian parent; and naturalization, with the addition of citizenship by adoption added in 2007" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 452). To obtain naturalization, permanent residents had to live 3 out of the last 4 years in Canada, lack a criminal record, demonstrate ability to communicate in English or French, and possess knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities and basic understanding of Canada's history, geography and political system (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 452).

Following the changes in immigration policy in 2008, there were amendments to the *Citizenship Act* in 2009 that responded to the situation of what was called the 'lost Canadians', about 200,000 individuals that didn't have Canadian citizenship since they were born in the years between the 1947 Citizenship Act and the 1977 Act and whose situations were not addressed by the changing rules (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 453). The 2009 amendments "resolved the problems of close to 95 per cent of the 'lost Canadians', enabling them to be recognized as citizens of Canada" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 453).

## Step II - Morphological and semantic description.

The first part of this section provides a morphological description of form and structure of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) that identified print format, cover features, sections and thematic components. The second part includes a semantic description of meaning making aspects of the text by identifying categorizations of substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and connectors; the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives; and the most frequent words used as actants and actors. This morphological and semantic description was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

## Morphological description.

The *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) was printed in colour, letter size, with text that could be considered a mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles. The guide includes 169 pictures displayed individually or as a group, 2 graphs, and 1 map. The cover is also in colour and exhibits a composition of 1 large picture and 5 smaller pictures, the title *Discover Canada*. *The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*. *Study Guide*, the Citizenship and Immigration Canada Monogram and logo, and the Canada logo.

The guide has 62 pages with a table of contents in the beginning of the guide, and it is composed of 13 title sections: Message to Our Readers (1 page), Applying for Citizenship (2 pages), Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship (2 pages), Who we are (4 pages), Canada's History (10 pages), Modern Canada (4 pages), How Canadians Govern Themselves (2 pages), Federal Elections (6 pages) (with subsection Voting

Procedures during an Election Period), The Justice System (2 pages), Canadian Symbols (4 pages), Canada's Economy (2 pages), Canada's Regions (8 pages with subsections for the Atlantic Region, Ontario and Quebec, the Prairie Provinces, the West Coast, and the Northern Territories), For more information (3 pages that include contacts for more information about Canadian citizenship, Citizenship classes, Canada, and Federal programs and services; and websites about Canada, Canadian History, Military History and Remembrance, Government, Geography, For a "Greener" Canada, Getting Involved, and Travel in Canada) and Study Questions (7 pages with 200 questions).

As part of the content of this guide, it includes a 2-page questionnaire about government representatives called "How much do you know about your government" that the citizenship applicant must complete on his/her own. The guide also includes at the end 1 page with Acknowledgements to Government of Canada Departments and Agencies, Organizations and Individuals; 6 pages of photo credits, and 1 blank page for notes.

This guide does not include a French version on the back side of the publication.

The relative weight of each thematic component in this guide could be aggregated as follows: History (30%), Government System (22%), Society (17%), Geography (17%), Economy (4%), Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (4%), Citizenship Procedures (4%) and Introduction (2%).

## Semantic description.

The parsing of the text of the *Discover Canada* guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of an automatic semantic

categorization, resulted in the identification of the relative weight of the various categories of verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and connectors present in this guide.

Verbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 48.2% were factive (expressing actions, such as "to do", "to work", etc.), 35.3% were stative (expressing states or concepts of possession, such as "to be", "to stay", etc.), 16.4% were reflexive (expressing statements about circumstances, beings, objects, such as "to think", "to believe", etc.), and 0.1% were performative (expressing an act though the language and contained within the language, such as "I promise", "I demand", etc.).

Adjectives were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 66.9% were objective (enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint, such as color adjectives), 18.1% were numeral (grouping together numbers in letters or in figures, along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives), and 15% were subjective (indicating judgement from a speaker's standpoint, such as "beautiful", "small", etc.).

Pronouns were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent pronoun used in this guide was "you" (41%), followed by "they" (16.4%), "we" (12.8%), "I" (4.6%), "he" (3.6%), "somebody" (3.1%) and "thou" (2.6%).

Adverbs were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 35.6% were adverbs of time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.), 21.1% were adverbs of intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.), 19.3% were adverbs of manner ("directly", "together", etc.), 13.2% were adverbs of place ("there", "here", "below", etc.), 8.7% were adverbs of negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.), 1.3%

were adverbs of doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.), and 0.8% were adverbs of assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.).

Connectors were identified and categorized by the semantic analysis software which reported that 72.3% were connectors of addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.), 9% were connectors of disjunction ("or", "either...or", "whether...or", etc.), 7.9% were connectors of comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.), 4.7% were connectors of time ("when", "while", "since", etc.), 2.5% were connectors of opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.), 2.5% were connectors of condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.), 0.6% were connectors of cause ("because", "in consequence of", "therefore", etc.), and 0.6% were connectors of goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.).

The parsing of the text of the *Discover Canada* guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of a word extraction process, resulted in the identification of the most frequent verbs, adjectives and substantives present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

Verbs were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent verbs used in this guide were: "Be" (251), "Have" (61), "Include" (37), "Can" (36), "Become" (30), "Make" (27), "Vote" (21), "Live" (19), "Call" (19), "Take" (17), and "Do" (17).

Adjectives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent adjectives used in this guide were: "First" (46), "Canadian" (45), "Other" (40), "Large" (28), "All" (25), "Many" (23), "Important" (21), "Provincial" (21), "Federal" (20), and "Known as" (15).

Substantives were identified by the semantic analysis software which reported that the most frequent substantives used in this guide were: "Canada" (288), "Canadian" (114), "Province" (65), "Government" (52), "People" (43), "Quebec" (40), "Election" (36), "Country" (35), "Right" (32), and "Member" (31).

The parsing of the text of the *Discover Canada* guide implemented with the semantic analysis software *Tropes* which consisted of artificial intelligence algorithms, resulted in the identification of the most frequent actants (before verbs) and actors (after verbs) present in this guide, which are expressed in absolute number of occurrences.

The words most frequently used as actants were: "Canada" (526), "Canadian" (114), "Province" (65), "France" (47), "Day" (45), "People" (44), "Parliament" (30), "History" (28), "Group" (20), and "Responsibility" (20). The words most frequently used as actors were: "Government" (54), "United Kingdom" (47), "Citizen" (42), "Citizenship" (40), "Country" (38), "Election" (37), "Vote" (34), "Right" (33), "Language" (32), and "England" (31).

## Step III - Rhetorical analysis.

The rhetorical analysis of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) focused on the metasememes (at the level of the word) and metalogisms (at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more), which are the rhetorical strategies that deal with the content (meaning). The analysis also included the concept of point of view to assist in determining the position of the narrator in the text. This rhetorical analysis was a necessary methodological step in the construction of the narrative for this guide.

## Metasememes.

The text analysis of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) yielded the following relevant metasememes:

56) A belief in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair play has enabled Canadians to build a prosperous society in a rugged environment from our Atlantic shores to the Pacific Ocean and to the Arctic Circle – so much so that poets and songwriters have hailed Canada as the "Great Dominion". (p. 10)

The North is sometimes called the "Land of the Midnight Sun" because at the height of summer, daylight can last up to 24 hours. (p. 50)

In these instances, *Great Dominion* may be working as a metaphor in praesentia for the name Canada and *Land of the Midnight Sun* could be described as a metaphor in praesentia for the northern part of Canada. In both cases the metaphors have quotation marks, probably as a means to alert the reader of their presence.

57) The "Roaring Twenties" were boom times, with prosperity for businesses and low unemployment. The stock market crash of 1929, however, led to the Great Depression or "Dirty Thirties." Unemployment reached 27% in 1933 and many businesses were wiped out. Farmers in Western Canada were hit hardest by low grain prices and a terrible drought. (p. 22)

This sentence seems to contain two metaphors ("Roaring Twenties" and "Dirty Thirties") which are highlighted by the use of quotation marks.

58) Together, these diverse groups, sharing a common Canadian identity, make up today's multicultural society. (p. 13)

This sentence, which functions as the conclusion of a paragraph that describes various ethnic and religious groups that co-exist in Canada could be considered an oxymoron: Diverse groups, sharing a common Canadian identity contains an inherent tension between the term diverse and what could be described as one of its antonyms, common. The text may be using both terms in proximity to create a semantic oxymoron that could be explained as an attempt to reconcile the fact that Canada has citizens from many cultural backgrounds that, despite their differences, still find common values.

## Metalogisms.

The text analysis of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) yielded the following relevant metalogisms:

59) In Canada, we profess our loyalty to a person who represents all Canadians and not to a document such as a constitution, a banner such as a flag, or a geopolitical entity such as a country. In our constitutional monarchy, these elements are encompassed by the Sovereign (Queen or King). It is a remarkably simple yet powerful principle: Canada is personified by the Sovereign just as the Sovereign is personified by Canada. (p. 2)

It could be said that this paragraph contains an antithesis to compare a set of characteristics that—according to the enunciator, are not symbols of loyalty in Canada—against the *remarkably simple yet powerful principle* of expressing loyalty through the Sovereign. In this paragraph the emitter seems to be comparing various forms of loyalty expressions and concluding that the Canadian model, as explained in the same sentence, is superior.

