A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CANADA'S THRONE SPEECHES

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CANADA'S THRONE SPEECHES

BETWEEN 1935 AND 2015

By: JUSTIN JOHNSTONE, B.A. (H.), B.S.W.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Social Work

McMaster University

McMaster University MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK (2017) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Canada's Throne Speeches Between
        1935 and 2015

AUTHOR: Justin Johnstone
        B.A. (H.) (Ryerson University)
        B.S.W. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Ann Fudge Schormans

SECOND READER: Stephanie Baker Collins

NUMBER OF PAGES: v, 97

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have made this journey possible for me and whom I would like to express sincere gratitude towards.

I would like to thank Ann Fudge Schormans (M.S.W supervisor) for her guidance and assistance throughout this process. Reading your work and taking your class in my B.S.W. greatly influenced my desire to pursue this degree.

Thank you to Stephanie Baker Collins (Professor/2nd Reader) for always being available when I was unsure of where I was going. Your knowledge, guidance, and feedback have been crucial elements for me in this degree.

Thank you to the staff at the McMaster University School of Social Work for assisting me through both my B.S.W. and M.S.W. degrees.

Thank you Ryan for your patience and support during this exciting and difficult process. You were always able to help me see the end goal that made any sacrifices worthwhile.

Lastly,
Thank you Mom, Dad, and Terry for being such great parents, for believing in me throughout this process, and for always encouraging me to go further with my education. This accomplishment is just as much yours as it is mine.

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis was to uncover the tools of manipulation used within political discourses by governments in their attempt to maintain power in society. It specifically asked, *How do Canadian federal governments manipulate security, risk, and threat discourses alongside their presentation and understanding of Canadian identity in throne speeches to justify the direction they intend to take the country in with their mandate?* This thesis used Critical Discourse Analysis methods to analyze fourteen federal majority government speeches from the throne during the rise and fall of social welfare in Canada. Findings highlight that governments have relatively consistently used the combination of security, risk, and threat discourses between 1935 and 2015. Canadian identity has also been shown to be malleable to government priorities, being connected to notions of collectivism during the rise of social welfare and individualization and productivity during the implementation of neoliberal principles. The introduction of the promise of job creation within the speeches was found to correlate with the introduction of neoliberal principles in Canada. These findings highlight the importance of critical understanding of dominant discourses in society in order to overcome the power they can impose over non-dominant groups.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

My interest in politics has strongly influenced the research behind this thesis. Politics is an all-encompassing term concerning the governance of a nation that is not easily defined. It can be broken down into categories such as political agendas, parties and politicians, policy, and discourse, which are constantly influencing each other and adapting to contextual circumstances (Jennings, Bevan, & John, 2011). For instance, a political agenda refers to the attention given to issues of societal importance at a particular moment in time, which influences whether policy-makers decide to act on, or ignore them (Jennings, Bevan, & John, 2011). The political parties and politicians striving for power create political agendas alongside the media reporting on them and with influence from the individuals who are most likely to vote (Jennings, Bevan, & John, 2011; Verba, Lehman Schlozman, Brady, & Nie, 1993). Therefore, the creation of policy is the result of interactions between the different categories that exist within the larger concept of politics; as each category changes, the others adjust as well.

As a social worker, policy is something that greatly influences the individuals I work for who depend on social services developed from good social policies. Social policy is concerned with the creation and application of social programs such as social welfare or health care (Hick, 2014). Social welfare policy (a subsection of social policy) identifies the configuration of most income security plans and the social services that many people depend on (Hick, 2014).

Inadequate social policies also hinder social workers' ability to perform their job successfully by limiting resources used for/provided within social work interventions with clients. For that reason, it is essential to understand the potentially hidden meanings behind the political discourses that influence policy.

Similar to the term politics, discourse is not something that is easily defined. For Foucault,

> 'Discourse' is used abstractly (as an abstract noun) for 'the domain of statements', and concretely as a 'count' noun ('a discourse', 'several discourses') for groups of statements or for the 'regulated practice' (the rules) which govern such a group of statements (Fairclough, 2003, p. 123-124).

Foucault treats discourses as statements that (re)produce and expand knowledge, and breaks them down individually, within groups, and by the linguistic rules that produce them (Olsson, 2010). For Fairclough (2003), discourse acts as a means of "representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world" (p. 124). The author notes that discourse facilitates a depiction of the world as it is and could, or should, be, which would seem to lend itself to the political process.

According to Wilson (2003), a primary function of political discourse is the use of various linguistic tools to present society with particular understandings of the world. The critical analysis of political discourse looks at language used, how it was created, and the political mechanisms incorporated to achieve specific interpretations of it by the public (Wilson, 2003). It questions the role and

influence of power and domination that are often achieved by means of political discourse (van Dijk, 1997), and addresses the impact that such political domination and discrimination can have on the larger society (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993).

Political discourses are represented by various forms of text and or speech produced by government, by non-governmental stakeholders, or by outside observers discussing politics (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011; van Dijk, 1997). Throne speeches and budget speeches represent forms of political discourse created by government, and political articles in newspapers and political blogs represent forms of political discourse created by outside observers. Further, the messaging within the texts (e.g. government as protector of the nation/economy, or, provider of the individual) also acts as a political discourse. According to Graber (1993), political discourse is the essence of politics, and it is through political discourse that competing segments of society can be persuaded to work as a cohesive unit. Therefore, political discourse has significant power over the way that individuals interpret how politicians and political parties are governing them, as well as how Canadians come to understand themselves as citizens and Canada as a nation.

The analysis of political discourse inevitably includes a discussion of power, as this form of discourse is used in many ways to perpetuate the domination of non-dominant groups within society. For Foucault (1977), the concept of power is directly connected to the concept of knowledge stating that,

> We should admit . . . that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (p. 27).

Here it becomes evident that power and knowledge work together and are constantly influencing and strengthening one another (i.e. knowledge is power, power creates knowledge etc.). Furthermore, Foucault (1979) argues that:

> Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere. . . . Power comes from below; that is there is no binary and all encompassing opposition between ruler and ruled at the root of power relations . . . no such duality extending from the top down (p. 93 – 94).

Using Foucault's interpretation, it can therefore be stated that political discourses and those who produce (and/or reproduce) them can hold power, however, they can also be given power through society's acceptance of them as being accurate (i.e. power is not created in a singular top-down fashion). This understanding of power was one of the primary values leading my desire to critically analyze political discourse.

The research in this thesis used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to look at the usage of particular political discourses in Canadian federal government Speeches From The Throne (SFTs) throughout the development, growth, and decline of social welfare in Canada. I have chosen to analyze Canada's SFTs over the past 80 years as they reveal the various and shifting political discourses influencing social welfare policy and provision in Canada, as well as understandings of Canadian identity during that time period. In Canada's federal

political system, the SFTs also represent the formal commencement of each new session of Parliament, laying out the governments' agenda and plan to achieve specific goals during their mandate (Government of Canada, 2017). It represents the House of Commons' first opportunity of the session to have a confidence vote and is therefore a crucial component of the functioning of Canadian Parliament (more information about the role of the SFTs and this process will follow in the next chapter).

I am intrigued by the ways in which political discourse operates within society and the role that it plays in the lives of individuals, whether or not those individuals are aware of its influence on them. I chose to analyze this form of discourse because like Foucault, van Dijk, Wodak, and Fairclough, I believe that language is power, and can be used in ways to disguise unjust and unfavourable ideas by dominant groups, such as majority governments. The data used in the research for this thesis included the first session federal SFT from every majority federal government in Canada spanning from 1935 to 2015; this is represented by fifteen unique speeches.

I began with the 1936 SFT as it represents the time when discourse on the welfare state is suggested to have begun in Canada (Moscovitch, 2006). I analyzed only majority governments' first session speeches because I believe that majority governments have more freedom to bring forward throne speeches that showcase the main objectives of their government, and further, that they are more likely to be able to act on their established goals (Conley, 2010). The analysis of

these speeches permitted me to examine the discourses that would be at play in Canadian social welfare policy stemming from the beginning of the welfare state and throughout its expansion, into the introduction/implementation of neoliberal ideologies that have weakened the Canadian welfare state. In addition to looking at the speeches themselves, I also situated the SFTs in terms of the particular governments presenting them, the understanding of Canadian identity at the time, and the context within which each occurred (the context included major historical events of the era such as economic booms and downturns, and wars and attacks).

Theory played a prominent role throughout my analysis of the SFTs, and I was influenced by ideas that came from both Critical Social Science (CSS) and Critical Realism (CR). I was drawn to CSS because critical researchers examine the power imbalances that exist in society and highlight the manipulation performed by dominant groups to maintain that power (see for example Gray, 2004; Neuman, 1997), which is what I intended to accomplish through my CDA. I was drawn to CR because I believe that there is more to reality than a singular explanation. Although I believe that there is a reality out there, I also understand that reality can be shaped by many things, and is therefore up for interpretation (see for example Archer, Decoteau, Gorski, Little, Porpora, Rutzou … and Vandenberghe, 2016; Easton, 2010; Proctor, 1998). This notion is fitting for what I believed a CDA of political discourses should be, a critique of these discourses that would facilitate a deeper understanding of them, resulting in empowerment of non-dominant groups and ultimately leading to positive change.

The research in this thesis builds on the research of other authors who have addressed security, risk, and/or threat discourses in relation to political discourses such as the SFTs. Brodie (2009), analyzed the development and shifting presentation of security discourses in the SFTs since Canada's confederation and further suggests that security discourses are used as a tool to legitimize the need for and importance of government. Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005) analyzed the governments' use of threat and risk discourses in press releases and speeches, including the SFT, post September 11th attacks. Their research influenced my interest in looking at the interconnectedness of security, risk, and threat discourses over a significant span of time. I believe that it was necessary to address these discourses as a single component within my analysis because I believe that Canadian federal governments have historically used them in an interconnected fashion with the common goal of shaping Canadian identity in order to perform their desired mandate. The development and branding of a Canadian identity as presented by Nieguth and Raney (2016), and the articulation of what is termed the *Canadian Way* by Nimijean (2005), led me to the importance of incorporating the component of Canadian identity into this analysis. My research question for this thesis was, *How do Canadian federal governments manipulate security, risk, and threat discourses alongside their presentation and understanding of Canadian identity in throne speeches to justify the direction they intend to take the country in with their mandate?*

My CDA developed from a curiosity about how governments present these discourses to the public and whether I could uncover tools of manipulation surrounding these discourses. I wanted to gain deeper awareness of the tools that governments use to maintain their power over individuals by examining how they incorporate these discourses into their speeches. During my analysis of the use of security, risk, and threat discourses, I worked to address the role of the adapting Canadian identity and how it was influenced by both contextual circumstances and evolving government policy. Although the previous literature discussed the rise of individualization in Canadian throne speeches (Brodie, 2009) and the branding of Canadian identity/Canadian way with the introduction of globalization (Nieguth & Raney, 2016; Nimijean, 2005), I wanted to see if I could uncover other methods that the government used to build up and transition away from social welfare policies in the name of neoliberalism. In the thesis I also attend to governments' usage of the promise of job creation in the SFTs, which I had not expected as the literature had not spoken to it, but which emerged as my CDA progressed. I believe that this presentation of job creation within the speeches can be an important contribution to the existing literature and build on the current knowledge that exists on the strategies employed by governments to gain and maintain support for their agendas.

There is a possibility that this research may be viewed as exclusionary because it is written from my perspective and does not incorporate the voices of service users. In spite of this, I see this thesis as an opportunity to pursue the

empowerment of non-dominant groups through education of CDA methods that look at the political discourses at play, revealing the influences on and motives of ruling governments. This is important for social work as it highlights the role that language plays in the creation, or elimination, of policies that can either benefit or damage the society as a whole. Further, it addresses how social workers must be critical of government intentions in order to hold them to account on behalf of the individuals we work with.

In the proceeding chapters, my thesis will discuss research literature concerning the SFTs, social welfare, neoliberalism, Canadian identity, and security, risk, and threat discourses. I will explain the influence and usage of CSS and CR within my research, as well as the role that CDA played in the analysis. I will then present my findings, and discuss the importance of this research within the field of social work.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

> *"Political language — and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists — is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind"* (Orwell, 1946, p. 7).

For this chapter I will begin by providing a brief description of Canada's parliamentary system, as I believe this is important when attempting to better understand the political discourse that is used by and within it. I will then explain the SFT within the Canadian federal context, highlighting particular historical events that influenced the content of the speeches, which in turn influenced policy in Canada, such as the development of a social welfare state, and later, the dismantling of it with neoliberal principles. The analysis in this thesis is focused on the evolution of security, risk, and threat discourses and how these discourses both shape and are shaped by the preferred understandings of Canadian identity at any given time. Additionally, I looked at the prioritization of job creation throughout the speeches in an attempt to undercover a specific government method of distracting from the previous discourses, which I had not come across in my literature review. I have used this literature review to begin to provide insight into the values and priorities behind these forms of political discourse, noting both their presence and evolving representations.

Brief Political History and Canada's Speeches From The Throne

Canada is a country with close ties to the United Kingdom (UK), and is part of the British Commonwealth (Global Affairs Canada, 2016). Global Affairs Canada (2016) notes that,

> The modern Commonwealth is an association of 52 countries, most with historic links to the United Kingdom, and home to two billion citizens, almost 30 per cent of the world's population. It is the world's oldest political association of sovereign states. Members cooperate within a framework of common values and goals, outlined in the Commonwealth Charter. Sixteen of the 52 member countries are called the Commonwealth Realms, as their Head of State is Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (p. 1).

Canada is one of the sixteen Commonwealth Realms who have maintained the Queen as their Head of State.

Canada's federal government operates within a Westminster-style of parliament adapted from the model used in the UK (Government of Canada, 2017; Studlar & Christensen, 2006). Canada has a multi-party system, however, it should be noted that only Liberal and Conservative parties have formed federal governments since World War I (Studlar & Christensen, 2006). Canada's democratic system is different from its European counterparts in its practice of characteristically forming majority governments, as opposed to coalition governments (Conley, 2010; Studlar, & Christensen, 2006). In the Canadian context, minority governments often have little legislative power as they face the inescapable threat of a confidence vote and the dissolution of parliament (Conley, 2010). In fact, it has been shown that majority governments in Canada are roughly 20% more successful at introducing bills that reach royal ascent in comparison to minority governments; 82% vs. 62% (Conley, 2010). Therefore,

considering that the Westminster-style model results in assigning the control of parliament and creation of legislation to a single political party, it permits the analysis of specific legislative priorities between governments and parties over time (Montpetit & Foucault, 2011).

Canada's federal government incorporates a number of components seen in the UK model, such as the SFT (Government of Canada, 2017; Montpetit & Foucault, 2011). The SFT acts as the ruling governments' chance to highlight the areas that they intend to focus on during the session, as well as providing them with an opportunity to mould political discourse and shape the priorities of the nation at that time (Brodie, 2009). The speeches thus represent a dependable form of federal discourse that has existed since the establishment of Canada as a nation. As Nieguth and Raney (2016) note:

> Throne speeches are highly symbolic events: they are read by the head of state on behalf of the executive (although written by the Prime Minister and his or her team of speechwriters) and delivered on the Senate floor before a coterie of high-profile public officials (including Senators, Members of Parliament, Supreme Court justices, former members of the Privy Council, high ranking Canadian military officials, and other dignitaries). The ceremony is also broadcast over live television and is usually covered by each of the main news networks on the evening news (p. 92-93).

Although the Queen is the head of state in Canada, it is the duty of the Governor General to read each SFT as her representative in this country.

Some studies have shown that executive speeches (such as the SFT) can be valuable texts for interpreting the policy areas that governments intend to focus on during their mandates (Mortensen, Green-Pedersen, Breeman, Chaqués-

Bonafont, Jennings, John, ... & Timmermans, 2011). This is particularly true when considering newly formed majority governments, which are more likely to have the freedom to pass the legislation that they want with much less influence and/or interference from the opposition (Conley, 2010). The SFT can be predictive of government bills and policy priorities during session making them a useful tool to analyze government priorities and methods of presenting these to the general public over long periods of time (John & Jennings, 2010). Still, some suggest that the speeches cannot be viewed as revealing the direction of specific legislation and instead represent broad areas of focus that the government might incorporate into their mandate (John & Jennings, 2010), even going as far as to state that the speeches are "like Christmas trees" containing something for everyone, but potentially encompassing little legislative substance (Montpetit & Foucault, 2011, p. 10). This signifies that although a particular focus may be important enough for the government to mention in their SFT it does not necessarily mean that meaningful legislation will stem from it. Regardless of whether one believes that the SFTs actually lead to policy, there appears to be agreement that the speeches encompass the general ambitions that a federal government intends, or would like to, address during their mandate. This is important because it highlights how the SFTs have the power to showcase not only the areas that are important to governments, but also to make evident those areas that appear to be of little or no concern.

Social Welfare

When looking at a form of political discourse that spans many years, such as the SFTs, it is important to also consider what was occurring when it was created and presented. Context has been shown to play a significant role in what is discussed – and the underlying discourses at play – in the SFTs over the years in Canada. For instance, Brodie (2002) notes that social problems grew in Canada during the Great Depression, which saw a decade of increased federal government involvement in the field of social policy. Not surprisingly, the articulation of social problems and the need to address them initially arose in the SFT in the 1920's. Brodie (2002) goes on to say that the increase in social problems therefore resulted in the subsequent rise of government discourse on said problems, and with that came increasing connections to the notion of helping one another as part of Canadian identity within those discourses.

Canada's Social Welfare System is said to have begun in 1927 when Canada implemented its' old age pension program (Whiteside, 2009). Following this, the 1930's saw a burst of social policy creation including the Employment and Social Insurance Act, the Minimum Wages Act, and the Limitations of Hours of Work Act (Whiteside, 2009). The Employment and Social Insurance Act was initially struck down for infringing on provincial rights, however, a Constitutional Amendment saw the transfer of specific provincial powers to the federal level, permitting a variation of the unemployment insurance legislation (Brodie, 2002). The rapid post-war development extended through until the 1960's, fuelled by both immigration and Canada's "baby boom" (Filion, Bunting, & Gertler, 2000).

Throughout this time of growth, Canadian identity was connected to ideas such as sharing and supporting all Canadian citizens, particularly those who are in need (Camfield, 2006). These ideas were validated to a large degree through the government discourse of the time (Brodie, 2002). This occurred in executive speeches that spelled out the need for social services in Canada, and as part of the discourses within the texts that positioned the federal government as a provider for its citizens who are currently struggling; this undeniably influenced social welfare policy, and the development of a social welfare state (Brodie, 2002).

Canada's Evolving Identity

It is interesting to note the unique role of the construct of Canadian identity, or at times lack thereof, in the language used by governments in the SFTs as they attempted to create/shift a national identity to justify particular agendas (Brodie, 2002). Nimijean (2005) highlights the attempt to sway what is understood to be the Canadian identity in particular governments' usage of the term "*Canadian way*", which is often used in the federal government discourse to denote specific expectations about the norms and values purportedly innate to Canadian identity (p. 26). The author notes that the *Canadian way,* and subsequently Canadian identity, is malleable to the context in which the government discourse is created.

At the end of WWII, Canadian identity was connected to social supports and the increased spending attached to new social programs. Brodie (2009) suggests that Canadian identity at this time "resulted in promise of protection, not

from a radical other lurking beyond its borders but instead from the vicissitudes of everyday life" (p. 699). Here we see an example of Canadian identity being connected to the protection ensured through far reaching social security policies. However, beginning in late 1970s Canada began to see a more fluid and uncertain identity as political ideologies began to shift away from social welfare and towards ideas connected to free market principles and globalization (Nimijean, 2005). This shift began the presentation of discourses connected to the perseverance of the economy, and the growth of individualization within a national identity once focused on more collective principles (Brodie, 2009).

Neoliberalism in Canada

The shifting government discourses from social welfare to neoliberal principles influenced not only the perception of Canadian identity, but also the policies that developed from the political discourses (Nimijean, 2005). By discourses, I mean both the speeches themselves, and the messaging within them. The messaging within government discourse can include notions such as government as provider for citizens and/or government as protector of the economy or nation state.

Neoliberalism is connected to the idea of regulatory restructuring (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010), and is a form of dominion embedded within capitalism that actively promotes a shift from public services to private market control (Duncan, & Reutter, 2006). Neoliberal principles promote "the erosion and dismantling of public services, campaigns of state deficit – and debt –

reduction, and the introduction of free market principles" (Carroll & Shaw 2001, p. 196). It is important to note that neoliberalization is not necessarily a 'one size fits all' approach to policy (Benoit, Zadoroznyj, Hallgrimsdottir, Treloar, & Taylor, 2010). For example, Brenner et al. (2010) note that,

> Neoliberalization is never manifested in a pure form, as a comprehensive or encompassing regulatory whole. Instead, neoliberalization tendencies can only be articulated in incomplete, hybrid modalities, which may crystallize in certain regulatory formations, but which are nevertheless continually and eclectically reworked in context-specific ways. Consequently, empirical evidence underscoring the stalled, incomplete, discontinuous, or differentiated character of projects to impose market rule, or their coexistence alongside potentially antagonistic projects (for instance, social democracy) does not provide a sufficient basis for questioning their neoliberalized, neoliberalizing dimensions (p. 332).

The result is an uneven development of neoliberalization across establishments (Benoit et al., 2010). This highlights how neoliberalism influences and is influenced by the type of policy or institution it is working within in unique ways. Neoliberalism therefore works within heterogeneous processes as it attempts to overtake institutions that were created and operate in unique geographical and socio-political landscapes (Brenner et al., 2010).

In recent years, there has been a political attempt to align globalization and neoliberal values with the *Canadian way*, which appears to be an effort to justify changes under the guise of safeguarding Canadian traditions (Nimijean, 2005). Here we see an attempt to manipulate Canadian identity to meet the desires of the political agenda irrespective of the desires, opinions, and perceived benefits and risks of the majority of Canadian citizens (Nimijean, 2005). The attempt to manipulate Canadian identity in the SFTs appears to be contingent on both the

contextual factors present during each speech's creation, as well as the particular party governing at the time. As noted by Nieguth and Raney (2016) in their work on the SFTs, "Canadian throne speeches delivered over the last twenty years demonstrate that they are crucial and highly partisan sites in the struggle over 'official' definitions of Canadian national symbols and Canadian identity" (p. 93). Therefore, in addition to context, party lines appear to play a role in the way government manipulates the notion of Canadian identity to meet their particular needs.

Security – Risk – Threat – Discourses

Nieguth and Raney (2016) performed a comparative analysis of conservative and liberal SFTs between 1993 and 2014 looking for themes and symbols that represented the government's attempt to brand the Canadian nation at that time. Brodie (2009) tracked security utterances in the Canadian SFTs from confederation until 2006 looking for the transition between the usage of social security and more traditional national security discourses. Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005) analyzed the government's use of threat and risk discourses in press releases and speeches post September 11th attacks between the dates of September 2001 and October 2003. Their analysis focused on the inclusion of terrorism and security related discourses at that time. It has been noted that the classification of a perceived danger into either the risk or threat category is dependent on the ultimate causality associated with the perceived danger (i.e. the outcome of the danger influences its perception as either a risk or threat), making

these discourses somewhat fluid in their presentation (Corry, 2012). As previously mentioned, I have grouped security, risk, and threat discourses into a singular section because I view them as being significantly interconnected in their presentation within government texts. Therefore, this section alternates between the three discourses in its presentation of them.

Nimijean (2005) determined that when governments are able to manipulate what people understand a country's identity to be they are able to manipulate what many of its citizens view as favourable policies. Although the definition of security changes with time, concern for security appears to be a constant in Canadian political discourse (Brodie, 2009). Security is a concept that has existed throughout history and has become commonplace in the modern world; it exists as a foundational component in the relationship between governments and citizens. According to Brodie (2009), some scholars argue that the notion of security is what legitimizes the need for governments in the first place, to protect nation states from outside threats. Like Nimijean (2005), Brodie echoes the notion that governments are able to use security and manipulate its meaning as a way of facilitating their agenda of the day. Security has the power to create positions of insecurity, uncertainty that typically results in the hurried acceptance of government agendas (Brodie, 2009).

Although early conceptualizations of security revolved around the security of the nation, the 1920's to 1960's saw the focus change to include that of social security. Canada experienced further shifts with the implementation of neoliberal

policies in the late 1970's and early 1980's that influenced the previously held perceptions of the country as a welfare state towards a somewhat uncertain future (Whiteside, 2009). Over these past several decades there has been a simultaneous change in federal governments' use of security discourse, shifting the focus from social security back to national security (Brodie, 2009).

In terms of federal discourses, the concept of security has historically been connected to threats to the state (e.g. through wars, or, the threat of communism) (Ozguc, 2011). That concept notably shifted to include social security between the mid 1920's through to the late 1960's in spite of several significant threats to the state (e.g. WWII) occurring over that time period (Brodie, 2009). The commonality between the differing security discourses therefore appears to be a looming threat, whether economic or to the state, and the risk of the government not acting to secure that threat.

In his work on the modernization of risk, Beck (1992) argues that the threats to the security of the nation and its citizens are quite prevalent in modern society, and no longer represent a specific or single entity that citizens need be afraid of. Whether it originates from dangerous environmental changes (Beck, 1992), or, the ever-growing threat of terrorism at home and abroad, security is top of mind on a global scale (Beck, 2003). In his work on security discourses Campbell (1992) notes that, "States find their legitimacy in the provision of security, while securitization forms and reforms national identity by identifying and acting upon the 'radical threatening other,' those who are not us and would

harm us and our defining ideals" (as cited in Brodie, 2009, p. 691). Considering this, it becomes evident that the notion of threats may be present in virtually all circumstances depending on how it is being presented, by whom, and in what context (Kemshall, 1997). The threat may be real, or created in order to serve a political purpose.

According to Bauman (2007), security discourse is used to permit governments to take extraordinary measures against what are often indirect threats to the state. Going further, the actual (or perceived) risk of ambiguous looming threats therefore influences the increased usage of security discourse in political texts. The notion of risk contains two elements; the chance of the risk happening, and the degree of destruction it will cause (Lupton, 1999; Rosa, 1998; Stirling, 2007). Rosa (1998) explains this by stating that risk entails "a situation or event where something of human value (including humans themselves) has been put at stake and where the outcome is uncertain" (p. 28). Further, Adam and van Loon (2005) note that, "The essence of risk is not that it is happening, but that it might be happening" (p. 2). Although risk discourse has existed for quite some time, it can be said that modern society has become much more accustomed to the pervasive notion of risk (Lupton, 1993).

In Canada, we witness the use of terrorist threat rhetoric in the delivery of modern security and risk discourses (Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005). Using the example of the September 11th attacks, Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005) state that while the initial threat has occurred in United States of

America (USA), the aftermath of the attacks results in the propagation of threat rhetoric that extends to the entirety of the civilized world, ultimately demanding widespread collective action. Terrorist threat discourse has been noted to show three specific features: being a threat against all civilized society that requires shared global action, a shifting perception of the threat towards being against economic prosperity and trade agreements, and the broadening uncertainty of when and how the threat will expose itself making it a permanent, yet uncertain, component of daily modern life (Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005). Therefore, it can be said that security, risk, and threat discourses are malleable to the context in which they are presented, and therefore, can be used as a political tool to manipulate citizens understanding of the reality they are living in.

This chapter discussed the literature on the SFT and the Canadian contexts they have been created in. It addressed the initial development of social welfare and progression to neoliberalism, the influence these changes have had on the SFTs and the SFTs influence on these discourses. Lastly, it incorporated current understanding about the usage of security, risk, and threat discourses within political texts. The next chapter looks at the role that theory has played in the research behind this thesis.

<u>Chapter 3</u>: Theoretical Perspective

> *"There may not be one Truth -- there may be several truths -- but saying that is not to say that reality doesn't exist"* (Atwood, 2010, p. 2).

According to Maxwell (2010), there is no truth, no analysis, and no reality that exists without some form of guiding theory (as cited in Mogashoa, 2014). This chapter looks at the theoretical perspective that guided the research and analysis in this thesis. My research examined the discourses used in the SFTs of majority governments between 1935 and 2015. I briefly explain my epistemology before I define and discuss the roles that critical social science (CSS) and critical realism (CR) played in this thesis.

Epistemology

An epistemology acts as "theory of knowledge" that guides researchers in their analysis (Carter and Little, 2007), and it is through our epistemologies that we begin to understand the world (Tennis, 2008). Considering that a researcher's epistemology governs the values and guidelines used to interpret the existence and presentation of knowledge about social phenomena (Mason, 2002), I felt it was necessary to briefly address at the beginning of my theoretical chapter to provide further insight into my thought process while undertaking this analysis. This process began with the desire to examine political discourse from a critical perspective with the belief that there is likely more to this form of discourse than meets the eye. I knew that I intended to complete a qualitative analysis of the SFTs from an epistemological framework that would permit me to analyze the

speeches in a more flexible manner than could be seen by using a positivist framework. This initial phase of contemplation and analysis led me to CSS concepts as I attempted to look beyond the specific texts I was analyzing, towards more hidden discourses.

Critical Social Science

Critical researchers believe that the world is created with illusions and myths that are intended to benefit dominant groups' power over others (Neuman, 1997). These dominant groups are said to influence the development and maintenance of oppressive structures against non-dominant groups as a method of maintaining their power (Gray, 2004; Neuman, 1997). Critical Social Science (CSS) questions the commonly held beliefs and norms in society, and the critical researcher presents these illusions to the general populace as a means of creating knowledge that will lead to empowerment, action, and change (Gray, 2004; Neuman, 1997). CSS has connections to Karl Marx (1818-1883), Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), and Erich Fromm (1898-1979) (Neuman, 1997).