60) It took courage to move to a new country. Your decision to apply for citizenship is another big step. You are becoming part of a great tradition that was built by generations of pioneers before you. Once you have met all of the legal requirements, we hope to welcome you as a new citizen with all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. (p. 3)

This paragraph seems to be using an allegory via metaphor to create a connection between the application for citizenship and the expectations of society as interpreted by the government. By using the adjective *great* before *tradition*, the text might be establishing not only a hierarchy but expressing an opinion, which is then further qualified by the next sentence where an inclusive *we* (probably the Government of Canada representing existing citizens) *hope* to welcome the reader as a new citizen. It could be said that the allegory works through the metaphor: Acquiring Canadian citizenship means assuming the traditions of great people that came before you, therefore if you want the former, you need to accept the latter, which is desirable given that they are *great*. It could be further argued that this allegory sets up expected behaviours without the need to expressly ask for them.

61) Canadian citizens have rights and responsibilities. These come to us from our history, are secured by Canadian law, and reflect our shared traditions, identity and values.

(p. 8)

This is a similar rhetorical operation that the one previously cited from page 3. It could be described as an allegory in which new citizens are invited to adopt a highly desirable set of values.

62) In Canada, men and women are equal under the law. Canada's openness and generosity do not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, "honour killings," female genital mutilation or other gender-based violence. Those guilty of these crimes are severely punished under Canada's criminal laws. (p. 9)

This paragraph may be using the figure of euphemism to warn readers about what the emitter deems unacceptable behaviours from other cultures. It uses a metonymy within quotation marks ("honour killings") to refer to one non-accepted behaviour, and it adds a list of non-acceptable actions. The list could be understood as a warning: If the reader accepts one or more of the listed behaviours or has other beliefs that may run counter to mainstream Canadian values, in the opinion of *Canada* (which it may be construed as *the Government of Canada* or mainstream society) these are no less than *barbaric* and should be abandoned. If this interpretation is accepted, it could be said that the euphemism works as follows: Canada as a country where people are equal, does not accept a series of behaviours that are, in the opinion of Canada, barbaric; therefore, the reader as a candidate for Canadian citizenship should renounce to having or condoning those beliefs due to the fact that they are barbaric in nature; or at the very least know that any attempt to continue those behaviours in Canada will meet with severe judicial punishment.

63) However, serving in the regular Canadian Forces (navy, army and air force) is a noble way to contribute to Canada and an excellent career choice (...). (p. 9)

Another use of euphemism via litotes could be found in this sentence. The use of *noble* way to contribute to Canada could be construed as a euphemism: Given the fact that becoming a citizen means, according to this guide, full membership in Canada and the expectation of contributions to society, the term contribute to Canada could be seen as

replacing Canadian citizen. If this interpretation is accepted, the euphemism then could be described as follows: Serving in the regular Canadian Forces is a noble way to be a Canadian citizen.

64) Canada is known around the world as a strong and free country. Canadians are proud of their unique identity. We have inherited the oldest continuous constitutional tradition in the world. We are the only constitutional monarchy in North America. Our institutions uphold a commitment to Peace, Order and Good Government, a key phrase in Canada's original constitutional document in 1867, the British North America Act. A belief in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair play has enabled Canadians to build a prosperous society in a rugged environment from our Atlantic shores to the Pacific Ocean and to the Arctic Circle – so much so that poets and songwriters have hailed Canada as the "Great Dominion." (p. 10)

In this paragraph, an operation of hyperbole seems to be at play. The text highlights key attributes of Canada which makes it not only unique but a world leader. The text seems to connect the past (*oldest continuous constitutional tradition in the world, the British North America Act*) with the present as a strong and free country and establishing a causal link between them.

65) Canadian society today stems largely from the English-speaking and French-speaking Christian civilizations that were brought here from Europe by settlers.

English and French define the reality of day-to-day life for most people and are the country's official languages. The federal government is required by law to provide services throughout Canada in English and French. (p. 11)

This paragraph seems to be using the strategy of allegory via particularizing synecdoches. The roots of Canadian society could be described as being reduced to two groups (English and French) with a singular religious root (Christianity). Subsuming the Protestant and Roman Catholic traditions under Christianity could be described as another particularizing synecdoche. If this classification and interpretation are accepted, the allegory could be described as follows: Canada's values stem from Christianity and they define collective social behaviours and are officially sanctioned by the Government of Canada. To be successful in Canadian society, those prevalent values must be respected by the reader, regardless of their religious or cultural background.

66) When Europeans explored Canada they found all regions occupied by native peoples they called Indians, because the first explorers thought they had reached the East Indies. The native people lived off the land, some by hunting and gathering, others by raising crops. The Huron-Wendat of the Great Lakes region, like the Cree and Dene of the Northwest, were hunter-gatherers. The Iroquois were hunters and farmers. The Sioux were nomadic, following the bison (buffalo) herd. The Inuit lived off Arctic wildlife. West Coast natives preserved fish by drying and smoking. Warfare was common among Aboriginal groups as they competed for land, resources and prestige. (p. 14)

This paragraph summarizes what the emitter understands are the key groups still living in Canada today that were present at the time of European contact. While the rhetorical language seems to stay close to what can be deem as zero-degree (descriptive and void of metasememes), it can be argued that the paragraph constructs an allegory when the initial list and description is connected to the last sentence of the paragraph, in which these

groups are presented in constant warfare before the European arrival. The allegory could work by connecting the arrival of Europeans to the territory with the fact that all these various native groups were commonly engaged in warfare against each other. If this logical connection is accepted, it could be argued that the emitter, without providing much detail, is presenting aboriginal groups during pre-European contact as somewhat violent societies that were competing with each other, and that is what Europeans found when they arrived in the region. The violence post-European contact has in this context roots in actions that occurred pre-contact.

67) The movement for Quebec sovereignty gained strength but was defeated in two referendums in the province in 1980 and 1995. The autonomy of Quebec within Canada remains a lively topic – part of the dynamic that continues to shape our country. (p. 25)

Based on the historical background of the issues regarding Quebec, in the metasememes level, the use of *lively topic* in this sentence could be considered a metonymy, replacing *conflict* with the term *lively topic*. It could also be said that the metonymy is part of a broader operation at the metalogism level of the discourse: a euphemism that may be reducing the conflictive nature of the Quebec debate to a more positive set of words.

68) Canadian advances in science and technology are world renowned and have changed the way the world communicates and does business. (p. 26)

The term *world renowned* might be described as a hyperbole, placing all Canadian advances as world famous and life-changing and recognized as such around the globe.

69) English speakers (Anglophones) and French speakers (Francophones) have lived together in partnership and creative tension for more than 300 years. (p. 39)

In this sentence, the relationship between English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians could be explained through the use of the metaphor *creative tension*. The metaphor pairs two concepts (*creative* and *tension*) with *partnership* to construct a comparison. If the metaphor is accepted, then it could be argued that it is part of a larger metalogism: a euphemism to describe the relationship between those groups.

70) Canada has always been a trading nation and commerce remains the engine of economic growth. As Canadians, we could not maintain our standard of living without engaging in trade with other nations. (p. 42)

These two sentences may be considered an allegory. There seem to be a combination of historical information about Canada being a trading nation since becoming an independent country, and a particularizing synecdoche equating the existing quality of Canada's material standard of living with the ability to trade with other nations (*we could not maintain our standard of living*). The allegory seems to describe the importance of supporting free-trade in order for Canadians to continue to enjoy economic success.

## Narrative point of view.

The *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) seems to use an intervening narration point of view. In the historical and legal sections of the guide the narration seems to be conducted through the use of neutral language, composing an image of objective narration with that objectivity giving way in some instances to inclusive references ('we'). However, the narrator seems to be always having the knowledge and dispensing it to the reader as an authoritative source. Based on this, intervening narration seems to be the most prevalent narrative point of view for this guide.

## **Step IV - Discussion of the construction of the narrative.**

The construction of the narrative of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) was the last methodological step of this study and it is based on studying the guide through the lens of the historical information and semiological analysis from the previous three steps. This section describes a historically-situated narrative of a new Canadian citizen as constructed in this guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. For the purpose of this study, the narrative that seems to be present in the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) could be called the narrative of the *loyal* citizen.

## The narrative of the loyal citizen.

The emitter of the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) seems to display an intervening narrative point of view: The role of the emitter in this case seems to be being an authoritative source of neutral knowledge, but this objectivity sometimes gives way to inclusive references with the pronoun "we" (12.8%) and "you" (41%).

Rhetorically, the emitter seems to adopt a more complex language than the one observed in the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition), *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and *A Look at Canada* (1995 edition) guides, an interpretation that can be supported by the number of more complex rhetorical figures, which might require from the reader more than a basic or functional level of English language proficiency.

The guide describes the government system, explaining what is a Federal State and Parliamentary Democracy, including how laws are presented, discussed and approved. The text includes what could be considered the lengthiest explanation of

Constitutional monarchy of all the analyzed guides, in this case presented as part of a tradition that links Canada with the 52 nations of the Commonwealth., a notion that could be supported by the antithesis that describes the unique characteristics of Canada's relationship with the Sovereign (rhetorical figure # 59).

This guide also departs from previous texts by giving a more central role to the armed forces and provincial and municipal law-enforcement organizations, as seen in the rhetorical analysis where euphemism via litotes is used to highlight the importance of contributing to Canada's armed forces (rhetorical figure # 63). While previous guides have information and highlight the work of the armed forces, the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) is the first to explicitly encourage the reader to join the military forces.

It is also important to note that this text introduces the various religious groups established in Canada. It could be argued that this guide gives Christianity some prominence as the faith linked to the roots of Canadian society, a notion that could be supported by the allegory about the English-speaking and French-speaking civilizations in Canada (rhetorical figure # 65).

This text also signals an enhanced return of history topics to the citizenship guide: 30 percent of the text is presented as Canadian history, the highest percentage of all the guides reviewed in this study regardless of page length or time period, and also supported by the presence for the first time of the word *history* as one of the most frequent actants (28 mentions). While previous guides focused on certain aspects of Canadian history, it can be said that *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) combines the information found in the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) and *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) guides and expands on those topics.

With the focus on constitutional monarchy, military, religion, and history, this guide seems to equate becoming a citizen to being a *loyal* adopter of Canadian's traditions and values. This can be seen in the combined metaphor and allegory about immigrants becoming part of a great tradition by applying for citizenship in Canada (rhetorical figure # 60), as well as the allegory about rights and responsibilities stemming from the Canadian history and secured by Canadian law, and then reflected in the Canadian values (rhetorical figure # 61).

## Narratives about Canada.

The narration presents what could be called an assertive Canada, with strong traditions, interested in free trade and economic development, and encouraging its citizens to honour the past and perhaps join the armed forces. In this sense, when introducing Canada, this guide presents the country as a *Great Dominion*, known around the world as strong a free, with the oldest continuous constitutional tradition in the world. The modern Canada section of the guide also highlights the importance of free trade as key to the current prosperity and material progress of the country. The hyperboles about the unique attributes of Canada as a world leader (rhetorical figure # 64) and the importance of supporting free-trade to enjoy economic success (rhetorical figure # 70) could be viewed as examples of this positioning. The text also includes information on the international roles Canada has played after the Second World War and how the modern welfare state was formed.

The guide also provides a short overview on Canadian artists, traditional sports and examples of Canadian-made inventions, which also signals the return of rhetorical strategies to highlight the prominent position of Canada in the world, as described in the

How to become a Canadian Citizen (1947 edition), Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition) and Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976 edition) guides. In the case of this guide, this could be supported in the hyperbole about world renowned Canadian science and technology (rhetorical figure # 68).

## Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

Another distinctive characteristic of this guide seems to be the choice of a denotative and succinct language to present government actions that harmed various minority groups. This is the first and only of the analyzed texts that describes what could be considered errors made by the government in the past: Large number of aboriginal deaths, the lack of consultation to the Métis people regarding Confederation, residential schools for Aboriginal children, Chinese immigrants head tax, internment of Japanese-Canadians, all those issues are presented as mistakes for which modern Canada officially apologized. As described in the rhetorical analysis, this guide also presents the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones with a combined metaphor and euphemism of *partnership* and *creative tension* (rhetorical figure # 69) which is the first time in the analyzed guide that modern relations between both cultural groups are presented in such manner.

On the issue of adaptation to Canadian culture, the text presents multiculturalism as the official position of the government of Canada which could be construed as a pluralism ideology. The text seems to highlight the importance of celebrating each other's presence and live in harmony while adapting to core Canadian values, and this can be seen in the oxymoron about diverse groups sharing a common Canadian identity (rhetorical figure # 58). However, there are several rhetorical strategies that seem to be

placing concrete limits to the ability of the readers to keep their own traditions without change. An example is the combined metonymy and euphemism that refers to *barbaric cultural practices* such as "honour killings" (rhetorical figure # 62).

## Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

The *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) is also the first of the analyzed guides to include the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in its sub-title. The rights and responsibilities of the citizen appear in the first pages of the guide, and are presented to the reader as part of a great western-European tradition that traces back to the Magna Carta in 1215, a notion that seemed to be supported by the fact that the word *United Kingdom* (47 mentions) and *England* (31 mentions) are one of the most frequent actors, something not seen in any of the previous guides analyzed in this study.

The rights of citizens listed in the text are based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: mobility rights, Aboriginal Peoples' rights, official language rights and minority language educational rights, and multiculturalism. The listed responsibilities seem to focus more on individual responsibilities: Obeying the law, taking responsibility for oneself and one's family (including getting a job which contributes to personal dignity and Canada 's prosperity), serving on a jury, voting in elections, helping others in the community (volunteering), protecting and enjoying our heritage and the environment, and defending Canada. Political action, broadly present in the *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) and less so in the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) is no longer part of the narrative, other than a reference to voting.

## Chapter V

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

This chapter presents a summary of the discussions presented as Step IV in Chapter IV related to the construction of the narratives of the six studied Canadian Citizenship Guides over time. This chapter also introduces concluding thoughts for this study as well as suggestions for future research.

## **Summary of Discussions**

The purpose of this study was to analyze six Canadian Citizenship Guides developed between 1947 and 2012 as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen. The study included the following six guides: (1) *How to become a Canadian Citizen* (1947); 2) *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963); 3) *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976); 4) *The Canadian Citizen* (1978) and additional folder *A Look at Canada* (1979); 5) *A Look at Canada* (1995); and 6) *Discover Canada* (2009).

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, I analyzed the guides by identifying how the selection of historical, governmental and social topics, and the use of different words and rhetorical strategies within an historical moment construct a narrative voice in each Canadian Citizenship Guide. To construct the narratives of the Canadian citizen present in each Canadian Citizenship Guide, I studied the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation present in each

guide. I also sought continuities and disruptions in the narratives to explore how the narratives changed over time.

The research questions prompting this study were:

- What narrative of a Canadian citizen is constructed in each Canadian Citizenship Guide through narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation?
- What are the continuities and disruptions of the narratives over time?

The next sections present the summary of the discussions related to each research question.

## Narratives of the Canadian citizen over time.

This section summarizes the previous discussions about the narratives of the Canadian citizen as constructed in each studied Canadian Citizenship Guide, and also presents some discussion related to the progression of the narratives over time.

The guide *How to become a Canadian Citizen* (1947 edition) seems to construct a narrative of a *good character* citizen with adequate knowledge about Canada, as assessed by a citizenship judge. The emitter seems to present Canada as a new and autonomous country that defends freedom and believes in democracy, with strong ties to United Kingdom and British traditions. The emitter of the text seems to be promoting an assimilation ideology presenting traditional Canadian values and urging the reader to adopt these values publicly and privately. The guide does not seem to promote any actions for active citizenship participation, and requests the new citizen to be obedient to the Canadian laws and remain loyal to Canada.

The publication *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) seems to construct a narrative of a *responsible* citizen committed to the political and social organization. The emitter seems to present Canada as a welfare state with a growing cultural structure, strong ties to Unites States, and an economic and trading leadership position in the world. The emitter of the text seems to be promoting a civic ideology approach to the process of adaptation to Canada acknowledging the varied backgrounds of the immigrants to Canada but placing them in a different level that mainstream traditions and values. The guide seems to present a citizen that concentrates on the daily work, obeys the laws, respects the individual rights of others, and may volunteer in a community organization.

The *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) seems to construct a narrative of a *wholesome* citizen who actively seeks opportunities to put knowledge and talent to use in support of the community. The emitter seems to present Canada as a people's country that encompasses all cultural groups, and a world *middle power* with a leading economy and active international relations. The emitter of the text seems to be promoting a pluralism ideology that actively supports the identity of cultural minorities. The guide promotes a citizen that is involved in the community and interested in the common good, obeys the laws and respects other people's rights, is informed on current affairs and uses his/her talents to solve social issues.

The guide *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and the companion folder *A look at Canada* (1979 edition) seem to construct a narrative of a *politically active* citizen who engages in the political process to share the responsibility of caring for their country. The emitter seems to present Canada as a *political entity* with legislation and policies that the citizen can influence through active participation. The emitter of the text seems to be

promoting a pluralism ideology that encourages immigrants to share their cultural heritages with the whole community as they also learn from others. The guide promotes a citizen with interest in politics and public opinion that can participate by following the news voting, joining a political party, and running for political office.

The guide *A Look at Canada* (1995 edition) seems to construct a narrative of a citizenship *student* who is preparing for a written standardized test to obtain Canadian citizenship. The emitter seems to present Canada as a *community* country where people work together and help one another. The emitter of the text seems to be promoting a pluralism ideology, although the government action to support other cultures is reduced to a mention while discussing the Multiculturalism Act. The guide promotes a citizen that in addition to voting and obeying laws, also helps neighbours, joins a community group, works together with the community, volunteers in the political process, and becomes a candidate in an election.

The guide *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) seems to construct a narrative of a *loyal* citizen who shows interest in Canadian history, respects the constitutional monarchy, and appreciates the work of the military forces. The emitter seems to present Canada as a *Great Dominion*, with strong traditions and interested in free trade and economic development. The emitter seems to be aware of previous historical wrongdoings to cultural groups, and promotes a pluralism ideology that highlights the importance of celebrating each other's presence, but with limits. The guide promotes a citizen that obeys the law, takes responsibility for oneself and one's family, serves on a jury, votes, helps others in the community (volunteering), protects and enjoys our heritage and the environment, and defends Canada.