CSS sees reality as constantly changing and embraces a realist position that it does indeed exist and can be found and measured (Neuman, 1997). According to Fairclough (2013),

> What distinguishes critical social analysis from forms of social analysis that are not critical is its emphasis upon existing social realities as humanly produced constraints, which in certain respects unnecessarily reduce human flourishing or well-being and increase human suffering; upon historical explanation of how and why such social realities have

come into being; and upon possibilities for transforming existing realities in ways that enhance well-being and reduce suffering (p. 10).

Approaching my research from a CSS lens permitted me to look at the SFTs as a normative discourse, one with particular power to shape people's understandings of Canada as a nation, of themselves as citizens, and of the priorities and responsibility of government, which has particular impacts or consequences for individuals.

Critical Realism

Critical Realism (CR) is a meta-theoretical position developed in the 1970's by philosopher Roy Bhaskar (Steinmetz, 1998), which emerged against positivism and constructivism. (Archer et al., 2016). According to Bhaskar there exist three forms of reality: "the empirical level, consisting of experienced events collated through our senses; the actual level, comprising all events whether experienced or not; and the causal level, which refers to the deep-rooted mechanisms generating events" (Houston, 2001, p. 223). Critical realists posit that there exists a reality beyond what individuals can see, and that this deeper reality can be studied by researchers (Archer et al., 2016; Proctor, 1998). They acknowledge that the world is socially constructed, however, they also believe that there is more to the world than what a social constructionist interpretation provides (Easton, 2010). According to Easton (2010), "The difference between critical realists and social constructionists lies in the acceptance of the possibility of knowing reality in the former case and its rejection in the latter" (p. 123). CR holds the ontological position that although reality does exist out there, it is not

easily understandable (Easton, 2010); that meaning is not necessarily measurable as is the case with quantitative research, rather, it is variable and is something to be interpreted by the social science researcher (Sayer, 2000, as cited in Easton, 2010). Sayers (1985) states that reality does exist, but it exists through our interpretation of it (as cited in Proctor, 1998). Further, CR suggests that we can only ever hold a fractional understanding of reality, and although we can build that understanding with significant time and effort, we will never progress to a complete understanding of reality (Houston, 2001).

Brooks (2003) notes that, "The purpose for joining critical social research and the analysis of discourse is motivated by the belief that critical awareness of language is central to effective democratic dialog" (p. 33). My research was of the perspective that discourse acts as a lens through which the world is understood, and that the lens is largely influenced by the historical context within which the discourse was created and presented. I believe that dominant groups (such as majority federal governments) hold power in society and use various methods to manipulate non-dominant groups into permitting them to retain that power: specifically through the manipulation of discourse. It is my belief that dominant discourse provides a reality that is both visible and invisible, it is a form of knowledge, and therefore, power.

I sought deeper critical awareness about the world we live in with the intention of presenting findings that highlight discursive tools employed by dominant groups to achieve and maintain their authority over others. I have

researched Canadian federal throne speeches in an attempt to uncover the 'illusions and myths' created by majority governments to maintain the status quo, and therefore, the domination of subordinate groups by those with power. Starting with this frame enabled me to look past the discourse and the supposed reality it creates by questioning the use of particular words, phrasing, and tone. I am drawn to CR because I am connected to the manner that it views the world and attempts to attach deeper meaning to it. Further, I enjoy uncovering hidden meanings within discourses, as well as the process of deciphering how and why something was said, or done, in a particular manner.

Chapter 4: Methodology

"Language is a process of free creation; its laws and principles are fixed, but the manner in which the principles of generation are used is free and infinitely varied. Even the interpretation and use of words involves a process of free creation" (Chomsky, 1973, p. 402).

This quote from Noam Chomsky is telling of the thought process that guided this thesis. I felt that it was important to include because it highlights the fact that there is no one particular way to study discourse creation, and therefore, there exist various ways to analyze and interpret the meaning behind any one discourse.

Discourse analysis (DA) is said to be the examination of language and the manner in which it influences and is influenced by society (Taylor, 2013). Since DA is basically an interpretive and deconstructing reading, there are no specific guidelines to follow (Mogashoa, 2014). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) represents a form of DA that specifically examines the role of power and dominance within discourses (both speech and text) occurring within a society (Wang, 2010). According to Fairclough (2003), "Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be" (p. 207). CDA looks at how the discourses are created, duplicated, and challenged: this occurs within both the political and larger social environments (Wang, 2010). Wodak and Meyer (2009) suggest that the greatest distinction between DA and CDA is related to, "the constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach of the

latter" (p. 2) highlighting that CDA is not explained within one particular theoretical framework or methodology, and instead incorporates a variety of different approaches depending on the type of analysis being conducted. According to Wang (2010),

> The object of CDA is public speech, such as advertisement, newspaper, political propagandas, official documents, laws and regulations and so on. Its aim is to explore the relationships among language, ideology and power (p. 254).

CDA has been developing since the 1980's and is connected to researchers such as Foucault, Habermas, Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak. The purpose of CDA is to better understand "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, & Meyer, 2001, p.10). Power and dominance play a central role in the process of CDA, which aligns well with the study of political language.

Fairclough, a prominent CDA researcher, created an outline for discursive study that works to incorporate three dimensions within the analysis of discourse (Sharififar, & Rahimi, 2012). Figure 1 (below) displays Fairclough's (1992) three dimensions inherent within discourses.
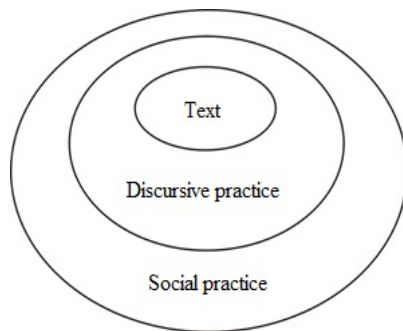
Fig. 1 Fairclough's (1992) Three Dimensions of Discourse (p. 73)

Fairclough (1995) suggests that within discourse there exist "(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice" (p. 97). Fairclough (1992) notes that this three dimensional model not only permits the examination of speech and text, it also facilitates analysis of "the social practice seen at the macro level, and the sociological perspective seen at the micro level" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72). Within my CDA, I attempted to use all three dimensions in this model. I began with the written texts (SFTs) and I examined the manner and timeframes in which the texts were produced by majority governments, analyzing the tools used by the governments to create underlying discourses within those texts (such as government as provider of the individual, or, protector of the economy/nation). I placed the texts within their sociocultural contexts and attempted to explain how society would likely interpret them at that point in time.

Within my particular CDA, I incorporated Fairclough's model of text analysis (1992, 1995, 2002, 2003) in relation to the governments' use of security, risk, and threat discourses and how they were situated in relation to Canadian identity. What emerged from my early analyses was the presentation of a discourse of job creation, a discourse that appeared to serve a particular function: acting as a necessary corollary, an antidote, to governments' use of security, risk and threat discourses. This too became part of my analysis. I initially looked at fifteen first-session federal majority-government throne speeches in my research between the years 1935 and 2015, which represented eleven liberal governments

and four conservative governments. The SFTs that I examined ranged from one to ten pages in length; combined they accounted for sixty-four pages of text. The 1988 conservative throne speech was excluded from analysis, as the full speech was delayed until the second session and therefore did not discuss any of my areas of interest. In the end, I examined fourteen speeches in detail.

I undertook my data analysis deductively by looking for words and phrases specifically connected to the discourses I was examining. This first phase was simply to highlight areas of interest within each SFT that would likely relate to my research focus – job discourses became apparent in this phase of my analysis. I read the speeches chronologically with a specific focus in mind, reading over each SFT once looking for specific codes. My codes included the following words, and slight variations of them: security/secure, risk, threat, terror/terrorism, military, armed forces, fragile, recovery, act, job(s), employment/unemployment, Canadian identity/way, and sovereignty. After locating the codes in the fourteen speeches, I began to read over each text individually in more detail. I looked at the words and themes immediately surrounding the codes to see how they were organized and linked within that particular SFT. I highlighted sections around the codes that were connected to the concepts of security, risk, and threat discourses. I looked at the presentation of particular sentences, noting the apparent tone that the government was creating with the text and highlighting whether different sections were written actively or passively.

After collecting this information from each SFT, I categorized the speeches in terms of their shared major contextual influences (e.g. WWII, threat of communism, Korean war, inflationary crisis, and introduction of neoliberal principles) to provide a comparison of speeches given over shared periods of time. This also permitted me to include some relevant contextual influences occurring between the selected speeches time periods enabling a more consistent progression throughout the years of expanding and declining social welfare in Canada. I approached the texts from a critical perspective that considered the texts in terms of the various power relations present over that period. I was cognizant of the power that the majority governments had/have over Canadian society and questioned how they were manipulating the presentation of specific information, such as looming threats and the risk connected to inadequate security to safeguard the nation from those threats. I additionally attempted to find areas where the governments may have excluded information from the texts to benefit themselves. I became aware of how significant specific grammatical and language usage within the speeches could be on the underlying discourses within them, and how the entire speech was created in a way to legitimize the underlying discourse that the government intended to present to the population at that time. I then attempted to interpret how the population was likely to translate the speech based on the manner that the government presented their discourses. In the next chapter, I present the findings from my CDA and discuss their importance.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

For this chapter I have organized the SFTs in chronological order and grouped them according to the significant contextual influences that they share. In this section I address my research question that asked, *How do Canadian federal governments manipulate security, risk, and threat discourses alongside their presentation and understanding of Canadian identity in throne speeches to justify the direction they intend to take the country in with their mandate?* I first describe the context surrounding the speeches and then critically analyze areas of security, risk, and threat discourses within them, making note of the perceived Canadian identity at that moment in time. I not only address how the understanding of these discourses have changed, but highlight examples of the way these governments manipulate the presentation of them for their benefit. I additionally attend to the promise of job creation in a number of the speeches (beginning with the 1968 SFT), taking note of the specific time that it is introduced as a concept and how it develops from that moment forward as an antidote to the implementation of neoliberal principles. I conclude the chapter by discussing these findings and their implication for Canadian society.

1936 & 1940 SFTs – Prime Minister Mackenzie King – Liberal Party

18th Parliament & 19th Parliament

As mentioned in chapter two, the 1930's represented a time when Canadian identity was connected to notions of helping and supporting those in need and the governments' responsibility towards the security of the individual

(Whiteside, 2009). After a prosperous decade in the 1920's, 1929 saw a stock market crash that led to the Great Depression, significantly influencing the direction of economic spending that Canada would take over the next decade, notably influencing the wellbeing of citizens (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2015). In 1933, unemployment had reached historic highs with over 27% of the population out of work and businesses closing across the country (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2015). A result of this was the creation of The Bank of Canada (1934), which was meant to facilitate the management of monies in the country and the stabilization of markets with the goal of improving the nations economic situation, the rate of employment, and Canada's overall economic security (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2015).

In 1935, Mackenzie King won a majority government for the liberal party, and in 1940 won his second majority. In 1936, the SFT presented security discourses that were concerned with the security of the individual. The 1936 SFT came at a time of economic uncertainty and high unemployment. This is evident in the 1936 SFT, as unemployment is the first issue of concern addressed after describing the sorrow connected to the death of King George V. It is stated that, "Unemployment continues to be Canada's most urgent national problem" (p. 26). The state of affairs in Canada related to joblessness is presented in an ominous tone and is articulated as being "emergency conditions" that require immediate action by the government in that SFT (p. 26). The choice of words such as "urgent

problem" and "emergency conditions" leave little room for citizens to question the actions that the government is likely to take to combat this "undeniable" threat.

In this SFT, the government responded to the threat of continued unemployment by creating a national commission tasked with creating work for the unemployed and delivering unemployment relief to those who could not find work. Additionally, the government stated their intention of closing unpopular work camps, and stopping the monopolies currently controlling the coal production in the country. These acts appear to position the government as protector of the economy and provider for the individual. It should be recognized that this is a significant shift in thinking, as unemployment was now widespread enough that it was being viewed – and acted upon - as a collective not an individual problem. Prior to the great depression unemployment was treated as an individual issue that was dealt with through charity (Horn, 1984).

In the 1936 SFT the looming threat was the increasing unemployment rate that was to be secured through employment relief and the Bank of Canada; failure to do so risked continued unemployment and an uncertain future. Here we see the beginning of a vulnerability – threat – risk scenario that requires immediate, and sustained, government action. This is important to note, as I believe that it highlights how this government is combining the security, risk, and threat discourses to create what those citizens reading and/or listening to the speech

could view as a clear issue with a clear solution. If successful, this provides the

government of the time with significant power to enact their desired legislation.

In the 1940 SFT unemployment remained a threat, but it was somewhat

overshadowed by WWII, the largest war the world had seen. It is stated in the

1940 SFT that,

> While the present session of Parliament will necessarily be mainly
> concerned with Canada's war effort, and the measures essential to the
> achievement of ultimate victory, My ministers are of opinion that, despite
> what to-day is being witnessed of concentrated warfare, it is desirable, as
> far as may be possible, to plan for the days that will follow the cessation of
> hostilities (p. 24).

The language within this quote is interesting as it passively attends to both the war

efforts at the time and the need to plan for a post war Canada. I find the usage of

the term "ultimate victory" particularly intriguing, as a reading through the SFTs

leaves me wondering whether any such victory is ever truly possible when

considering the role that insecurity appears to play in political discourses.

Although there is a clear discourse in this SFT of government as protector of the

nation, there also exists a cautious appearance of the persistence of life beyond

this war, and that the government must begin to prepare for that post-war era. The

speech goes on to state that,

> As a contribution to industrial stability in time of war, and to social
> security and justice in time of peace, resolutions will be introduced for an
> amendment to the British North America Act which would empower the
> Parliament of Canada to enact at the present session legislation to establish
> unemployment insurance on a national scale (p. 24).

The government again first notes the unquestionable need to address the current

international war that Canada is a part of, presenting a national security discourse

that in turn presents the discourse of government as protector of the nation. The speech goes on to passively highlight the need to plan for the future beyond the war efforts and then actively presents the need for good social welfare policy, therefore also presenting the government as provider for the individual. Further, it is interesting to note the optimistic tone this speech takes in its consideration of the post-war era, particularly since the war has just begun and will continue for a number of years. National security was top of mind in the 1940 SFT, however, concern for social security was still present and was evidenced by the creation of a national unemployment insurance plan (1940).

Canadians are presented with unemployment as a threat in this SFT. Additionally, while the war and the Nazis are clearly presented as a looming threat in this speech, inaction of government on national security risks defeat by the enemy Nazi soldiers, simultaneously presenting it as a risk discourse. Again, in a time where Canadian identity was connected with notions of assisting one another (Camfield, 2006), it appears as though the speeches present a discourse of both government as protector of the nation and provider for the individual.