A longitudinal view of the analyzed guides seems to support the notion that the narratives regarding what behaviours the new citizen should display changed over time; however that change is not linear, and in some instances connections could be made between narratives that are historically apart.

The narrative in the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) was defined as the narrative of the *good character*, which it could be argued has many similarities with the narrative of the *loyal* citizen that seems to be present in the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition). The narrative of *responsible* citizen described in the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) has also similitudes to the narratives of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) and in the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) in terms of highlighting the individual responsibilities that come with adopting Canadian citizenship.

However, the narrative of the *wholesome* citizen described in the *Canada*. *Guide* for *Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) and the narrative of the *politically active* citizen described in *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) present narratives that seem to encourage new citizens to be active members of the political and social process, including pursuing changes in laws or becoming candidates for an elected position. These guides could be described as highlighting community participation and political involvement more than encouraging new citizens to be loyal to their adoptive country.

While the narrative of the citizen *student* described in the *A look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) contains information about the political process and volunteering, it could be argued that this guide focuses in helping the reader prepare and approve the newly established citizenship test above any other expectation.

## Continuities and disruptions of the narratives over time.

Given that this research project had a longitudinal approach to the Canadian Citizenship Guides, the search for continuities and disruptions were guided and organized following the same macro-level themes presented on the discussions of the construction of the narratives in Chapter IV. Those thematic organizing parameters were: the construction of the narrative of the Canadian citizen, and the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation. Within each subset, I presented elements that could be seen as similarities across all the analyzed guides, and disruptions within the series of guides, in keeping with the longitudinal approach of this research.

## The construction of the narratives of the Canadian citizen.

## a) Continuity: The narrative point of view

In general, all analyzed guides seem to present an objective or intervening narrative point of view. These viewpoints share the characteristic that the emitter and the reader do not seem to interact within the text, and as seen in the mythical section in all cases the emitter seems to possess reliable information and is passing it on to the reader as facts. This strategy could be seen as an effort to achieve an effect of objectivity. It can also be argued that the objective or intervening narrative point of view could create the effect of authority, in the sense that information is presented to the reader as facts that can be trusted as reliable.

# b) Continuity: The impact of citizenship and immigration legislation and policies in the Canadian Citizenship Guides

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It can be said that the content in all analyzed guides seem to be affected by

changes in citizenship and multiculturalism legislation, and this continuity is more visible

in the guides that were produced immediately after certain legislative or policy changes.

The How to become a Canadian Citizen guide (1947 edition), published after the

Canadian Citizenship Act was enacted in 1947, spends a considerable amount of space

reviewing the contents of the Act and the steps a person must take in order to apply and

successfully obtain Canadian citizenship. When the Multiculturalism policy was

established in 1971, the Canada. Guide for Citizenship publication (1976 edition)

incorporates references to multiculturalism, and then after the Multiculturalism Act is

enacted in 1985, the guides A Look at Canada (1995 edition) and Discover Canada (2009

edition) contain information about this piece of legislation. Also, when the written exam

is introduced in 1995, the guide A Look at Canada (1995 edition) seemed to be designed

around the new citizenship test, and the overall purpose of that guide seemed geared

towards assisting citizenship applicants to pass the exam with minimal need of seeking

additional sources or materials.

Other continuity in terms of the relationship of the analyzed guides with

government policies and legislation is what it could be described as largely ignoring the

changes in immigration strategies, policies and laws. Based on the historical review and

the subsequent semiological and mythical analysis, changes in immigration quotas or the

profile of the immigrant or debates regarding family class immigration or refugee claims

do not seem to be acknowledged in detail in the guides.

Narratives about Canada.

c) Continuity: The historical account

It could be said that the analyzed guides present a European view of North American history. In all the guides reviewed for this study, the history of Canada begins with the arrival of French and English explorers and settlers to Eastern Canada. These explorers made contact with the local pre-existing population, establishing alliances and signing treaties. The British population is then presented as victorious in a war to control the territory, but even in victory they recognized that the French population wanted to keep their language and traditions and accommodated them.

## d) Continuity: The unique nature of the political system

All the analyzed guides highlight that Canada has a unique political system, which is democratic and steeped in British tradition in which the Head of State is the Sovereign, who resides in the United Kingdom. Each guide adopts a particular strategy to deal with the fact that the Sovereign lives outside of Canada, which ranges from a full philosophical explanation (*Discover Canada*, 2009 edition) to a mere acknowledgement that Canada has a Queen as Head of State (*A look at Canada*, 1995 edition).

## e) Continuity: Canada counts

While the emphasis on the role and importance of Canada in the world stage varies in each of the analyzed guides, it is present in all of the studied guides. The various military alliances, participation in the British Commonwealth, and the economic strength of Canada are part of each of the guides reviewed in this research study. In regards with the economy, trade is one element that is present in all guides, highlighting the importance of free trade for Canada's economic development.

## f) Disruption: The role of the military

It could be said that the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition), *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition), *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) and *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) guides pay special attention to Canada's armed forces and its role as nation-builders and in sustaining Canada's place in the world. The *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) is the only one reviewed that actively encourages citizenship applicants to join the military forces. The *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and *A Look at Canada* (1995 edition) guides do not highlight the armed forces, focusing instead in the political activities that citizens could pursue.

## g) Disruption: The welfare state

While all analyzed guides present Canada as a world-leader with an excellent standard of living, the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition), *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) and *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) guides dedicate at least a section to describe the elements of the welfare state present in Canada. The most comprehensive account of the welfare state can be seen in the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition), covering health care, public education, and unions. The *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) and *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) guides continue to present key aspects of the welfare state, but using a reduced amount of space. References to the welfare state are not present in the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) and have minimal discussion in the *A Look at Canada* (1995 edition) and *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) guides.

#### h) Disruption: Presenting Canadian cultural activities

Similarly to the welfare state, the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* guide (1963 edition) stands out for providing a rather detailed account of what the guide presents as

the official support of the federal government to various arts forms. Government-backed schemes to support ballet, literature, theatre and media are described at length in that guide. The *How to become a Canadian Citizen* (1947 edition), the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition), *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) and *A Look at Canada* (1995 edition) guides do not include that type of information. The *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) reintroduces the issue of culture but from a different perspective: The guide seems to group heritage, culture and sports under the banner of *Canadian culture*, encouraging the reader to visit heritage sites and museums as well as enjoy hockey and Canadian football as a way of learning more about Canadian culture.

## i) Disruption: The acknowledgement of national "mistakes"

Of the six analyzed guides, five guides seem to present the actions of the Government of Canada as either positive or neutral. The only exception is the *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) guide, which is the first one to acknowledge that certain actions by the government caused harm to various minorities, and it specifically mentions the residential schools for aboriginal youth, the way the Chinese immigrants that came to Canada to work on building the Canadian Pacific Railroad were treated, and the internment of people of Japanese descent in Canada during the Second World War. While it could be said that the *Discover Canada* (2009 edition) guide still presents an overall positive view of Canada history, it is the first to also write about issues in which the Government of Canada had to formally apologize.

#### Narratives about adaption to Canadian culture.

## j) Continuity: Multiculturalism as an important Canadian value

Following the adoption of an official Multiculturalism policy in 1971, all the citizenship guides published after that date that were analyzed in this study mention multiculturalism as a key Canadian value. While this is a similarity across guides, there are differences in terms of emphasis and clarification on what multiculturalism means. While the *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) emphasizes the fact that Canada has a multiculturalism policy; the *The Canadian Citizen* guide (1978 edition) explains that immigrants bring their own culture without mentioning a government policy. The Multiculturalism Act is mentioned in the *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) while the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) does not cite the Act but offers a definition of multiculturalism and is the first text to clearly explain the limits of Canadian multiculturalism: Certain cultural behaviours (such as "honour killings") while may be culturally acceptable in some countries, are not tolerated in Canada.

#### k) Continuity: Bilingualism defined as English/French proficiency

According to the analyzed guides, in Canada being bilingual seems to mean one thing: proficiency in English and French. While some of the citizenship guides do mention that immigrants speak additional languages, there seems to be no clarification if the restricted definition of bilingualism is linked to the purpose of acquiring citizenship, or if it is the official government definition to be used beyond the guide.

#### 1) Continuity: Adapting Canadian values is desirable

All analyzed guides seem to encourage the new citizen to adapt to what could be described as *Canadian values*. The most salient values that seem to be present in all the guides are the acknowledgement of the Crown as a unique form of effective democracy, voting as the way to choose representatives, the need to respect the outcome of the

elections; volunteering in the community and, starting in the *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* publication (1976 edition) and continuing in all the analyzed guides moving forward, celebrating Canadian holidays.

#### m) Disruption: Acculturation ideologies over time

Acculturation ideologies seem to follow a linear pattern that begins with an assimilation ideology, which seems to be present in How to become a Canadian Citizen (1947 edition) and requires the reader to adopt the host country culture and values privately and publicly. The Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition), which is next chronologically in this study seems to be presenting a civic ideology which could be described as an ideology that divides the host country expectation of the new citizen, requiring to adopt publicly the traditions and values of the host culture while allowing individuals to keep their own traditions privately, with no government interference.