1949 & 1953 SFTs – Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent – Liberal

21st Parliament & 22nd Parliament

1958 SFT – Prime Minister John Diefenbaker – Progressive Conservative

24th Parliament

Two liberal and one conservative government presented the 1949, 1953, and 1958 SFTs and I have chosen to combine them in this section because they all

occur after the end of WWII (1945), which represented a time of significant

growth and prosperity in Canada (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship

Canada, 2015). Between 1945 and 1965 Canada experienced the 'baby boom',

which significantly fuelled the country's economy, and the government's ability

to invest in its citizens through the provision of social services (Filion et al.,

2000). Unemployment in Canada remained relatively low during this decade, and

at 2.2%, 1947 witnessed the lowest unemployment rate in Canadian history; this

rate remained below 5% until 1958 when it reached 7% (Statistics Canada, 2014;

Card & Riddell, 1993). Although one might assume that the end of WWII would

bring with it some sense of relief from the threat of insecurity abroad, the 1949

SFT replaced that threat with a new one, "communist totalitarianism" (p. 20).

It is stated in the 1949 SFT that, "The hopes held four years ago for world

peace and security under the aegis of the United Nations have not yet been

realized. The menace of Communist totalitarianism continues to threaten the

aspirations of men of good will" (p. 20). Security is still top of mind in this

speech, although the focus has shifted from the recent international war to the

threat of communism. The government notes the end goal of world peace, and

highlights that although the threat of the past war was extinguished, there is more

work to be done. Here is another example of the joining of security and threat

discourses used to make the government's message stronger. The government's

word choice of "menace" is particularly interesting as it clearly implies a direct

threat to the functioning and continued prosperity seen in Canadian society at that time.

The speech goes on to note that the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty has thus far been a success in alleviating the risks connected to the continued aggression abroad. In doing so, St. Laurent's liberal government (1949) connects the notion of economic prosperity – achieved in part as a result of the North Atlantic Treaty – to the nation's ability to prevent communist aggressions from advancing into Canada. It is stated that, "It is the view of my Ministers that the economic health and stability of the nations of the North Atlantic community must be the real foundation of their ability to resist, and, therefore, to deter aggression" (p. 20). The government actively makes clear their intention to facilitate economic prosperity through world trade initiatives (that include a Wheat Agreement), as well as the creation of an Old Age Pension plan. Here it becomes clear that the security discourse is connected to both national and social security at this point, which are both being threatened by physical and economic threats abroad and which require the government to take action to combat them.

Between 1950 and 1953, the Korean War represented the third most devastating war in Canada's history with over 500 Canadian casualties and 1000 wounded (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2015). Canadian soldiers were part of the combat mission in this war (which ended in 1953), however the last soldiers did not return to Canada until 1957 after having completed their peacekeeping mission (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship

Canada, 2015). In the 1953 SFT, the second SFT for the St. Laurent Liberals, it is

stated that,

> Much remains to be done before there can be a permanent and durable
> peace in the world. My Ministers therefore consider it would be unwise for
> the free nations to slacken our efforts to build up and maintain the
> necessary strength to deter aggression and they intend to continue to work
> to that end (p. 19).

The government passively addresses the work needed to create world peace

before they actively address the need for Canada and other "free nations" to

increase their defense systems to deter future aggression. Although the Korean

war had come to an end by this point, the government is continuing to stress the

high threat level connected to the war, pushing to expand Canada's military and

defence systems to deter future aggressors from coming forward, or, resurfacing:

this is not a new concept for St. Laurent's liberal government. In fact, the idea of

the government's priority being connected to deterring aggression was also

presented in the 1949 SFT, displaying the government's role in national security

(protecting the nation and ultimately protecting the individual citizens within it).

Here it is evident that the government is articulating that there is a constant threat

to national security even once a particular threat is eliminated, and the risk

connected to that threat is omnipresent because it may or may not happen, but

could happen, and therefore Canada must be prepared for it.

Similar to St. Laurent's previous speech, this second SFT also highlights

the importance of economic prosperity in deterring future aggression and notes

that,

> My Ministers are convinced that nations can best achieve economic
> strength and security through more liberal trade and oversees investment
> policies and they are continuing their efforts to bring about the progressive
> reduction of trade restrictions (p. 19).

Here the government uses active language to attend to their understanding of how

best to achieve economic prosperity and national security. This highlights the

manner with which the government is presenting notions of globalization and

economic prosperity to the populace as the lone option to not only experience

economic prosperity, but also to help eliminate threats to national security from

abroad. Interestingly, further on in the 1953 speech the government highlights the

importance of growing social welfare in Canada through the development of a

national disability support program for those individuals who cannot work due to

disability. This was very much influenced by the numbers of disabled

men/soldiers returning from WWII and The Korean War (Gerber, 2003). Because

they had likely been 'productive' citizens before heading to war, because they

held the privilege of being men, and because they had become disabled in service

to their country, it was felt that they 'deserved' support: Other people with

disabilities up to this point had not been so lucky (Gerber, 2003). This emphasizes

the Government's economic priorities that stresses Canadian citizens being

employable (hinting at early presentations of productivity connected to

neoliberalism), while also highlighting the government bias inherent in their

decision making process as far as who "deserves" government support.

Previously, individuals with disabilities were forced to work in the unfavourable

work camps mentioned in earlier speeches. Here we see the presentation of

several discourses, government as protector of the nation, government as protector of the economy, and government as provider for the individual.

Written at a time of population growth and relative economic prosperity (although also at a time of a rising rate of unemployment and inflation as compared with the past decade), the 1958 SFT from Diefenbaker's progressive conservative government shifted the security and threat discourses yet again, as the concern temporarily transferred from foreign aggression to the dangers associated with continued inflation. In the 1958 SFT, the government highlighted that the country was doing well, but cautioned against being too optimistic, noting that, "My ministers remain mindful of the importance of financing their large programme of expenditures in such manner as will best safeguard against a recurrence of inflationary dangers in future" (p. 12). Here the government actively presents their understanding of developing social services in a more conservative fashion intended to protect from future times of economic uncertainty. The choice of the word "dangers" to describe the rate of inflation is interesting as it highlights that although the nation had reached the economic prosperity it so desired for many years, there remained a looming threat that the government (and the nation) had to be concerned with. If not properly secured, this inflationary threat carried the risk of destroying the social programs and large government expenditures (e.g. creation of national health care, Canada Assistance Plan, National Child Benefit etc.) that had been created and expanded over the past two decades. In spite of this economic threat, and the risks associated with overspending, the government still

presents their plan to extend unemployment insurance by an additional six weeks, highlighting two discourses: government as provider for the individual and government as protector/steward of the economy.

1968 & 1974 SFTs – Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau – Liberal

28th Parliament & 30th Parliament

In the 1960's and 1970's, North America experienced a time of societal change that demanded respect and acceptance of peoples who had previously been treated as subordinates in society (Patterson, 1977). Before the 1960's and 1970's, it was expected that immigrants to the West must assimilate to the customs and cultures of their new countries (Patterson, 1977). It is noted that, "The ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s strongly challenged the assimilationist conception of citizenship education" (Banks, 2004, p. 290). The Civil Rights Movement that occurred in the United States is said to have strongly influenced these activities, and the result was felt on an international scale (Banks, 2004). In the Canadian context, French and Indigenous populations began to challenge what was now seen as the oppression of their peoples. Related to this civil unrest, Canada in the 1960's saw a burst of separatist right-wing extremism that peaked in 1968 (Ross & Gurr, 1989). At the same time, Canadian identity in the 1960's and 1970's was represented by liberal presentations of "diversity, multiculturalism, and peacekeeping" (Nieguth & Raney, 2016, p. 5). In addition to a changing society that demanded increased rights for citizens, the 1970's saw

a decade of the fastest rise in the rate of inflation ever experienced in Canada

(DeLong, 1997).

The 1968 SFT by the Trudeau liberals presented the Canadian population

with several threats including economic uncertainty, environmental deterioration,

and continued threats abroad (such as the insecurity being experienced in

Vietnam, Nigeria, and Czechoslovakia), while at the same time presenting a

slightly different understanding of the government's ability to provide social

security on a national scale. The first paragraph of the SFT is particularly telling

of this, stating that,

> Across the land there are great expectations of what this Parliament will
> produce. My Ministers recognize the responsibility for leadership which
> these hopes entail. They are determined to do all that they can to carry out
> the mandate they received from the people of Canada in the recent general
> election. They recognize their duty to ensure that the wishes of Canadians
> concerning their Government be fulfilled as quickly and as completely as
> the general advantage will allow (p. 13).

In this quote, the government actively addresses the expectations placed on them

by Canadian people and presents their plan to move forward with the mandate

they were elected to fulfill. However, in this same paragraph, they quickly state

that there exist significant economic hurdles that will undoubtedly affect this

progress stating,

> At the same time my Government is conscious that aspirations and their
> realization have to be tempered by a sober awareness of reality. In the
> complexities of modern society, effective programs take time to develop
> and more time to implement. At all stages they require financial and
> intellectual resources which are not unlimited and must be used with
> careful planning and the hard judgement of priorities. It is a simple fact of
> life that everything cannot be done at once (p. 13).

This government states that social policies take a very significant time to come to fruition, but possibly more importantly, that the resources that fund them are finite.

In the subsequent paragraph, this idea is reiterated, as the government notes that there exists significant legislative backlog that must be dealt with before any further legislation can be developed. The government goes on to explain the important progress that has been achieved to improve income security through social services during difficult times. They then highlight that in spite of these advancements, poverty persists in the nation, and its elimination requires government action on several fronts. The solution they present is to ensure "that people in all areas and regions of our country have as equal access as possible to the opportunities of Canada's economic development" (p. 15). This is language in support of a national approach to solving social problems, because without a national approach, regional disparities will prevent equal access. This quote differs from previous SFTs by different governments, and appears to show a manipulation of the discourse of government as protector of the economy, unlike the presentation of this discourse seen in previous speeches. The discourse here implies that it is primarily through a prosperous economy that all Canadian citizens will be able to truly benefit suggesting that the government's responsibility is not to take direct care of its citizens (i.e., through social welfare spending) but rather to make involvement in the economy more accessible. Although it is not explicitly stated, I believe that this may be the beginning of the

promise of job creation in the SFTs (this will be addressed in more detail in later speeches).

The idea that it is through a strong economy that citizens can persevere and prosper is evident throughout the speech. For instance, the government states,

> Unless Canada can maintain an economy that is efficient, competitive and productive in relation to the most advanced nations on earth, we cannot have the basis for a society from which poverty has been eliminated, we cannot maintain high levels of employment and income and we cannot ensure the standard of life to which Canadians generally aspire (p. 16).

The government passively attends to the elimination of poverty, presenting the economy as the number one priority, and arguing that with a strong economy comes good jobs that will lead to less need for big government social policies and services. The government unequivocally states "we cannot" three times in this sentence regarding what they can provide Canadians in connection with the economy, further presenting a strong economy as the only solution for a strong Canada and for the well being of citizens. They subsequently note that,

> Just as incomes cannot increase faster than productivity if price increases are to be restrained, so government spending by all levels of government cannot increase faster than productivity if we wish to restrain the increase in levels of taxation. These two realities are among the most important that Canadians and their leaders must bear in mind during the months and years ahead (p. 16).

Therefore, the speech appears to be providing an "out" for the government to not fulfill the mandate that they were given unless the country achieves economic prosperity that permits them to do so.

Near the end of the speech, the government lists - within a single

paragraph – a number of international threats to national security that must be

considered, stating that,

> In international affairs generally, my Ministers regard the current situation
> as uncertain and deeply disturbing. Talks are under way in Paris
> concerning Vietnam but so far negotiations have not advanced as we had
> hoped they might. The Government has followed with anxiety the attempts
> to promote a peaceful settlement in Nigeria and has participated actively in
> international efforts to relieve the sufferings of the civilian population. The
> situation in Czechoslovakia has also caused the gravest concern to the
> government, not only for its effects on the prospects of detente and future
> evolution within Communist countries, but also for its consequences for
> the freedom and well-being of the Czechoslovak people (p. 17).

The word choice is interesting as the government presents the international

situation in quite an ominous tone (i.e. "deeply disturbing"), identifying the

potential for threats that again may influence the nation, and the risks of not

properly securing them through government intervention. In this situation, by

securing the threats I mean the government increasing defence spending to secure

Canada's borders, or, joining allies in international wars and/or peacekeeping

missions to secure unstable international situations. The choice of the word

"anxiety" in describing the government's involvement with the situation in

Nigeria is also interesting, as it appears to set the stage for impending conflict and

doom, potentially creating a sense of unease within the population regarding this

international threat. This idea is further developed in the government's use of the

word "sufferings" to describe the experience of individuals living through that

conflict, which is likely a tool used to evoke particular emotions within the

Canadian population that would permit the government to take action (should they

choose to do so) against such injustice. Once again, we see the threat of communism appear within the speech as a continuous looming threat that must be watched and guarded against. It is presented as the government's "gravest concern" – and thus a strong risk – and is directly linked to the "freedom and well-being" of the citizens of Czechoslovakia. I believe this statement has two intended outcomes, that Canadians come to view communism as an attack on freedom and well-being and that they support the government is combatting such injustices in whatever means necessary.

Considering that the government appears heavily invested in securing the prosperity of the nation by capitalist means, communism would likely be understood as a direct threat to all Canadian governments' economic agendas. It therefore makes sense that these discourses might put the Canadian people on edge in regards to this looming threat. Listing all of these threats together at the end of the speech, I believe, would work to shock the individual citizen into accepting the government's agenda and to provide potential opportunities for the government to become involved in economy-boosting wars, should the need arise. One suggestion the government notes after this ominous paragraph is the expansion to NATO in order to ensure proper defense in Canada and abroad. This potentially signals the government's presentation of the benefits of globalization before neoliberal principles are truly beginning to take hold in the country.

In 1974, Pierre Trudeau receives his second majority government at a time when inflation is top of mind in Canadian society. The 1974 SFT is full of

references to the continued threat of economic uncertainty and the need to secure

Canadian government expenditures in an attempt to offset the rapid rate of

inflation. The government states that,

> The international economic situation is serious, with a high rate of inflation, balance of payments problems, lower growth rates and the rapid accumulation of large currency reserves by a few countries. Canada is engaging in bilateral and multilateral discussions as part of a concerted effort to ensure that the current fragile state of the world's economy is strengthened (p. 7).

The government goes on to note that,

> For Canada as well as for most of the world the most serious problem is inflation; it is necessary both to deal with its causes and to mitigate its effects. This worldwide problem had its origins in the largest increases in food, energy and other commodity prices in a generation, occurring at the same time as an upsurge in economic activity in all major industrialized nations (p. 7).

The government highlights the seriousness of the fragile state of the world's

economic situation at the beginning of the speech, presenting citizens with a doom

and gloom presentation of the government's ability to provide for them as they

had done for nearly four decades. The inflation situation is so severe that the

government describes it as a direct threat to the continued existence of the world

as we know it stating, "In some countries there is a threat to the cohesion of the

very fabric of society" (p. 7). In 1975, Trudeau introduces a very unpopular wage

and price control legislation and we can see that he is signalling his intent here

and setting up the idea (Clarke & Zuk, 1987). After presenting the inflation crisis

to the population as being one of the biggest threats the world has ever seen, the

government then begins to calm Canadians' fears by noting that, "Canada has thus

far suffered less from inflation than most other countries, but the problem is serious and urgent" (p. 8.). The government makes repeated use of the words serious and urgent to influence Canadian's emotional understanding of what is occurring in the world. Here we see the presentation of the threat discourse (inflation rates in Canada becoming as dire as those of the rest of the world) being combined first with a reduced risk discourse – that the country is performing much better than others – yet raising the risk quotient again in arguing that it is possible for the situation to become worse if certain measures are not taken – by the government – during this mandate.

The government presents a number of measures in the speech that will attempt to offset the rising rate of inflation. At this point, the government is still heavily invested in the assistance of citizens during difficult times (e.g. through amendments to and the temporary expansion to Old Age Security, Unemployment Insurance, and various incentives for home buyers, farmers, and consumers).

Another area to note is the breadth of the speeches throughout the 1960's and 1970's, as they now cover many more areas of interest, perhaps due to the increase in government expenditures on public services and therefore the larger role that government plays in the lives of Canadians. I can see this breadth of information influencing Canadians interpretation of the SFTs in a manner similar to the way that omnibus budget bills of more recent governments have been used to temporarily conceal undesirable information from the public and the press (Kirchhoff & Tsuji, 2014).

Using this understanding I can see how these longer SFTs may have the power to bury information that the government may need to address, but would prefer to do so with limited scrutiny at the time. For instance, the 1968 SFT addresses the fact that the government cannot continue spending on social services as they had in the past, but the speech appears to be bookended by the idea that the government is experiencing a legislative backlog due to the previous governments' inability to effectively pass legislation. This suggests that the government's hands are tied in regards to fulfilling their mandate (this is the first and last thing that is mentioned in the speech and therefore what is likely left in the minds of Canadians). Similarly, the 1974 SFT appears to move back and forth between government priorities (e.g. the economy, peacekeeping missions, the Olympics etc.). In fact, in the 1974 speech the government briefly places their desire to reform social security during severe economic uncertainty between their discussions of the upcoming Olympic games and environmental protection. This could be used as a tactic to distract, or muddle, much of what is said within the speech about social security reform (such as the fact that the government cannot continue large scale spending initiatives with the current economic climate).

By placing something that may be viewed negatively (reforming/cutting social welfare spending in the name of economic prosperity) between two concepts that may be more positively viewed by society (Canada's participation in the Olympic and Commonwealth games and the protection of the environment), I can see how the government might be able to manipulate the message they

provide. Further, such notions can significantly influence the population's

perception of Canadian identity, which is now being tied to the economy more

significantly than it had been previously, seemingly to the detriment of the social

welfare state. Additionally, the much longer speeches may make citizens feel that

their government is heavily involved in all areas that affect the country, therefore

making the government appear as experts, and the true protectors of the nation

that will undoubtedly continue to take the country in a prosperous direction that

will be of benefit for all Canadians.

1980 SFT – Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau – Liberal

　　32nd Parliament

1984 SFT – Prime Minister Brian Mulroney – Progressive Conservative

　　33rd Parliament

I have decided to combine the 1980 and 1984 SFTs, which are represented

by a majority liberal and majority conservative government respectively, because

of their shared contextual experiences of the time. The primary influence

throughout the 1980's was the introduction of neoliberal principles that

significantly changed the direction the country would take, rebranding Canadian

identity in a manner that began to pull at the fabric of the social welfare state that

had been developed over the previous several decades (Brodie; 2009, Nimijean,

2005; Whiteside, 2009). Further, the speeches occurred at a time of rising

unemployment and inflation rates more severe than previously contextualized in

Trudeau's (1974) SFT, which greatly affected the economic situation in the

country and overall wellbeing of its citizens (McCallum, 1986). Additionally, these two speeches occur at a time when nuclear war and an 'arms race' exist as threats to national security.

The 1980's in Canada saw several important milestones in the shifting of a Canadian identity, the first being with the 1980 Quebec referendum that asked Quebecers whether they wished to remain as part of a united Canada or form their own nation (Courchene, 2004). Although Quebec voted to remain a part of Canada, they would not join the rest of Canada in signing on to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was instituted by the Trudeau government in 1982 (Courchene, 2004). By the mid 1980's, countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada had all elected conservative governments that intended to begin dismantling social programs that were viewed as heavily bureaucratic and wasteful (Savoie, 1994). The years of Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and Brian Mulroney represented a time of further changing identities for these three nations, a sign of discontent with publicly funded programs (although arguably manufactured by government to suit their purposes) (Savoie, 1994).

The 1980 SFT occurred during Pierre Trudeau's third, and final, majority mandate and presented significant security, risk, and threat discourses at a time of uncertainty and change. Near the beginning of the speech is it stated that, "As Canada enters the 1980s, we confront serious challenges, but we look forward to even greater opportunities" (p. 9), noting that, "In the recent general election, my Ministers received a mandate for a program which will provide security, equity,

and opportunity for the Canada of the 1980s" (p. 9). This language creates a grim tone as the government immediately notes "serious challenges" that the country faces. The government further argues that a key component of their mandate is to provide "opportunity" for Canadian citizens. The choice of the word opportunity is important as it moves the government further away from the discourse of government as provider of the individual (historically connected to the provision of social services) and towards a discourse centred on economic opportunity for individuals through job creation. The government no longer provides for individuals, but rather provides them with the opportunity to provide for themselves. I believe that statements such as this facilitate the notion of economic opportunity becoming more fixed within Canadian identity at that time.

Baker (1997) has argued that Canadian governments have used the threat to national unity as the perfect time to introduce reforms to social welfare, as the unity threat dominates national headlines and therefore provides a form of camouflage for unpopular legislative changes. The possibility of Quebec separating from Canada in the 1980's is an example of such a threat to national unity. The Quebec referendum was top of mind in this speech and the government asked Canadians,

> Will Canada still exist as a country at the end of this decade, or will it have been broken up by the tensions of our past and recent history? Will we continue to build our future together as Canadians, or will we give in to the siren song of regional isolationism? (p. 10).

The government presents the question of the perseverance of the Canadian nation, before presenting the notion of Quebec's separation as a "siren song" (an elusive

and deceptive idea that would undoubtedly be damaging for all involved). This works to define the situation for Canadian citizens, instead of articulating the facts and permitting all Canadians – regardless of their provincial membership - to decide for themselves how a Quebec separation would affect the nation. At this point, we can see how the threat and high level of risk connected to the separation of Quebec influences the discourses presented by the government. For example, the discourse of unity for all citizens is clearly being imposed on Canadians by this government. It represents a singular discourse of Canadian identity that is likely not as widely accepted across the nation, as the government would prefer (e.g. The fact that many Quebecers were calling for this referendum, and therefore were not adhering to the discourse of unity). The separation of Quebec could significantly influence the economic prosperity of Canada, which appears to result in the government's manipulation of Canadians identity to suit their political needs at that moment.

In addition to the potential separation of Quebec, the government spends significant time discussing the current economic climate in Canada and the rest of the world. The uncertainty of the future economic prosperity appears to be used as a lead up to the government's discussion of social policy, or, potential lack thereof. In response to the uncertain economic times, the government states that,

> Canadians are a sensible people. They understand that these are difficult economic times throughout the world. They know too that Canada cannot insulate itself completely from the effects of global inflation coupled with recession. In responding to these turbulent conditions, my Government will be guided by the two main principles at the core of the program my Ministers placed before the people (p. 11).

The word choice is interesting in this quote - describing Canadians as "sensible people" who "understand" the economy, and "know" Canada is not immune to outside threats - as it implies that all Canadians are in agreement with the government on this point. Further, we can see how the government explicitly shapes the notion of Canadian identity (more detail below). It begins by actively complementing Canadians knowledge and understanding of the current economic situation and the idea that no government action can completely protect the country from outside forces affecting the economy. The government then actively notes that they will address these "turbulent conditions" using two main principles.

The two main principles guiding this government are then stated as follows:

> The first is that Canadians will accept sacrifice to meet the economic challenges of the 1980s, but they will not accept injustice. Canadians have always faced up to difficult decisions-and if necessary they will do so in the future-but only if the burden is shared equitably. The second principle is equally critical. Canadians recognize the need to live within their national means and they understand that in doing so the state cannot meet every demand or satisfy every group. Therefore, in employing the limited resources available, my Ministers will help first those who need help most (p. 11).

The government's assertion that Canadians will willingly accept sacrifice here implies that Canadians must put their country before their own needs, and further, that Canadians are complicit in the government's neoliberal agenda that will see the erosion of social services that the majority of citizens depend on. It connects Canadian identity with notions of subservience, a wilful ignorance that places all

power in the hands of those in government. It further sets the stage for the government's plan to implement significant social welfare reform in the name of economic prosperity and efficiency. The choice of the word "sacrifice" is also interesting, as it implies giving something up for the sake of something viewed as more important. Here I believe that Canadians are giving up essential social services in the name of the economy, and therefore, the term relinquish may be more appropriate, as it is arguable whether citizens are truly benefitting from the loss of social services.

This paragraph again complements Canadian citizens for their perseverance during difficult economic times of the past, while also suggesting that Canadians understand the need for government to cut back when the economy is struggling. The government notes the "limited resources available" highlighting that not all Canadians can benefit from social welfare policies going forward due to the dire economic situation. Here it becomes clear that that government intends to primarily assist those who are struggling most severely, perhaps leaving behind many more that are not deemed to be struggling quite enough. This is a potentially dangerous statement, as it no longer implies that all Canadians will or even should be assisted during tough economic times, and instead implies that tough economic times are actually when government will provide less. Further, the government implies that this is what Canadians currently, and historically have believed.

In this SFT, the government labels older Canadians as some of the most at

risk people during economic hardship stating,

> Inflation strikes hardest at the old and those least able to take care of
> themselves. You will be asked to give urgent consideration to legislation
> raising the Guaranteed Income Supplement to the Old Age Security
> pension by $35 a month per household by July 1st of this year (p. 11).

The government actively uses neoliberal language to address the most severely

impacted individuals in society, seniors that qualify for the Guaranteed Income

Supplement (GIS) connected to Old Age Security (OAS), who they intend to help

through tough times with a very modest increase in pension supplement. They

present this as an "urgent" situation that must be addressed, therefore presenting

the discourse of government as provider for the individual alongside their

flourishing neoliberal language.

Near the end of the speech, the government makes the threat of nuclear

war very clear and addresses several ways that – as protector of the nation - it

intends to secure the country against such threats stating,

> My Government takes office against the most sombre international
> background of recent years. Events in Iran and Afghanistan have done
> great damage to international laws and institutions and undermined
> confidence and stability (p. 17).

The speech goes on to note that,

> But while recognizing the need for Canada to strengthen alliance security,
> the dangers of nuclear holocaust cannot simply be forgotten. If anything,
> these dangers are heightened by current tensions and by the continuation
> of the arms race. Canada's imperative is clear. This Government must
> continue its strategy to suffocate the deadly growth in the nuclear arsenals
> of the world. We must, and we will, actively co-operate in international
> efforts to negotiate agreements on verifiable means of arms control and

disarmament, and seek to rally others to a cause that is no less than human survival on this planet (p. 17).

The government's use of words such as "dangers of nuclear holocaust", "heightened by current tensions", "arms race", and "human survival" undoubtedly create a feeling of unease for the reader/listener, possibly influencing citizens to accept without question the government actions to address those threats. The threat of nuclear war is serious, however, its placement within a single paragraph at the end of the speech is interesting because it is the last thing that is read/heard and will therefore be remembered.

With the introduction of neoliberal principles in the past two SFTs, and evident in this 1980 SFT, the promise of job creation emerges as another essential area that the government intends to address during their mandate, particularly for various minority groups who had previously been excluded from the workplace. The government states,

> One of the essential objectives of this Government is to put more people to work. Young people, women, natives, and the handicapped face special problems in finding jobs. To meet the needs of these groups, my Government will expand its employment program while using its resources more efficiently. There will be an increased effort to develop critical trade skills so as to better prepare today's labour force for tomorrow's jobs (p. 12).

Here the government actively presents Canadians with neoliberal language connected to finding employment for specific groups of individuals as well as its desire to make government programs run more efficiently. Several of the groups mentioned likely relied on various forms of government assistance at this time, and therefore, I wonder whether in the eyes of the government their employment

would reduce social services costs while also stimulating a fragile economy. This paragraph may also work to provide a positive note for large numbers of people at a time of uncertainty and economic hardship.

The economy remains the primary area of interest throughout the 1980's and is evident in Brian Mulroney's first session SFT in 1984. This was the first majority conservative government since Diefenbaker had won in 1958 and Mulroney makes clear from the beginning of the speech that he intends to make changes, "While there are no easy solutions to the great problems facing our country, there is a new will among Canadians to make a fresh start in the search for answers" (p. 22). Neoliberal principles are evident throughout the SFT as Mulroney optimistically presents the new role that the government intends to play, and with that, the changing Canadian identity from a collective to individualized focus (Brodie, 2009). The government argues that economic decisions of the previous liberal governments have been proven a failure stating that,

> Nowhere is the need for national reconciliation more urgent than in Canada's economic life. Our repeated failure in recent years to achieve our economic potential cries out for correction by a truly sustained, co-operative and national effort. First Ministers will meet next week to discuss the agenda for a First Ministers' Conference on the Economy. My government will soon announce the date of a national Economic Summit to bring together important groups in our economy (p. 24).

The government claims that they will be the ones to fix economic failures of this country, and argue that continued funding of large government programs risks economic disaster that the nation may not be able to recover from.

> A committee of Ministers headed by the Deputy Prime Minister has begun a review of all government programs. The objective is to reform and simplify the operations of government. From the citizen's standpoint, government will be made more understandable, more accessible, and more sensitive (p. 23).

Here the Mulroney government is setting the stage for social policy reform in Canada under the guise of efficiency: an example of this reform was the government's decision to severely limit Canadians access to Unemployment Insurance (Baker, 1997). The government further emphasizes the need for less government – and more private sector - involvement to tackle the threat of economic uncertainty throughout the speech. For example,

> The process of consensus-building will engage the private sector partners in consultation and cooperation on economic goals. In such a context, government would act as guide, mediator and catalyst, becoming less intrusive in the private sector but vigilant over the integrity of the national economy and of national standards (p. 25).

The government states that, "The three-part strategy of my Ministers is to restore fiscal responsibility, remove obstacles to growth, and encourage new investment", and further, "that we must deal urgently with the deficit is beyond dispute" (p. 25). The word choice here suggests that it is a known and accepted fact that there is no excuse for deficits, regardless of the economic times. Further, this government suggests that it is the private sector who are the true stewards of economy, and who must be free to act on their own accord, with much less government involvement and/or restrictions. Although Trudeau's SFTs in 1968 and 1974 discussed the impossibility of the government providing all necessities for all Canadians, they did not present the same threat of deficit spending.