The Canada. Guide for Citizenship publication (1976 edition), The Canadian Citizen (1978 edition), A look at Canada (1995 edition), and Discover Canada (2009 edition) were published after the Multiculturalism policy established in 1971 and they all seem to present a pluralism ideology, in which it is expected that the new citizen would adopt Canada's cultural and social traditions publicly, while at the same time the government would support each cultural group so they can maintain their own language and traditions and share them with the rest of the society when and where appropriate.

### Narratives about expected citizenship participation.

#### n) Continuity: A binary notion of Citizenship

All the analyzed guides mention that citizenship entails rights (sometimes called privileges) and responsibilities (sometimes called disabilities). The most prevalent

privileges are to vote and carry a Canadian passport, while the common responsibilities found across the guides are obedience to the laws and volunteerism.

#### o) Continuity: Civics and citizenship education

All the analyzed guides contain information on topics that may be considered part of a civics education curriculum, specifically content related to how democracy works in Canada, the structure of government, voting procedures, law-abidance and respect for individual rights. It could be further argued that five of the six guides—Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition), Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976 edition), The Canadian Citizen guide (1978 edition), A Look at Canada (1995 edition) and Discover Canada (2009 edition)—include not only elements pertaining to civics education, but also what may be considered citizenship education topics: volunteerism, multiculturalism, the individual's responsibility with fellow citizens and human rights. It is important to note that while the Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition), A Look at Canada (1995 edition) and Discover Canada (2009 edition) guides mention these citizenship education topics, the Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976 edition) and The Canadian Citizen guide (1978 edition) guides goes beyond mentioning the topics and actively asking the reader to take action on citizenship education topics.

### p) Disruption: Expectations of a new Canadian citizen

There are disruptions in the way that the analyzed guides present the views on what constitutes positive citizenship behaviours and what the new citizen is expected to do after Canadian citizenship is granted. The *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition) presents what can be described as a view of a citizen that is law abiding

and whose allegiance is with Canada over the country of birth/origin. The publication *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition) seems to highlight the important of western democracy as a value and the standard of living that a nascent welfare state is bringing to all Canadians, a choice that could have been influenced by the Cold War. The *Canada*. *Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) and *The Canadian Citizen* (1978 edition) guides break from the previous guides on the issue of expectations, adding a political activism and the importance of working towards social justice as key aspects of a 'good' citizen. The *A Look at Canada* guide (1995 edition) reduces significantly the political expectations for the new citizen, while still keeping social justice as a value that citizens should strive for. It could be said that the *Discover Canada* guide (2009 edition) returns to the position seen in the *Guide to Canadian Citizenship* (1963 edition), with the addition of joining the military or a law-enforcement agency as a positive action that citizens should consider.

### Conclusion

The purpose of this Adult Education study was to analyze six Canadian Citizenship Guides developed between 1947 and 2012 as a proxy for an official policy voice of the Canadian government about what it means to be a Canadian citizen and what is expected from a Canadian citizen. To construct the narratives of Canadian citizen present in each Canadian Citizenship Guide, I attempted to describe the different narratives about Canada, the adaption to Canadian culture, and the expected citizenship participation present in each of the selected guides, and then searching for continuities and disruptions between them. By choosing guides using a longitudinal approach over a

65-year period, the search for continuities and disruptions centred in what could be described as a macro-level analysis, looking for general themes and narrative strategies.

At this macro-level, it could be said that from 1947 to 2012 there seemed to be more continuities than disruptions in the construction of the myths, the narratives about Canada, adaption to Canadian culture, and expected citizenship participation.

While the narratives constructed by each guide (*good character* citizen, *responsible* citizen, *wholesome* citizen, *politically active* citizen, citizenship *student*, and *loyal* citizen) have each unique elements, the narrative point of view remained essentially unchanged through time, with a narrator detached from the receiver and providing what could be described as information. This choice of an objective or intervening narrative point of view could be linked to an effort to show impartiality: If the emitter provides mostly facts, then there seems to be no opinion. The other element of continuity is what it seems to be the impact of changes in citizenship and immigration legislation and trends in the citizenship guides: The content of the analyzed guides shifted following modifications in citizenship and multiculturalism legislation and policy, but did not seem to incorporate in detail or clearly reflect changes in immigration policy or trends.

Regarding the narratives about Canada, all the studied guides showed what could be described as a consistent approach to present history from a mostly European point of view, the political system as a unique combination of tradition and local response to the dual English-French culture existing in Canada, and the presentation of Canada as a western democracy that is world-leading and built its material wealth primarily thanks to free trade.

The ideology surrounding the adoption of Canadian culture evolved in the first three guides, from assimilation (*How to become a Canadian Citizen*, 1947 edition) to civic (*Guide to Canadian Citizenship*, 1963 edition) to a pluralism ideology which seems to be the prevalent view in all the studied guides starting with *Canada. Guide for Citizenship* (1976 edition) and forward. All the analyzed guides seemed to define bilingualism as proficiency in English or French and all seemed to encourage the reader to adopt Canadian values and public traditions. With perhaps the exception of the *How to become a Canadian Citizen* guide (1947 edition), all the other studied guides seemed to acknowledge the existence of a variety of cultural groups in Canada.

The issue of citizen participation also seemed to include elements of continuity through time. All the studied guides divide citizenship into rights and responsibilities, and also they seem to contain what could be described as information on topics that are usually part of a civics education curriculum: how democracy works in Canada, the structure of government, voting procedures, law-abidance and respect for individual rights. In addition, five out of six guides present content related to citizenship education: volunteerism, multiculturalism, the individual's responsibility with fellow citizens and human rights.

In sum, over the studied period of 65-years, the Government of Canada as emitter of the Canadian Citizenship Guides seemed to prefer continuity over disruption, with a focus on translating changes in citizenship and multiculturalism laws and policies to the citizenship guides.

## Suggestions for Future Research

Given the scope of this research project, this study did not include the semiological analysis of the illustrations, photographs, charts and maps included in the Canadian Citizenship Guides, which could be used to compare the textual narratives discussed in this study with visual narratives that those images present.

In addition, the Tropes Software allows for additional customized programming to produce more detailed text analysis that could be employed to expand the content examination of the Canadian Citizenship Guides. In this sense, the plain text files (.txt) created for the purpose of this study are available for further research.

This study only analysed the English versions of the Canadian Citizenship Guides. An analysis of the same guides in French language could offer further insights regarding the construction of the narrative in both official languages.

The longitudinal nature of this study focused on macro-level continuities and disruptions. It may be useful to produce a more in-depth comparison of Canadian Citizenship Guides from adjacent series, or within the same series (design and name). This study collected PDF files (.pdf) of other editions of Canadian Citizenship Guides, as described in the Data Collection section, for future research.

Finally, this study also did not search for contextual documents (speeches from politicians or newspaper articles) that could determine if or how the Canadian Citizenship Guides are rhetorically connected to other discourses about the citizenship topic. This could also be the focus of other future research studies.

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# Appendix I: Conceptual Table of Theoretical Framework

Table 6 Conceptual table of theoretical framework

		Theor	retical Fran	nework		
Learning, education and communication	Adult education	Intercultural development	Defining citizenship education	Citizenship educ Economic, social and cultural basis of citizenship	ation  Development of the notion of Canadian citizenship	Semiology
Learning, education (Jarvis, 2010)	Adult learning (Brockett & Merriam, 1997)	Attitude Acculturation Model (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009)	Broader view of citizenship education (Poonwassie & Poonwassie, 2001)	Contested construct (Adamoski, Chunn, and Menzies, 2002)	Struggle (Selman, Selman, Cooke, & Dampier, 1998)	Social semiosis, denotative and connotative levels (Verón 1993; Verón, 1971)
Sign (Peirce, Houser, & Kloesel, 1998 [1893- 1913]) (De Saussure, 1959 [1916])	Adult education (Selman, Selman, Cooke, & Dampier, 1998)	Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997)	Civics versus commitment (Russell, 2002)	Competing proposals (Hébert and Sears, 2004)	Moving target (Adamoski, Chunn, and Menzies, 2002)	Myth (Barthes, 1972)
Semiology (Barthes, 1967)	Social intervention (Caffarella & Merriam, 1991)	,	Four dimensions of citizenship (Schugurens ky, 2006)	Globalization (Cogan, 1998)	Assimilationist, Bicultural and Multicultural Perspectives (Russell, 2002)	Rhetoric operations (Eco, 1981)
Text (Eco, 1981)				Multidimensi onal citizenship (Kubow, Grossman, and Ninomiya, 1998)	Pretend pluralism (Guo, 2006)	Modern rhetoric (Dubois, J., Edeline, F., Klinkenber g, J. M., Minguet, P., Pire, F., & Trinon, H., 1981)
					Multiple citizenship (Hébert and Wilkinson, 2002)	Qualitative data analysis computer program Creswell (2005)

# Appendix II: Conceptual Table of Related Research

Table 7 Conceptual table of related research

	Related Research	
Official Citizenship Documents	Canadian citizenship	– Citizenship education
Semiological approach (Wilton, 2006)	Globalization (Bloemraad, 2000)	English as an Additional Language (Derwing & Thomson, 2005) (Fleming, 2010)
Semiological approach (Wilton, 2010)	Multiculturalism (Rummens, 2002) (Karim, 2002) (Kordan, 1997) (Jenson, 2002)	Citizenship as a continuum (Sears & Hughes, 1996)
Historical account (Chapnick, 2011)	Hegemony (Osborne, 2002)	Importance of citizenship (Derwing, Munro, and Jamieson, 1998)
Rhetorical approach (Quirt, 2003)	Federal government actions (Sears, 1997)	Citizenship tests, state policies (Derwing & Joshee, 2005).