The promise of job creation is mentioned several times throughout this speech and it begins to be connected more robustly to the changing economic landscape of the time. The government states,

> My government recognizes that measures to improve and expand skill training and retraining are essential elements of a sound approach to providing job opportunities. During this session, you will be asked to consider an innovative employment strategy that will be cost effective and oriented to the private sector. It will be introduced following intensive consultations with the provinces, labour and business (p. 26).

Here the government actively presents the need to provide adequate job opportunities (primarily to those who have historically been unable to work), before describing how they plan to implement this 'new' strategy. This quote displays the role that job creation is playing at this time, hypothetically filling a void for the unemployed workers who depend on social welfare services, through a "partnership" between government and the private sector under the guise of efficiency.

1994, 1997, & 2001 SFTs – Prime Minister Jean Chretien – Liberal

35th Parliament, 36th Parliament, & 37th Parliament

Between 1989 and 1991, the world witnessed the falling of the Berlin wall and the end of the cold war (Baldwin, 1995); 1991 also witnessed the public debut of the world-wide-web (Connolly, 2000). In 1995, Canada experienced its second referendum in Quebec that asked Quebec citizens whether they should separate from the nation of Canada, again they chose to remain (Nadeau, Martin, & Blais, 1999). It should be mentioned, however, that the result was far too close for comfort and the threat of separation remained high at this time. In 1995, European

nations agreed on a single currency, the euro, and in 1999, eleven of the nations in the European Union began using it as their currency highlighting the vast expansion of globalization occurring at that time (Pollard, 2001). The 1990's represented another period of significant change in Canada and the world, highlighting the increasing interconnectedness of the global society from this point forward.

The SFTs during the mandates of Jean Chretien appear to have taken on a more positive note than many of the speeches prior. Each addressed a significant number of issues and were 3, 8, and 10 pages respectively. In Chretien's 1994 SFT the government begins by addressing the looming threat to democracy stating, "In some countries today, democracy is under stress, its future uncertain" (p. 1). Canada is not however at risk, being a nation that continues its steadfast commitment to democracy. In terms of Canadian security discourse, the government addresses the importance of crime prevention noting,

> The Government will vigorously pursue its commitment to strengthen the fabric of Canadian life. The Government will introduce measures to enhance community safety and crime prevention. There will be measures to combat the high level of violence against women and children. Measures will be proposed to combat racism and hate crime. The Court Challenges Program and the Law Reform Commission will be restored. Amendments will be proposed to the *Canadian Human Rights Act*; and the *Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act* will be proclaimed (p. 3).

Although it is stated that overall crime levels are down, the government actively presents their determination to address the high levels of violent crimes against women and children, undoubtedly a hot topic issue for many individuals that

would likely evoke an emotional response that facilitates their agreement with the government's suggested policy changes.

Although there are some security and threat discourses evident within this speech, the promise of job creation takes center stage (being mentioned in four different sections of the speech as the governments top priority). The government states their plans of overhauling social security, and reducing the deficit in a manner that facilitates job creation. It is important to note how the 1995 budget changed Canada's welfare state fundamentally, taking billions out of social programs, cancelling the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), stopping the 50/50 cost sharing and significantly diminishing the federal role in ensuring equal access to social programs (Prince, 1998). I believe the massive changes to social security are setting the stage for these massive government cuts, and the promise of new jobs is meant to offset and possibly distract from this fact. Although the government notes the importance of Canadian social policies in the SFT, I believe that this speech highlights the discourse of government as protector of the economy, presenting the notion once again that it is through a prosperous economy that Canadians will be able to achieve their goals.

The Chretien government's 1997 SFT also addresses the continued threat of separation in Canada noting that,

> The Government will take a very broad and encompassing approach to promoting and strengthening our unity. All its major initiatives will serve to make Canada better and thus more united. The Government will approach its mandate committed to collaboration and partnership with all its partners in Canadian society. Canada provides our common space and our common means for realizing our potential. We would all be forever

diminished, forever changed, should we fail to maintain the example Canada provides to the world. Our future as a country is too precious for us to risk losing it through misunderstanding. Therefore, the Government will bring frankness and clarity to any debate that puts into question the future existence or unity of Canada. It will create a better understanding of the true complexity and difficulty for all of us in severing ties that have developed in building a nation together. Most of all, it will demonstrate how much more we can do together than apart (p. 4).

Although Quebecers had voted to remain in Canada just two years prior, the government addresses the continued threat of their potential separation and intends to work to unite Quebec more fully into the nation of Canada. The promise of bringing clarity is also a result of the referendum and Canadians confusion as to what rights Quebecers would have the morning after a separation: The government spelled out its conditions for separation in the Clarity Act (Guibernau, 2006).

Later in the speech the government notes the "increasing anxiety among Canadians about the present state and the future of our medicare system" (p. 5), noting that "Citizens worry about whether they will have access to the highest possible quality of health care when they need it" (p. 5). The word choice of "anxiety" and "worry" likely makes Canadians feel as though the government understands their concerns with health care in Canada, regardless of whether necessary improvements are to be made to it.

The government makes an interesting statement about continuing Canada's success "by pooling resources and by sharing risks" (p. 2). This concept is not addressed more fully and the reader is left wondering what risks they are

referring to, and further, who is taking and sharing the risks, the government, Canadians, private businesses? The paragraph that follows this statement addresses the non-partisan public services in Canada and therefore does not expand on the idea of risk sharing.

Again, job creation is top of mind in this SFT and is mentioned several times throughout. The primary goal of the government is "stimulating job creation" (p. 2). It is interesting to note that the government states, "Our challenge is to ensure that no Canadian is left behind as the country moves forward" (p. 3), as opposed to helping to most vulnerable, this government goes back to the discourse of government as provider of the individual citizen.

The government goes on to state that, "Canadians want a just and sharing society. A prosperous society. A tolerant and highly diverse society. A society that fosters excellence and creativity" (p. 3). This statement not only implies that Canadians want a diverse and multicultural country, but continues the discourse surrounding Canadian identity that began in the Trudeau era at a time of declining growth rates. Continuing the discourse surrounding Canadian identity the government states,

> Safe communities are among the hallmarks of our Canadian identity. While the reported crime rate has decreased for four consecutive years, it is still too high. The Government is committed to ensuring that Canada remains a place where Canadians feel secure in their homes and on the streets of their communities. A safe society depends on strong crime prevention efforts as well as traditional legal responses. Governments around the world are developing community-based crime prevention programs (p. 6).

The speech goes on to suggest that, "The Government will help protect the right of all Canadians to feel safe in their communities by working with other governments, the private sector and voluntary groups" (p. 6). Here it is evident that although crime rates are continuing to decrease, the threat of crime and need to combat it remains constant. Further, the government intends to address this issue with the assistance of the private sector, a shift from speeches before the 1980's, ultimately reducing government accountability in favour of neoliberal principles such as privatization.

Chretien's final SFT in 2001 (at the start of his third consecutive majority government) is particularly devoid of impending doom or looming threats. This SFT discusses the continued combatting of crime in one paragraph of the speech, but it is written in a manner that does not invoke a fear of the unknown. I found that this SFT instead addresses the many advancements Canada has made over the past decade, while also addressing the areas that the government intends to invest in further for a more prosperous future. It is full of ideas about what Canada "must" and "should" do to continue the progress it has been making over the past decade: These words occur throughout the speech.

It is interesting to note that this government actively highlights that economic prosperity is not enough for Canadians stating,

> A strong economy and job creation have been essential to reducing poverty and ensuring that families have the resources to care for their children. But economic growth alone is not enough. Governments also have a key role to play in helping families left behind and in providing support to families and children (p. 4).

This notion differs significantly from the speeches throughout the 60's, 70's, and 80's that placed economic prosperity as the number one priority of the nation. Considering that this was the third mandate, which occurred during a time of prosperity and budget surplus, it is no surprise that this speech takes a more light-hearted tone. However, I believe that because poverty persisted during a time when the country was in surplus territory and experiencing a relatively stable economy, the government was forced to address the need for social services in Canada. Failure to do this could have potentially created uncertainty within the population regarding the economic shifts that had been occurring for the past twenty years. Further, it could educate the population to the fact that the economy was not the true provider of Canadian citizens, a realization that could force the government to completely change the direction they were taking the country in. It is important to highlight that the cuts to social service spending under the Chretien government (in the name of debt reduction) worsened poverty and helped foster homelessness in Canada (Prince, 1998).

2011 SFT – Prime Minister Stephen Harper – Conservative

> **41st Parliament**

The 2011 SFT was presented at a time of economic uncertainty, when the effects of the 2008 financial crisis were still being felt throughout the country (Erkens, Hung, & Matos, 2012). Up until this point, the conservative government led by Stephen Harper had governed through the financial crisis with a minority government, and in 2011, they won their first, and last, majority. Throughout the

financial crisis and their minority governments, the Harper conservatives were required to stray from their more conventional fiscal prudence by inserting stimulus into the economy. After securing a majority in 2011, the government had more power to rest on their laurels of prudent economic stewardship during economic hardship, and move forward with a more traditionally conservative government focus. The government is said to have shifted Canadian identity away from concepts such s multiculturalism, which had been tied to liberal governments of the past, and instead focused on defining Canadian identity in terms of social conservatism and free market principles (Nieguth & Raney, 2016).

This SFT was very much focused on staying the course, moving forward on the groundwork that the government had put in place over the past several years that they had governed with a minority, while also beginning to make the cuts required to balance the budget. Within this speech, there exist a number of security, risk, and threat discourses including continued economic risks of the time, the threat to Canadian sovereignty if borders are not secured, and the omnipresent threat of crime and criminals. However, mentioned three times in two different sections of the speech, I believe that it is the threat of an aging population that is the most prevalent threat discourse in this SFT. The aging population is labelled as a serious threat that if not attended to carries significant risks to the Canadian workforce, the economy, and the healthcare system, and yet, there is no legitimate plan to address the concern within this SFT.

On page two the government actively argues that the aging population is impacting Canada's growth potential stating,

> Canada's workforce is aging, and it will no longer grow as it has in the past. This demographic challenge will impact our economic future and put long-term pressures on our pension and health systems that must be addressed (p. 2).

The government notes this threat "must" be addressed as it carries significant risks for all Canadians. This statement is setting the stage for the government's plan to begin implementing cuts in areas that had, until then, been receiving what the government had called a "targeted, time-limited stimulus program" (p. 3). In the beginning of this section, the government lays out what they view to be their accomplishments and then they immediately address the aging population as justification for the ending of their stimulus program that had permitted such accomplishments. The statement also provides foreshadowing for the governments plan (although not addressed within this speech) to increase the retirement age from sixty-five to sixty-seven years of age. They are laying the groundwork for this upcoming massive cut to OAS.

In the subsequent paragraph in reference to the government's plans to address this demographic challenge, the government makes a number of open statements related to assisting workers to "learn new skills and seize opportunities" without providing specific methods that they intend to accomplish this. I believe this is setting the stage for the fact that younger workers need to work at higher rates than previously seen in order to support the aging population. In reference to the government's agenda, they state that, "It will remove barriers

for older workers who want to continue their careers" (p. 2). This quote suggests that the government intends to permit older individuals to work longer in order to reduce pressure on pensions and OAS.

In a separate section two pages later the government provides a very clear and active line of thought about what Canadians want and understandably expect from their health care:

> Canadians want and expect their health care system to be there when they and their families need it most, Canadians want better results from the health care system, at the same time as an aging population is putting unprecedented pressure on the system's ability to deliver (p. 4).

It is interesting that this statement is presented in a manner that states unequivocally what Canadians want and need, and then goes on to reduce the likelihood of it happening by inserting the threat connected to Canada's aging population. The use of "unprecedented pressure" implies that this is unlike any threat Canada has ever experienced and that it is likely something that Canada's social welfare system will be unable to handle. Further, for some individuals, this statement could work to make them feel heard (i.e. the government knows we want more from our health care system and they agree with us); this is in spite of the fact that the government does not intend to actually address the issue. When the government states that they will "continue reducing wait times" (p. 4) in hospitals, it implies that they are already making progress on this issue in the health care system, even though they clearly state that they are not increasing hospital budgets, or, aiding health care pressures in any specific way. Although it might sound nice, it holds minimal substance.

Reading through the speech I can see that the government intends to address the unprecedented threat of Canada's aging population by 1) Letting seniors work into what would have been their retirement years, reducing OAS costs for the government and hypothetically resulting in more employee income tax contributions to the economy, and 2) Maintaining the funding status quo that has thus far proven to be insufficient. I believe that the threat of the aging population in some ways acts as an illusion used by the government to justify system failures, when in fact the system is to blame. Although it is true that our population is aging, it is also true that the system put in place for our older population was never truly sustainable. This is largely in part to the introduction of privatization methods within our long-term care and home-care care systems that have maintained a profit focus since their inception, as opposed to the focus on care that one might expect within this particular area (Martin-Matthews, Sims-Gould, & Tong, 2012). The result is an aging population that must rely on acute medical care, putting strain on the health care system, and ultimately reducing the quality of care for all Canadians (Martin-Matthews, Sims-Gould, & Tong, 2012). This is something that is never addressed in the speech, and is likely something that the government has no desire to discuss with Canadians citizens. Again, the presentation of neoliberal language is evident in the government's plan to improve the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) geared towards to the poorest seniors in Canada, as well as their desire to create a Pooled Registered Retirement Plan, as opposed to fixing the Canada Pension Plan.

2015 SFT – Prime Minister Justin Trudeau – Liberal

42nd Parliament

The liberal government under Justin Trudeau won their majority mandate after nine years of conservative governance (two minority mandates and one majority mandate). The shift from a majority conservative government to a majority liberal government was presented as a sign of Canadians' desire for change. Although the 2015 SFT addresses a number of the issues seen throughout the other speeches, such as the economy and security, this speech appears to present a more optimistic tone in what seems to be a clear attempt to distance itself from the previous government. The security discourse in this speech is listed under the section "Security and Opportunity", however, I do not believe that the speech presents specific risk and/or threat discourse as seen in the majority of the other speeches. The government notes its' primary focus of supporting Canada's middle class and growing the economy. It suggests that the middle class are the backbone of the Canadian economy and presents plans (such as a tax cut for those earners) to better assist this group of Canadians. The speech further instils diversity as a hallmark of Canadian identity, and again connects this to Canada's economic growth.

These findings suggest that, with the exception of the 2000 and 2015 SFTs, every federal majority government in Canada since 1935 has used some variation of the controlled security, risk, and threat discourse mentioned throughout this thesis. Although the security discourse evolved from social

73

security to national security over that time, it was nonetheless present in every speech. Further, in the majority of the speeches there existed some form of outside threat, whether a foreign aggressor, war, or economic downturn that threatened the continuation of Canadian society. The risk discourse was then presented in the government's explanation of what must be done to secure each threat, and what would likely occur if they were unable to act on those suggestions. Interestingly, each government was able to manipulate these discourses to suit the particular needs of their government in that moment in time. The governments have shown that they can increase their usage when they need to foster support from the Canadian population (such as when joining combat missions abroad and/or the reduction of social welfare services in Canada), or they can reduce their usage (such as when the economic prosperity is not proving to be beneficial to individuals, or when the population has grown tired of the constant bombardment of such discourses and is beginning to see through them).

Concluding Thoughts on Findings and Discussion

This CDA of the use of security, risk and threat discourses in the first session federal majority government SFTs between the years 1935 and 2015 has highlighted several changes that occurred in Canada over the past eighty years. As has been shown, these discourses appear to be a constant fixture in the SFTs. Security discourse, for example, has been discussed in the literature as being an essential element to the governing of a nation (see, Brodie, 2009); I believe its presence in the SFTs validates this idea. Although its presence is consistent, the

security discourse being used by each government is somewhat fluid with regards

to its meaning and to the issues being addressed (e.g. economic uncertainty to

national threats). To some extent, this fluidity reflects the influences of the time

and context in which the SFTs were written (e.g. WWII, the radical 60's) as well

as the particular government party in power at that time.

Security discourse is often connected to threats to the state and social

security and is tied to the risk of inaction on the part of government (Brodie,

2009; Corry, 2012; Ozguc, 2011). It has been suggested that threats to national

security only truly exist once a security discourse has been created about them

(Brodie, 2009), and once such a discourse has been created, it empowers and

emboldens the political parties governing at that time to act on the perceived

threat as failure to do so carries significant risks (Bauman, 2007; Corry, 2012;

Hansen, 2006). It has been argued that,

> Risk is just as insidious as traditional securitisation, if not more as it
> allows 'securitisation' on the basis of less-than-existential and merely
> potential dangers. While it may not necessarily lead to full-scale military
> attacks on an external enemy, it may be argued that riskification
> legitimates extensive and permanent measures, discrimination of those
> profiled as risky, and potentially oppressive governance of populations in
> the name of removing conditions of possibility for harm (Corry, 2012, p.
> 257).

If this is true then political parties (specifically majority governments) hold

significant power over the individuals they govern: This has the potential to be

quite dangerous as discourse may be manipulated to serve sinister political

motives (e.g. re-election or distraction of more important issues) at the expense of

the citizen (Baker, 1997; Bauman, 2007; Hansen, 2006). It should be noted that

the power of ideas can also be kept in check by other forces, such as the nature of the ruling institutions, the decision making processes, the rule of law, etc.

In this analysis, it has been shown that the nature of the threat varies (e.g. communism, economic downturns, terrorism) but it is consistently used to create uncertainty and compliance with government ambitions. The threats are often presented as an attack against Canada's national or social security (e.g. Nazism, rising inflation), and the attendant risk discourse (which also varies) works to position the governments' plans to eliminate the threat as the one true option (e.g. joining combat missions, reducing social welfare spending), thus facilitating support for government policies and actions. Here it becomes evident that these discourses are used to suggest situations of vulnerability that are intended to lead the Canadian populace to follow along with the intentions of the government of the day.

It is important to also note the changing discourses of 'government as provider for individual citizens' and/or 'government as protector of the nation' and/or 'government as protector and steward of the economy'. Although government as protector of the economy is present throughout the speeches, there is a clear shift in its' presentation during the Pierre Elliot Trudeau speeches leading up to the 1980's when neoliberal principles replaced Keynesian ideas in policy development (Orlowski, 2014). Although Trudeau was still connecting his government to strong social policies, he was presenting a discourse of government as protector and steward of the economy that appears to have greatly differed

from understandings of the role of government held by his predecessors. Trudeau builds on the argument that a strong economy is paramount for Canadian citizens from previous SFTs by adding that the government cannot do everything for everyone and that social policy alone will not lead to prosperity. The government presents their plan/desire to move away from social welfare by manipulating their discourse connected to it and making it appear as if there is no other option than to abandon previously desirable social programs (Baker, 1997). Social welfare can then be viewed as a burden on the economy, perhaps a reason why "hard working" citizens are struggling and the economic situation is in turmoil. Although Trudeau introduced this language, he did not make the major cuts to social programs that would come after his final mandate.

Government as protector of the economy continues through the Mulroney mandate in 1984, although Mulroney manipulated this discourse further to suggest this is best achieved through strong partnerships with the private sector. I see this as Mulroney's attempt to indoctrinate neoliberal principles into Canadian society in what might appear to Canadians as the shrinking of government (appealing to his conservative base); in reality it is the corporatization of government (Campbell, 2002), which is arguably more dangerous as it represents the destruction of accountability to Canadians by providing more power to unelected corporations. This can also be said to have been present during the three Chretien mandates; however, the discourse also changes back to earlier representations of government as provider for the individual alongside government as protector of

the economy when his government argues that a prosperous economy is not enough for all Canadian citizens. Chretien is forced to return to the discourse of government as provider for the individual because of the fact that poverty and unemployment persist in Canada during his mandate, in spite of the economic prosperity achieved at that time. There is an important connection here; Chretien's actions meant far fewer unemployed Canadians were receiving EI, and so more were relying on social assistance, funding for which had been severely cut in the 1995 budget. Also, the sacrosanct principle of cost sharing disappeared under Chretien after having been tinkered with by Mulroney. Previously, economic prosperity had been presented in the SFTs as the 'Holy Grail' that would result in a sort of utopian society whereby social welfare was no longer necessary, and I believe Chretien's mandate proved that not to be the case. Goar (2002) suggests that Chretien's actions often did not match his discourses and that while he presented progressive ideas, he acted conservatively. Simpson (2002) echoes this idea and suggests that Chretien presents discourses of social welfare because he knows that Canadians respond positively to them, and therefore will view him more favourably. The government as protector and steward of the economy prominently continues through the Harper (2011) and Trudeau (2015) SFTs, displaying the stronghold that neoliberalism has taken on government priorities.

Another interesting area that came to my attention during the analysis of these speeches was the development over time of an understanding of Canadian identity as one that promotes diversity and multiculturalism. This notion began

appearing in the SFTs of the 1970's and 1980's at a time when the full effects of the baby boom had been seen; the Canadian population was no longer increasing as it previously had been, and the economy was slowing as unemployment and inflation rates were increasing. It is interesting to attend to this, as it could be suggested that Canadian governments created the notion of multiculturalism as a method of continuing to boost the economy through immigration during times of economic downturn, and to do so under the guise that Canada has always been a diverse country that welcomes all people. In reality, the Canadian immigration system up until that point had been primarily focused on bringing in white European immigrants who were viewed as being better able to assimilate to Canadian culture (Harrell, 2009).

Although multiculturalism as a component of Canadian identity seen in the 1970's and 1980's seems to have persevered the passing of time and changing government policies, it can be said that those earlier understandings of multiculturalism in Canada appear to have shifted under the dominant ideals of neoliberalism (Root, Gates-Gasse, Shields, & Bauder, 2014). In its new form, Canadian multiculturalism represents the desire to bring in highly skilled individuals from across the globe who can easily integrate into society in an attempt to not only boost the national economy, but also further promote economic globalization (Root, Gates-Gasse, Shields, & Bauder, 2014). This shifting understanding of multiculturalism in Canada seems to take a step

backward from the progress achieved through the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960's and 1970's.

The introduction of the promise of job creation, beginning in the 1968 SFT, appears to strongly correlate with the more explicit introduction of neoliberal principles within the speeches. This was surprising for me as it was not something that I specifically found within the SFT literature. Trudeau's government (1968) first insinuated a need to shift from social welfare to job creation when he suggested that the economy was the government's top priority, that a strong economy would increase job numbers resulting in less need for big government social policies. I think this focus on job creation and the role of a prosperous economy on the wellbeing of Canadians citizens is significant.

In the 1980's, the promise of job creation became a permanent and a key element of each government mandate appearing in every majority governments' SFT until 2015. Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1980) highlighted the need to begin employment training to get women, minority groups, and people with disabilities into the workforce; Mulroney (1984) echoed these ideas and further argued for 'necessary' partnerships with private enterprises in making such ambitions prove successful. Job creation was also presented as an essential priority during Chretien's government mandates. Chretien (1994, 1997, 2001) presents the importance of training at risk youth, people with disabilities, indigenous individuals, older adults, and adults with no education as an essential national task, and again argues for the partnering with the private sector to accomplish this.

Harper (2011) continues these ideas around job creation and further suggests allowing senior Canadians to stay in the workforce longer, without facing mandatory retirement ages. For Justin Trudeau (2015), the speech initially comes across as quite positive, a nod to the 'sunny ways' platform his government campaigned on. In spite of this positive tone, it should be noted that the middle class (those who currently work full-time) are clearly identified as the most important priority in the speech, and all initiatives - including job creation - are aimed at benefitting this particular group of Canadians.

I believe that the promise and prioritization of job creation was presented in the speeches as a way to counteract the dismantling and reduction to social services, which would likely be deemed a negative action by Canadians who depend on them - arguably most citizens given the range of social services Canada offers (e.g. universal health care, old age security, unemployment insurance, welfare, etc.). I believe that this shifting government priority is dangerous for Canadians as it genuinely threatens the social welfare policies that took decades to fully develop. Here is becomes evident that neoliberal ideals of productivity are influencing the governments' presentation of what makes someone a 'good citizen'. Individualization, a strong work ethic, and contributing to society begin to be highly valued at the expense of the social policies and safety net that previously existed up until that point. The need for social welfare then becomes devalued within society and the people who depend on these social policies begin to be viewed as a burden on the government and the taxpayer. Once the

government has the majority of taxpayers holding the view that social welfare is actually a strain on the government, and on those 'good' hard-working citizens, it then becomes much easier for them to begin the process of eroding the social welfare state in the name of economic prosperity and efficiency. In the end, it is private enterprises that likely benefit most from this shift, not the citizens who now believe that social welfare is a drain on the economy, nor those individuals who truly depend on strong social policies (Harvey, 2007).

The presentation of job creation within the SFTs is, I believe, an example of the power of political discourse to manipulate citizens into thinking they will benefit from changes that actually benefit the dominant groups. This highlights how dominant political discourses can hold hidden meanings that may not be immediately evident to the citizens reading and/or hearing them. This proved to be the case for me in my experience reading the speeches, as the notion of job creation initially appeared as a positive addition to the SFTs. It was not until I had completed my more thorough analysis that I began to view this concept in a more critical manner, piecing together its initial appearance and examining how it developed into its modern day presentation.

It is important to note that my initial reading of each SFT often gave me a different perception than when I began to look deeper at the phrasing and placement of particular statements. My first reading often led me to believe that the government was aware of each particular issue and would be addressing them within their mandate. However, looking at word choices, the positioning of

particular statements, and their relationship to other statements within the texts has shown me how interpretation and understanding are undoubtedly influenced by the creator of such texts; that the reader is essentially led on a journey towards an end goal crafted by the producer of the discourse. This is a method by which dominant discourse permits the continuation of oppression against subordinate groups, by making them feel heard, when in fact they are being ignored; This can result in a populace that becomes complacent to their continued oppression (Nicolson, 1994).

Limitations

It is important to note that my interpretations of the SFTs are just that, my interpretations. It has been stated that the interpretation of any discourse by different people is likely to achieve unique outcomes due to each individuals varying personal situation (i.e. culture, education, level of power in society etc.) (Fairclough, 2002; Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). Further, considering that CDA incorporates a variety of different approaches that enable a researcher to analyze many unique things within a single text (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), another researcher could possibly focus on different areas within the SFTs therefore presenting aspects of the SFTs differently than I have done. I have entered this data analysis with a critical lens, looking to find potentially hidden meanings meant to advance particular governments' dominant agenda. There may be aspects that I have missed in my analysis, or, components that I have not gotten quite right. However, working from a CR framework, the researcher is able to

uncover potentially hidden truths and to look at statements from more viewpoints than what may be provided by the creator of a particular text. I believe that I have been able to do this, particularly in my presentation of the discourse related to job creation, and the manner that the government appears to covertly use it as a means of dismantling social welfare policies in Canada.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Implications for Social Work

Conclusion

It is very important that the Canadian population be able to read between the lines of government discourse, particularly when it is related to social policies that so many people depend on. In the past, we have seen the government's ability to bring forward social policies in times of both real and perceived crises; such as the implementation of unemployment insurance during WWII (1940), an old age pension plan during the looming threat of communist totalitarianism (1949), the expansion of unemployment insurance during the threat of rising rates of inflation (1958), and expansion of old age security benefits during times of inflationary crisis (1974). We can therefore understand that threats, whether to national security or the economy, and the risk of such, are not sufficient justification to ignore the need for – and provision of – good social policies as seen in the SFTs of Mackenzie King, Louis St. Laurent, and to some extent John Diefenbaker, and Pierre Trudeau. Although different governments from 1968 through to 2015 appear to have worked to shift the Canadian identity towards more neoliberal principles and away from what was a more collective and protective one, does not mean that society must accept these changes.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have used CSS and CR frameworks to complete a CDA of fourteen first session SFTs of federal majority governments in Canada between the years 1935 and 2015; the discourses analyzed included

security, risk, and threat. The research has highlighted how governments manipulate these discourses to advance their particular agenda of the day. It has further uncovered that since the implementation of neoliberal principles in political discourse and actions, governments have included the promise of job creation in the SFTs in an attempt to offset the dismantling of the welfare state. The objective of this research was the empowerment of society to demand change through the acquisition of this deeper understanding. The hope is that this critical research will add to the discussions of the purpose of the SFTs in the Canadian context, highlighting the need for critical political engagement through a deeper understanding of the influence that political discourse has on the social policies that the majority of citizens depend on.

Implications for Social Work Education

Something that this thesis has highlighted for me is the importance of critical research and reflection in social work. This is why I believe that social work education must incorporate some form of critical understanding whether the curriculum takes on a more clinical/practical or theoretical foundation. To work within the field of social work requires the development of significant skills, many of which accumulate over the span of an entire career. One of those primary skills is critical understanding of the situations we are presented with on a daily basis. Directly connected to this thesis is the importance of social workers being able to critically examine the discourses behind the texts that we use and create within our various schools and colleges of social work, as well as within the larger

systems we work within. We must truly understand what the discourse is saying, beyond the simple reading of these texts. Further, I can see the necessity of critical reflection of our own discourses (i.e. speech and text) that we use when communicating with and/or about the individuals that we serve. Lastly, it is imperative that we maintain a critical awareness and understanding of the discourses of others, particularly dominant groups, which directly influence both the field of social work and the people who depend on strong social policies.