# Appendix III: Listing of Collected Canadian Citizenship Guides

Table 8 Listing of collected Canadian Citizenship Guides

Name	Year	Link	Amicus #	
Discover	2011	2011 http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-		
Canada		2004&url_tim=2012-05-		
		13T15%3A24%3A38Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=39260885𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	2009	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	37375371	
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-		
		13T15%3A24%3A05Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=37375371𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
A Look at	2007	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	36253239	
Canada		2004&url_tim=2012-05-		
Curiada		13T15%3A22%3A32Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=36253239𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	2005	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
		2004&url tim=2012-05-	200.000	
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	2004	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
	2001	2004&url_tim=2012-05-	233 13077	
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akey		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	2002	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
	2002	2004&url_tim=2012-05-	23343077	
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	2001	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
	2001	2004&url_tim=2012-05-	23343033	
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		
	1999	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
	1999	2004&url_tim=2012-05-	23343099	
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
	1005	ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	25242600	
	1995	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	25343699	
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-		
		13T15%3A03%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=25343699𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
T1	1001	ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	10.000701	
The	1994	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	13622731	
Canadian		2004&url_tim=2012-05-		
Citizen		13T15%3A09%3A29Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev		
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=13622731𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle		
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng		

		Dafoe call number, copy material, 1)Can1 C5.7 C58 1994	
	1985	Dafoe call number, copy material, 1)Can1 Se3.7 C26 1985 c.	
	1984	Law Dafoe call number, copy material, 1)JL 187 A355	5123021
		http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-	
		13T15%3A46%3A02Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=5123021𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
The	1982	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	7729205
Canadian		2004&url_tim=2012-05-	
Citizen		13T21%3A51%3A10Z&url ctx fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=7729205𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
	1978	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	3011700
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-	
		13T21%3A47%3A34Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3011700𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
A Look at	1979	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	1830878
Canada		2004&url tim=2012-05-	
(Folder)		13T21%3A37%3A56Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=1830878𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
Canada.	1976	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	1830623
Guide for		2004&url tim=2012-05-	
Citizenship		13T15%3A42%3A42Z&url ctx fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=1830623𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
C :1 .	1071	tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	NT/A
Guide to	1971	Dafoe call number, copy material, 1)JL 187 A54 1971	N/A
Canadian	1966	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	23303305
Citizenship		2004&url_tim=2012-04-	
		14T13%3A33%3A27Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=23303305𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcolle	
		ctionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
	1965	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	8566112
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-	
		13T15%3A29%3A24Z&url ctx fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft dat=8566112𝔯 id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
	1964		1186084
		2004&url_tim=2012-05-	
		13T15%3A27%3A24Z&url ctx fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=1186084𝔯_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	
	1963	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	7981539
		2004&url_tim=2012-04-	
		12T17%3A32%3A16Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	
		%3Amtx%3Actx&rft dat=7981539𝔯 id=info%3Asid%2Fcollec	
		I Aramanamada on an O/ 2 A amriorra V-lama, ama	Ī
**	10.7=	tionscanada.gc.ca%3Aamicus⟨=eng	=======
	1947	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-	7733727
become a	1947	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88- 2004&url_tim=2012-05-	7733727
become a Canadian	1947	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88- 2004&url_tim=2012-05- 13T15%3A28%3A54Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev	7733727
How to become a Canadian Citizen	1947	http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88- 2004&url_tim=2012-05-	7733727

## Appendix IV: Glossary of Linguistic Terms

The following glossary includes the linguistic terms employed in this study, following the definitions provided by the semantic analysis software *Tropes* (Semantic Knowledge, 2012).

#### Word categories:

#### **Adjectives** are either:

- objective, i.e. enabling to characterize beings or objects, regardless of the speaker's standpoint (color adjectives, for example),
- subjective, i.e. indicating judgment on something or on somebody, thus enabling to
   express the speaker's standpoint ("beautiful", "small", "nice", etc.),
- or numeral, i.e. grouping together numbers (in letters or in figures), along with ordinal and cardinal adjectives.

**Adverbs** or adverbial phrases (modalities) enable the speaker to get involved in what he says, or to locate what he says in time and space, through concepts of:

- time ("now", "yesterday", "tomorrow", etc.),
- place ("there", "here", "below", etc.),
- manner ("directly", "together", etc.),
- assertion ("absolutely", "certainly", etc.),
- doubt ("maybe", "probably", etc.),
- negation ("not", "never", "nothing", etc.),
- intensity ("very", "much", "strongly", etc.)

**Connectors** (coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, conjunctive phrases) link together various parts of the discourse through concepts of:

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- condition ("if", "in as much as", "in case", etc.),
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- cause ("because", "in consequence of", "therefore", etc.),
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goal ("so that", "in order that", etc.),
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- addition ("and", "moreover", "along with", etc.),
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- disjunction ("or", "either... or", "whether... or", etc.),
```

```
opposition ("but", "nevertheless", "however", etc.),
```

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- comparison ("as", "like", "as well as", etc.),
```

```
- time ("when", "while", "since", etc.),
```

#### In general:

- time and place connectors and modalities provide the means to locate the action,
- intensity and negation modalities provide the means to dramatize the discourse,
- cause and condition connectors provide the means to construct a chain of reasoning,
- addition connectors provide the means to enumerate facts or characteristics,
- opposition connectors more specifically provide the means to argue, to put things into perspective and to set out conflicting standpoints.

**Personal pronouns** are displayed in gender ("I", "You", "He", etc.) and in number ("They", "We", etc.) The middle/old English "Thou" form is also detected here.

#### **Verbs** are either:

- factive, expressing actions ("to do", "to work", "to walk", etc.)
- stative, expressing states or concepts of possession ("to be", "to stay", etc.)

- reflexive (a.k.a. declarative), expressing a statement about circumstances, beings, objects, etc. ("to think", "to believe", etc.)
- or performative, expressing an act through the language and contained within the language ("I promise", "I demand", etc.)

#### **Actants and Actors**:

The identification of *Actants* (before the verb) and *Acted* (after the verb) constitutes one of the essential steps in text analysis. When a significant *Reference* clearly appears in the position of *Actant*, it is assumed that the notion it represents *carries out the action*. Otherwise, when a significant *Reference* clearly appears in the position of *Acted*, it is assumed that the notion it represents is *subjected to the action*.

## Appendix V: Glossary of Rhetorical Terms

The following glossary includes the rhetorical terms employed in this study, following the definitions provided Groupe  $\mu$  (Dubois et al., 1981).

**Metaboles**: Also called Figures of Rhetoric, they are any kind of change of whatever aspect of language (p. 18).

**Types of metaboles** (in addition to metaplams and metataxes not included in this study):

- Metasememe: The metasememe modifies the content of one word with another word
   (p. 93). The metasememe is usually at the level of the word (p. 27).
- **Metalogism**: Whatever its form, metalogism necessarily has as its criterion reference to some extralinguistic given. (...) metalogism would need an exterior space, one between the sign and the referent (p. 129). The metalogism is usually at the level of the sentence, paragraph or more (p. 27).

#### **Types of metasememes:**

- **Metaphor**: It is the modification of the semantic content of a term (p. 106), achieved by a link, an intersection between two terms (pp. 107-8). The use of metaphors *in praesentia* always assumes introducing relations of comparison, equivalence, similarity, identity, or derived relationships. At the limit, the most peremptory mark of identity is the simple substitution with which we obtain metaphor *in absentia* (p. 113).

Examples: *His body was town we never knew* (metaphor *in praesentia*); *girl* for *birch*, both have in common *flexible* (metaphor *in absentia*).

Metonymy: Metonymy is the transfer of the noun by contiguity of meanings, this
 contiguity being spatial, temporal, or casual (p. 120).

Example: You will bring to my *tomb* what I made for your *cradle*.

**Oxymoron**: Oxymoron is the result of a contradiction between two close words, generally a noun and an adjective (p. 123).

Example: *cloudy clarity* 

- **Synecdoche**: Generalizing synecdoche goes from the particular to the general, from the part to the whole, from lesser to greater, from species to genus; a particularizing synecdoche is the opposed figure (pp. 102-104).

Example: weapon for dagger (generalizing synecdoche); sail for boat (particularizing synecdoche).

#### **Types of metalogisms:**

**Allegory**: Allegory is often made from metaphor, but they can also be supported by particularizing synecdoches. Allegory is used to disguise exterior realities whose crude expression can disturb or which in literal formulation appear inaccessible to the understanding of the audience (p. 143).

Example: The allegory of the Cave used by the Greek philosopher Plato in his work *The* Republic.

Antithesis: It is a figure that uses repetition opposing terms that present a common element (p. 141) and usually hyperbole that reinforces the two opposed terms (p. 142).

Example: ...neither the one *hurt* her, not the other *help* her.

**Euphemism**: The form of euphemism can vary. It can be a litotes or a hyperbole. It can say more or less, but most of the time, but most of the time it says more and less at the same time, suppressing in a remark reputedly objective the semes judged cumbersome or superfluous and substituting new ones (p. 142).