Implications for Social Work Practice

As social workers, we should constantly be working for the empowerment of individuals who might otherwise experience varying forms of oppression in society. I believe that our ability to work towards the empowerment of non-dominant groups in society is directly connected to the government policies that allocate funding to the social welfare programs our clients depend on, and subsequently, to the political discourses surrounding those policies. As has been shown in this thesis, political discourse created within government can sometimes present information and ideas in an indirect manner that results in people's acceptance of information as fact rather than the packaging of risk and information in such a way as to justify the actions taken by government. An example of this is the implementation of neoliberal principles at a time of economic uncertainty. Here the government presents the dire economic situation, the continued threat attached to it, and the risk of not taking direct action to secure it through means of privatization. For some, it is clear that the government is

manipulating their discourse presentation in a manner that convinces rather than explains the particular situation to the populace. However, not all individuals are able to see through the well-crafted political discourse that may appear to offer assistance, when in reality the government has no intention of providing the much needed funding. As social workers, it is our obligation to examine such discourses more fully and to assist all people in understanding the implications of the discourses on a broader scale.

In spite of our best intentions, as social workers it is important to address the fact that we often work in large agencies that typically center on concepts such as productivity and efficiency, concepts that can restrict our ability to fully work for the people we serve. Considering this, I am likely to face some barriers in my attempt to share my work with colleagues and clients. Within the health care setting, I intend to share my work in a couple of ways. First, through dialogue with colleagues about the discourses we use, share, and create for and about the clients we serve. This is likely to be in an unofficial capacity on a small scale that will permit me to remain reflective in my own practice, while also sharing with those colleagues whom I work closely with. Second, I intend to bring forward my newly gained knowledge to health care management in an attempt to have these ideas utilized in an upcoming social work clinical day, whereby social workers are educated on best practice principles in the field. The goal here is to treat the 'Patient First' discourse used within the healthcare setting as starting point for a more thorough examination of discourse creation and usage in hospitals. Here I

will attempt to use their discourse as a method of helping create deeper knowledge about the power inherent within dominant discourses.

I also intend to upload my thesis online to make it available for others interested in learning about the power of discourse, and more specifically, the importance of critically examining political discourses and their influence on social work practice and the people we work for. By making this information accessible, I intend to continue working to empower patients/clients personally and alongside my social work colleagues. It is my hope that this deeper awareness may lead to better advocacy for and with these individuals.

References

Adam, B., & van Loon, J. (2005). Introduction: Repositioning risk; the challenge for social theory. In (Eds.), *The risk society and beyond: Critical issues for social theory* (p. 1-31). London: Sage Publications.

Archer, M., Decoteau, C., Gorski, P., Little, D., Porpora, D., Rutzou, T., Smith, C., Steinmetz, G., & Vandenberghe, F. (2016). What is critical realism? *Perspectives,* 38(2), 4-9.

Atwood, M. (July/August, 2010). *The activist author of Alias Grace and The Handmaid's Tale discusses the politics of art and the art of the con/Interviewer: M. Berlin Snell* [Transcript]. Mother Jones. Retrieved from http://www.motherjones.com/media/1997/07/margaret-atwood

Baker, M. (1997). *The restructuring of the Canadian welfare state: Ideology and policy*. Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales.

Baldwin, D. A. (1995). Security studies and the end of the Cold War. *World politics*, *48*(1), 117-141.

Banks, J. A. (2004, December). Teaching for social justice, diversity, and citizenship in a global world. In *The educational forum* (Vol. 68, No. 4, pp. 296-305). Taylor & Francis Group.

Bauman, Z. (2007). *Liquid times: Living in an age of uncertainty*. London: Polity.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Beck, U. (2003). The silence of words: On terror and war. *Security Dialogue 34*(3), 255–67.

Benoit, C., Zadoroznyj, M., Hallgrimsdottir, H., Treloar, A., & Taylor, K. (2010). Medical dominance and neoliberalisation in maternal care provision: The evidence from Canada and Australia. *Social Science & Medicine*, *71*(3), 475-481.

Brenner, N., Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010). After neoliberalization?. *Globalizations, 7*(3), 327-345.

Brodie, J. (2002) 'Citizenship and solidarity: reflections on the Canadian way', Citizenship Studies, 6(4), pp. 377–94.

Brodie, J. (2009). From social security to public safety: Security discourses and Canadian citizenship. *University of Toronto Quarterly, 78*(2), 687-708.

Brodie, J. (1994). *Politics on the Boundaries: Restructuring and the Canadian Women's Movement*. Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies.

Brooks, D. R. (2003). A critical discourse analysis of a college faculty recruitment brochure. *Studies About Language, 4,* 32-39.

Camfield, D. (2006). Neoliberalism and working-class resistance in British Columbia: The hospital employees' union struggle, 2002-2004. *Labour/Le Travail, 57*, 9-41.

Campbell, R. M. (2002). The post modern: It's time for serious postal reform. *Policy,* 33-38.

Carroll, W. K., & Shaw, M. (2001). Consolidating a neoliberal policy bloc in Canada, 1976 to 1996. *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse De Politiques*, 195-217.

Carter, S. M., & Little, M. (2007). Justifying knowledge, justifying method, taking action: Epistemologies, methodologies, and methods in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*, 1316-1328.

Chomsky, N. (1973). *For reasons of state.* Michigan: Pantheon Books.

Clarke, H. D., & Zuk, G. (1987). The politics of party popularity: Canada 1974-1979. *Comparative Politics*, *19*(3), 299-315.

Conley R.S. (2010). Government success and legislative productivity in the Canadian House of Commons: Does majority or minority government matter?", unpublished paper.

Connolly, D. (2000). A little history of the world wide web. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org/History.html

Corry, O. (2012). Securitisation and 'riskification': Second-order security and the politics of climate change. *Millennium*, *40*(2), 235-258.

Courchene, T. J. (2004). *The changing nature of Quebec-Canada relations: From the 1980 referendum to the summit of the Canadas*. Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University.

DeLong, J. B. (1997). America's peacetime inflation: the 1970s. In *Reducing inflation: Motivation and strategy* (pp. 247-280). University of Chicago Press.

Duncan, S., & Reutter, L. (2006). A critical policy analysis of an emerging agenda for home care in one Canadian province. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *14*(3), 242-253.

Easton, G. (2010). Critical realism in case study research. *Industrial marketing management*, *39*(1), 118-128.

Erkens, D. H., Hung, M., & Matos, P. (2012). Corporate governance in the 2007–2008 financial crisis: Evidence from financial institutions worldwide. *Journal of Corporate Finance*, *18*(2), 389-411.

Fairclough, I., & Fairclough, N. (2011). Practical reasoning in political discourse: The UK government's response to the economic crisis in the 2008 pre-budget report. *Discourse & Society, 22*(3), 243-268.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2002). The dialetics of discourse. *Textus,* 14(2), 3-10.

Filion, P., Bunting, T., & Gertler, L. (2000). *Canadian cities in transition: The twenty-first century (*2nd ed.). Toronto: Oxford.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. London: Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. (1979). *The history of sexuality, volume one: An introduction.* London: Allen Lane.

Gerber, D. A. (2003). Disabled veterans, the state, and the experience of disability in Western societies, 1914-1950. *Journal of social history*, *36*(4), 899-916.

Gibbs Van Brunschot, E. E., & Sherley, A. J. (2005). Communicating threat: The Canadian state and terrorism. *The Sociological Quarterly, 46*(4), 645-669.

Global Affairs Canada. (2016). Canada and the Commonwealth. Retrieved from http://www.international.gc.ca/commonwealth/index.aspx?lang=eng

Goar, C. (25 May 2002). 'The Hollowing Out of Ottawa', Toronto Star.

Government of Canada. (2017, April 18). *Speech From The Throne.* Retrieved from http://speech.gc.ca/en/content/faq

Graber, D. (1993). Political communication: Scope, progress, promise. In A. W. Finifter (Ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline, 2*, 305-332.

Gray, D. E. (2004). *Doing research in the real world*. London: Sage Publications.

Guibernau, M. (2006). National identity, devolution and secession in Canada, Britain and Spain. *Nations and Nationalism*, *12*(1), 51-76.

Hansen, L. (2006). Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War. New York: Routledge.

Harell, A. (2009, May). Minority-majority relations in Canada: The rights regime and the adoption of multicultural values. In *Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Ottawa ON*.

Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as creative destruction. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *610*(1), 21-44.

Hick, S. F. (2014). *Social welfare in Canada: Understanding income security*. Thompson Educational Pub.

Horn, M. (1984). *The great depression of the 1930s in Canada* (No. 39). Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

Houston, S. (2001). Transcending the fissure in risk theory: Critical realism and child welfare, *Child & Family Social Work, 6*(3), 219-228.

Immigration, Refugees, and Citzenship Canada. (2015). Canada's history. Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-06.asp

Jennings, W., Bevan, S., & John, P. (2011). The agenda of British Government: The speech from the throne, 1911-2008. *Political Studies, 59*(1), 74-98.

John, P., & Jennings, W. (2010). Punctuations and turning points in British politics: The policy agenda of the Queen's speech, 1940-2005". *British Journal of Political Science 40*(3): 561-586.

Kemshall, H. (1997). Sleep safely: Crime risks may be smaller than you think. *Social Policy and Administration, 31*(3), 247–59.

Kirchhoff, D., & Tsuji, L. J. (2014). Reading between the lines of the 'Responsible Resource Development'rhetoric: The use of omnibus bills to 'streamline'Canadian environmental legislation. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, *32*(2), 108-120.

Library of Parliament. (October 17, 2013). Speeches from the throne and motions for address in reply. Retrieved from https://lop.parl.ca/ParlInfo/compilations/parliament/ThroneSpeech.aspx

Lupton, D. (1999). Risk. New York: Routledge

Lupton, D. (1993). Risk as moral danger: the social and political functions of risk discourse in public health. *International journal of health services*, *23*(3), 425-435.

Martin-Matthews, A., Sims-Gould, J., Tong, C. E. (2012). Canada's complex and fractionalized home care context: Perspectives of workers, elderly clients, family carers, and home care managers. *Canadian Review of Social Policy, 68/69,* 55-74.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McCallum, J. (1986). Unemployment in OECD countries in the 1980s. *The Economic Journal*, *96*(384), 942-960.

Mogashoa, T. (2014). Understanding critical discourse analysis in qualitative research. *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education, 1*(7), 104-113.

Montpetit, E., & Foucault, M. (2011). Diffusion of policy attention in Canada: Evidence from speeches from the throne, 1960–2008. In C. Green-Pedersen & S. Walgrave (Eds.), *Agenda-Setting from a Policy Theory to a*

Theory of Politics (1-22). Chicago: Chicago University Press, Forthcoming.

Mortensen, P. B., Green-Pedersen, C., Breeman, G., Chaqués-Bonafont, L., Jennings, W., John, P., ... & Timmermans, A. (2011). Comparing government agendas: Executive speeches in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, and Denmark. *Comparative Political Studies*, *44*(8), 973-1000.

Moscovitch, A. (2006, February 07). Welfare State. Retrieved from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/welfare-state/

Nadeau, R., Martin, P., & Blais, A. (1999). Attitude towards risk-taking and individual choice in the Quebec referendum on sovereignty. *British Journal of Political Science*, *29*(3), 523-539.

Neuman, W. L. (1997). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3rd ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.

Nicolson, D. (1994). Truth, reason and justice: Epistemology and politics in evidence disclosure. *The Modern Law Review*, *57*(5), 726-744.

Nieguth, T. & Raney, T. (2016). Nation-building and Canada's national symbolic order, 1993-2015. *Nations and Nationalism, 23(1), 87-108.*

Nimijean, R. (2005). Articulating the 'Canadian way': Canada and the political manipulation of the Canadian identity. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, *18*(1), 26-52.

Olsson, M. R. (2010). Michel Foucault: Discourse, Power/Knowledge, and the Battle for Truth. In G. J. Leckie, L. M Given, & J. E. Buschman (Eds.), *Critical theory for library and information science*, 63-74.

Orlowski, P. (2014). Social Studies and Civil Society: Making the Case to Take on Neoliberalism. *in education*, *20*(1), 3-24.

Orwell, G. (1946). *Politics and the English Language*. London: Horizon.

Ozguc, U. (2011). Remaking Canadian identity. *Journal of Human Security*, *7*(3), 37.

Patterson, O. (1977). Ethnic chauvinism: The reactionary impulse. New York: Stein and Day.

Pollard, P. S. (2001). The creation of the euro and the role of the dollar in international markets. *Review-Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis*, *83*(5), 17-36.

Prince, M. J. (1998). Holes in the safety net, leaks in the roof: Changes in Canadian welfare policy and their implications for social housing programs 1. *Housing Policy Debate*, *9*(4), 825-848.

Proctor, J. D. (1998). The social construction of nature: Relativist accusations, pragmatist and critical realist responses. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *88*(3), 352-376.

Root, J., Gates-Gasse, E., Shields, J., & Bauder, H. (2014). Discounting immigrant families: Neoliberalism and the framing of Canadian immigration policy change. *Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement (RCIS) Working Paper No*, 7.

Rosa, E., (1998). Meta theoretical foundations for post-normal risk. *Journal of Risk Research, 1*, 15–44.

Ross, J. I., & Gurr, T. R. (1989). Why terrorism subsides: A comparative study of Canada and the United States. *Comparative Politics*, *21*(4), 405-426.

Savoie, D. J. (1994). *Thatcher, Reagan, and Mulroney: In search of a new bureaucracy*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Sharififar, M. and Rahimi, E. (2012). Critical discourse analysis of political speeches: A case study of Obama's and Rouhani's speeches at UN. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 5*(2) 343-349.

Simpson, J. (4 May 2002), 'Jean Chrétien's only agenda: "I'm in charge here"', Globe and Mail.

'Speeches.' Library of Parliament. Retrieved from https://lop.parl.ca/ParlInfo/compilations/parliament/ThroneSpeech.aspx

Statistics Canada. (2014). Section e: Wages and working conditions. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectione/4147438-eng.htm

Steinmetz, G. (1998). Critical realism and historical sociology. A review article. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *40*(01), 170-186.

Stirling, A. (2007). Risk, precaution and science. *EMBO Reports, 8*, 309–315

Studlar, D. T., & Christensen, K. (2006). Is Canada a Westminster or consensus democracy? A brief analysis. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *39*(4), 837-841.

Taylor, S. (2013). *What is discourse analysis?* London: Bloomsbury.

Tennis, J.T. (2008). Epistemology, theory and methodology in knowledge organization: Toward a classification, metatheory, and research framework. *Knowledge Organization*, *35* (2/3), 102-112.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society, 4*(2). 249-283.

van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse analysis. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, *11*(1), 11-52.

Verba, S, Lehman Schlozman, K., Brady, H., & Nie, N. H. (1993). Race, ethnicity and political resources: Participation in the United States. *British Journal of Political Science 23*, 453–497.

Wang, J. (2010). A critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama's speeches. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research, 1*(3), 254-261.

Whiteside, H. (2009). Canada's health care "crisis": Accumulation by dispossession and the neoliberal fix. *Studies in Political Economy*, *84*(1), 79-100.

Wilson, J. (2003). Political Discourse. In D. Schriffrin, D. Tannen, & H.E. Hamilton (Eds.), The handbook of discourse analysis (pp. 398-415).
Wodak, R., & Ludwig, C. (Eds). (1999). *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in critical discourse analysis.* Vienna: Passagenverlag

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis.* London: Sage.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis.* London: Sage.