Example: Are you *decent*?" for "Is your body clothed to the extent that you will feel comfortable if I enter and see you?

 Irony: Euphemism comes close to irony when substitution is made to enhance negation (pp. 145-6).

Example: *Oh, that's beautiful*, when what the person means, probably conveyed by his tone, is he finds "that" quite ugly.

- **Litotes**: One says less so as to say more, it diminishes a thing (p. 138).

Example: Saying *I like you*, when what we want to say is *I love you*.

Hyperbole: More is said as a way of saying less, a thing is augmented (p. 139).
 Example: The bag weighed a ton, when the bag was very heavy but didn't weigh a ton.

Paradox: A play on words whose goal could be to make us forget that that words can have a precise meaning. This play on words imposes directional indications from language to referent and back (p. 150).

Example: This is not a pipe legend below an image of a pipe in the picture by Magritte.

- **Repetitio**: Repetition can enlarge the event; can augment things (p. 141).

Example: O mother! What is salvation? O mother! What is hell?

**Figures of Narration**: The narrative sign is constituted by the relationship between storytelling and the story told, or in other words, between what we often call discourse and story (p. 184). The point of view is one of the figures of narration related to discourse and it designates the way that events are perceived by the narrator, and consequently by

the eventual reader also. The figures of point of view are called objective narration, intervening narration, or first-person discourse (pp. 201-202).

The points of views can be:

- **Objective narration** with a "view from outside" and a narration "in the third person where the narrator manifests objectivity by not revealing his presence" (Dubois et al., 1981, p. 202),
- **Intervening narration** with an "omniscient view" and a narration that "embraces all the minds (...), all intentions, all motives, always and everywhere" (Dubois et al., 1981, pp. 202-203)
- **First-person discourse** with a "view along with" and a narration that "does not make the image of its narrator explicit, but makes it more implicit" using strategies such as a diary, a letter, an interior monologue (Dubois et al., 1981, pp. 202-203).

# Appendix VI: Morphological and Semantic Results

Table 9 Matrix with results from morphological description

	1947	1963	1976	1978	1995	2009
Print format	a) 62 pages black and white b) half letter size c) Times New Roman font style d) no pictures, illustrations, maps or graphs	a) 94 pages black and white b) half letter size c) Times New Roman font style d) 36 pictures, 3 maps, 2 graphs, and a large folded map of Canada in colour at the back of the publication	a) 34 pages b) colour c) 7 ½ inches by 7 ½ inches d) Arial font style e) 32 pictures and 1 small map f) French version on the back side of the publication	a) 16 pages b) colour c) letter size d) mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles and text e) 4 composed illustrations, and 4 graphs (one of them a 2-page map of Canada) f) French version on the back side of the publication g) companion folder in colour, the size of 8 letter pages	a) 44 pages b) black and white c) letter size d) mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles e) 13 pictures, 12 illustrations or composite illustrations, 8 maps, 1 logo, and 2 graphs	a) 62 pages colour b) letter size c) mix of a bold serif font for the large titles and Arial font for the subtitles d) 169 pictures displayed individually or as a group, 2 graphs, and 1 map
Themes	Citizenship Procedures (46%) Study Questions (25%) History (9%) Geography (9%), Government System (7%) Economy (4%)	Government System (22%) Society (20%) Economy (17%) History (17%) Geography (14%) Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (6%) Citizenship Procedures (4%)	Society (26%) Geography (26%) History (15%) Government System (15%) Foreign Affairs (7%) Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (7%) Introduction (4%)	Government System (44%) Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (18%) History (17%), Introduction (9%) Society (4%) Geography (4%) Economy (4%)	Government System (21%) Study Questions (16%) Society (14%) Geography (14%) Economy (14%) Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (12%) History (5%) Citizenship Procedures (3%) Introduction (1%)	History (30%) Government System (22%) Society (17%) Geography (17%) Economy (4%) Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities (4%) Citizenship Procedures (4%) Introduction (2%)
Study questions	116 questions at the end of the publication, with answers	83 at the end of each section, no answers	43 questions included in the guide as headings for each component of information	no study questions fill out form about government representatives fill out map of Canada about names of capitals	200 questions at the end of the publication, no answers fill out form about government representatives	no study questions fill out form about government representatives list of contacts and websites for more information

Table 10 Matrix with results from semantic description (categories)

	1947	1963	1976	1978	1995	2009
Categories	factive	factive	factive	stative	stative	factive
of verbs	(40.5%)	(43.6%)	(43%)	(39.9%)	(42.9%)	(48.2%)
	stative	stative	stative	factive	factive	stative
	(42.4%)	(43%)	(42.5%)	(38.9%)	(39.7%)	(35.3%)
	reflexive	reflexive	reflexive	reflexing	reflexive	reflexive
	(17.1%)	(13.4%)	(14.2%)	(21.1%)	(17.3%)	(16.4%)
				performative	performative	performative
				(0.1%)	(0.1%)	(0.1%)
Categories	objective	objective	objective	objective	objective	objective
of	(62.1%)	(65.4%)	(58.5%)	(75.3%)	(57.5%)	(66.9%)
adjectives	subjective	subjective	numeral	subjective	numeral	numeral
	(11.5%)	(17.9%)	(25.4%)	(16.1%)	(28.6%)	(18.1%)
	numeral	numeral	subjective	numeral	subjective	subjective
	(26.4%)	(16.7%)	(16.1%)	(8.5%)	(13.9%)	(15%)
Categories	he	they	they	you	you	you
of pronouns	(57.8%)	(25.7%)	(33.3%)	(42.5%)	(51.1%)	(41%)
	they	he	you	they	they	they
	(8%)	(21.3%)	(28.8%)	(23.6%)	(15.3%)	(16.4%)
	I (6.20())	you	he	we	we	we
	(6.3%)	(7.1%)	(12.1%)	(8%)	(7.9%)	(12.8%)
	you	we	somebody	somebody	I (4.70()	I (4.60/.)
	(0.7%)	(5.5%)	(3%)	(3.4%)	(4.7%)	(4.6%)
		somebody		I (2.20())	somebody	he
		(4.7%)		(2.3%)	(3.7%)	(3.6%)
		I		he	thou	somebody
		(2%)		(1.7%)	(2.1%)	(3.1%)
		thou			he	thou (2.6%)
C-ti	4:	(1.6%)	4:	4:	(1.1%)	` '
Categories of adverbs	time (27.9%)	time (29.1%)	time (27.6%)	time (28.7%)	time (30.4%)	time (35.6%)
of adveros	numeral	intensity	, ,	, ,	place	intensity
	(26.5%)	(25.1%)	intensity (27.1%)	manner (23.1%)	(21.6%)	(21.1%)
		, ,		intensity (20.7%)	manner	, ,
	manner (22.1%)	manner (20.3%)	manner (19.8%)	place	(21.3%)	manner (19.3%)
	place	place	place	(17.1%)	intensity	place
	(19.5%)	(15.3%)	(18.2%)	negation	(21.3%)	(13.2%)
	intensity	negation	negation	(84%)	negation	negation
	(14.1%)	(6.9%)	(4.7%)	assertion	(5.4%)	(8.7%)
	negation	doubt	doubt	(1.4%)	(3.470)	doubt
	(13%)	(1.9%)	(2.1%)	doubt		(1.3%)
	assertion	assertion	assertion	(0.4%)		assertion
	(2.9%)	(1.4%)	(1.7%)	(3.170)		(0.8%)
	doubt	(1,0)	(11,70)			(3.070)
	(0.6%)					
Categories	addition	addition	addition	addition	addition	addition
of	(44.3%)	(66.1%)	(75%)	(75%)	(68%)	(72.3%)
connectors	disjunction	comparison	comparison	disjunction	disjunction	disjunction
	(22.6%)	(9.6%)	(8.2%).	(12.4%)	(12.3%)	(9%)
	comparison	disjunction	disjunction	comparison	comparison	comparison
	(9.5%)	(9.6%)	(7.7%)	(8.4%)	(6.4%)	(7.9%)
	time	opposition	opposition	opposition	time	time
	(8.4%)	(5.4%)	(4.6%)	(5.9%)	(5.8%)	(4.7%)
	condition	time	conditions	condition	condition	opposition
	(6.9%)	(4.7%)	(1.2%)	(5.7%)	(4.4%)	(2.5%)
	opposition	condition	cause	time	opposition	condition
	(5.8%)	(2.5%)	(1%)	(3.2%)	(2.6%)	(2.5%)
	cause	cause		cause	goal	cause
	(1.7%)	(1.2%)		(1.9%)	(0.6%)	(0.6%)
	goal	goal		goal		goal
	(0.6%)	(0.8%)		(1.4%)		(0.6%)
	place	place				
	(0.1%)	(0.1%)				

Table 11 Matrix with results from semantic description (frequency)

	1947	1963	1976	1978	1995	2009
Most	"Be" (371)	"Be" (521)	"Be" (177)	"Be" (136)	"Be" (268)	"Be" (251)
frequent	"Have" (80)	"Have" (70)	"Have" (43)	"Have" (45)	"Do" (67)	"Have" (61)
verbs	"Must" (71)	"Come" (38)	"Become" (17)	"Can" (32)	"Have" (59)	"Include" (37)
	"May" (57)	"May" (37)	"Include" (17)	"Vote" (22)	"Can" (33)	"Can" (36)
	"Reside" (37)	"Do" (34)	"Make" (13)	"Do" (17)	"Live" (32)	"Become" (30)
	"Make" (37)	"Include" (33)	"Provide" (12)	"Make" (15)	"Make" (27)	"Make" (27)
	"Shall"(35)	"Make" (31)	"Can" (12)	"Come" (14)	"Call" (26)	"Vote" (21)
	"Become" (34)	"Give" (26)	"Do" (12)	"Live" (13)	"Become" (26)	"Live" (19)
	"Grant" (27)	"Take" (25)	"Come" (11)	"Will" (13)	"Will" (23)	"Call" (19)
	"Do" (26)	"Must" (23)	"Live" (9)	"Become" (11)	"Vote" (22)	"Take" (17)
Most	"Lead" (18)	(O4122 (O4)	6T22 (22)	(O4122 (22)	600:422 (42)	"Do" (17)
	"Canadian" (97)	"Other" (84)	"Large" (32)	"Other" (23)	"First" (42)	"First" (46)
frequent adjectives	"Provincial" (36) "Such" (29)	"Large" (61) "Many" (58)	"Other" (29) "Many" (26)	"All" (22)	"Important" (38) "Canadian" (35)	"Canadian" (45) "Other" (40)
aujectives	( /	"Important" (50)	"All" (19)	"Many" (18) "Politic" (18)	"All" (24)	"Large" (28)
	"Large" (20) "Other" (19)	"Great" (48)	"Canadian" (17)	"Provincial" (18)	"Other" (22)	"All" (25)
	"Same" (18)	"All" (39)	"Important" (17)	"Federal" (17)	"Many" (20)	"Many" (23)
	"Permanent" (15)	"Canadian" (37)	"New" (16)	"Canadian" (13)	"Federal" (19)	"Important" (21)
	"Born" (15)	"Provincial" (37)	"Provincial" (14)	"Each" (12)	"Aboriginal" (19)	"Provincial" (21)
	"Both" (15)	"Main" (27)	"Cultural" (14)	"Important" (12)	"Provincial" (18)	"Federal" (20)
	"Part" (14)	"Municipal" (27)	"First" (11)	"Elected" (11)	"Electoral" (18)	"Known as" (15)
	"Each"(14)	"National" (22)	1 (11)	2.00.00 (11)	2.0000101 (10)	121107/11 (13)
	"Alien"(14)	(22)				
	"All" (14)					
Most	"Canada" (197)	"Canada" (271)	"Canada" (156)	"Canada" (99)	"Canada" (241)	"Canada" (288)
frequent	"Citizen" (115)	"Province" (107)	"Country" (40)	"Government"	"Province" (85)	"Canadian" (114)
substantives	"Canadian" (115)	"Government"	"People" (38)	(39)	"People" (85)	"Province" (65)
	"Province" (95)	(86)	"Government"	"Party" (33)	"Canadian" (64)	"Government"
	"Year" (69)	"Canadian" (61)	(37)	"Representative"	"Right" (56)	(52)
	"Court" (69)	"Country" (60)	"Province" (30)	(31)	"Government"	"People" (43)
	"Act" (68)	"People" (58)	"Canadian" (28)	"Canadian" (29)	(54)	"Quebec" (40)
	"Government"	"Quebec" (51)	"Ontario" (26)	"Law" (29)	"Region" (48)	"Election" (36)
	(63)	"Member" (46)	"Language" (25)	"People" (25)	"Election" (44)	"Country" (35)
	"Petition" (59)	"Year" (43)	"Quebec" (22)	"Country" (21)	"Industry" (38)	"Right" (32)
	"Member" (41)	"Ontario" (38)	"Area" (22)	"Election" (21)	"Name" (37)	"Member" (31)
	"House of			"Citizen" (18)		
	Commons" (41)			"Parliament" (18)		
	"Secretary of					
	State" (40)	((G 1 n (550)	(/B 1 ii (20)	(/D 1 1 1 (0.5)	(/D 1 1 1 (0.5)	((G 1 1 1 (52 c)
Most	"United	"Canada" (578)	"People" (38)	"People" (25)	"People" (85)	"Canada" (526)
frequent	Kingdom" (65)	"Canadian" (61)	"Season" (23)	"Vote" (23)	"Province" (85)	"Canadian" (114)
actants	"Child" (45)	"France" (55)	"Area" (22)	"Province" (22)	"Canadian" (64)	"Province" (65)
	"Person" (39)	"City" (54)	"Million" (20)	"Senate (14)	"Party" (43)	"France" (47)
	"Case" (37) "Subject" (29)	"United Kingdom" (53)	"Year" (20) "Migrant" (17)	"Bills" (13) "City (13)	"Freedom" (19) "Economy" (19)	"Day" (45) "People" (44)
	"Population" (28)		"United	"Head of	"Queen" (16)	"Parliament" (30)
	"Alien" (25)	"Group" (39) "Council" (36)	Kingdom" (17)	Government"	"Nations" (15)	"History" (28)
	"Woman" (25)	"Act" (34)	"Education" (14)	(13)	"Group/Groups"	"Group" (20)
	"Area" (23)	"Name" (27)	"Capital" (13)	"Judge" (9)	(14)	"Responsibility"
	"Naturalness"	"Person" (26)	"Development"	"Way" (8)	"Prime Minister"	(20)
	(22)	1015011 (20)	(13)	"France" (8)	(14)	(20)
	"Head of		"Federal	1141100 (0)	(21)	
	Government"		Government"			
	(15)		(13)			
	. = /		"Ocean" (13)			
Most	"Canada" (386)	"Canada" (565)	"Canada" (312)	"Canada" (120)	"Canada" (383)	"Government"
frequent	"Citizenship"	"Province" (107)	"Country" (44)	"Government"	"Province" (85)	(54)
actors	(159)	"Government"	"Government"	(48)	"Citizenship"	"United
	"Certificate"	(94)	(38)	"Party" (47)	(58)	Kingdom" (47)
	(142)	"Country" (63)	"Province" (30)	"Representative"	"Right" (56)	"Citizen" (42)
	"Citizen" (122)	"Canadian" (61)	"Canadian" (28)	(31)	"Government"	"Citizenship"
	"Canadian" (115)	"People" (58)	"Speech" (26)	"Canadian" (29)	(56)	(40)
	"Province" (95)	"Part" (50)	"Part" (25)	"Law" (29)	"Region" (48)	"Country" (38)
	"Government"	"City" (50)	"Industry" (24)	"Citizen" (27)	"Election" (45)	"Election" (37)
	(90)	"Industry" (46)	"Group" (23)	"Country" (23)	"Name" (37)	"Vote" (34)
	"Tribunal" (76)	"Member" (45)	"Citizen" (19)	"Election" (22)	"Citizen" (36)	"Right" (33)
	"Year" (69)	"Citizen" (43)	"Population" (19)	"Parliament" (19)	"Vote" (32)	"Language" (32)
	"Act" (68)					"England" (31)

## Appendix VII: Listing of Rhetorical Figures

The following listing includes the rhetorical figures included in the rhetorical analysis in this study.

How to become a Canadian citizen (1947 edition)

- 1) Metonymy
- 2) Metaphor
- 3) Metaphor
- 4) Metaphor via generalizing synecdoche
- 5) Combined metaphor with litotes
- 6) Paradox
- 7) Euphemism via litotes
- 8) Allegory
- 9) Euphemism
- 10) Euphemism via litotes
- 11) Allegory
- 12) Repetition
- 13) Hyperbole via particularizing synecdoche
- 14) Paradox

Guide to Canadian Citizenship (1963 edition)

- 15) Metonymy
- 16) Metaphor in absentia
- 17) Metonymy

18) Metonymy	
19) Metaphor	
20) Euphemism	
21) Euphemism	
22) Allegory	
23) Paradox	
24) Paradox	
25) Allegory	
26) Hyperboles	
27) Euphemism	
28) Combined antithesis and hyperbole	
Canada. Guide for Citizenship (1976 edition)	
29) Metonymy	
30) Metaphor in absentia	
31) Repetitio	
32) Euphemism	
33) Litotes	
34) Combined metaphor in praesentia and litotes	
The Canadian Citizen (1978 edition) and companion folder A look at Canadi	a (1979
edition)	
35) Metonymies	
36) Metaphor in absentia	
37) Metonymy	

58) Oxymoron

38) Litotes 39) Euphemism 40) Hyperbole 41) Antithesis 42) Euphemism 43) Litotes 44) Combined metaphor and allegory 45) Generalizing synecdoche 46) Repetition A Look at Canada (1995 edition) 47) Metonymy 48) Metaphors 49) Euphemism via litotes 50) Euphemism via litotes 51) Euphemism via litotes 52) Particularizing synecdoche 53) Euphemism 54) Combined particularizing synecdoche and euphemism via litotes 55) Litotes Discover Canada (2009 edition) 56) Metaphor in praesentia 57) Metaphors

- 59) Antithesis
- 60) Allegory via metaphor
- 61) Allegory
- 62) Euphemism
- 63) Euphemism via litotes
- 64) Hyperbole
- 65) Allegory via particularizing synecdoche
- 66) Allegory
- 67) Combined metonymy and euphemism
- 68) Hyperbole
- 69) Combined metaphor and euphemism
- 70) Allegory