The naturalization of English: Using Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, symbolic power, and pedagogical action to analyze Canadian language policies

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ABSTRACT: Although the concepts cultural capital, symbolic power, and pedagogical action were originally applied to describe how education reproduces social relations in France, Bourdieu's sociological framework can be applied to illustrate the pervasive connection between language and colonialism in Canada. When applied to an analysis of the history of Canadian settlement and education practices between 1755 and until the present, these concepts demonstrate how colonial relations are reproduced through policies, educational programming and practices that inflate the value of English as the official language of Canada. While Bourdieu's concepts provide an analytical framework to illustrate how colonialism operates and why language continues to have an impact on the economic outcomes of Indigenous People and immigrants, the framework on its own tends to be socially deterministic and requires decolonizing strategies to support interventions that will encourage equitable language policy, programming and practice.

RÉSUMÉ: Bien que les concepts de capital culturel, de pouvoir symbolique et d'action pédagogique aient été initialement appliqués pour décrire comment l'éducation reproduit les relations sociales en France, le cadre sociologique de Bourdieu peut être appliqué pour illustrer le lien omniprésent entre la langue et le colonialisme au Canada. Appliqués à une analyse de l'histoire des pratiques d'établissement et d'éducation au Canada entre 1755 et jusqu'à aujourd'hui, ces concepts démontrent comment les relations coloniales sont reproduites à travers des politiques, des programmes éducatifs et des pratiques qui gonflent la valeur de l'anglais comme langue officielle du Canada. Bien que les concepts de Bourdieu fournissent un cadre analytique pour illustrer le fonctionnement du colonialisme et pourquoi la langue continue

d'avoir un impact sur les résultats économiques des peuples autochtones et des immigrants, le cadre en lui-même a tendance à être socialement déterministe et nécessite des stratégies de décolonisation pour soutenir des interventions qui encourageront politique, programmation et pratique linguistiques équitables.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, low language proficiency is correlated with lower employment and economic outcomes (OECD, 2013); and according to the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) survey, Indigenous Peoples and immigrants have the lowest levels of language proficiency in Canada (OECD, 2013; Culture, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics, 2011). The OECD attributes low literacy rates to a deficiency in learning among Indigenous Peoples and immigrants and calls for increased investments in adult education programs and more restrictive immigration policies (OECD, 2013). While there is some recognition of the shortcomings of the survey; since it does not sample Indigenous people living on reserves or in the territories, nor offer Indigenous people or immigrants opportunities to take the survey in their first language; the OECD does not examine the impact of colonial language policies on the education and economic outcomes of Indigenous people and immigrants (OECD, 2013; Tourism and the Centre for Educational Statistics, 2013). By not considering the colonial history behind the naturalization of English and French in Canada, the OECD provides little room to account for the historical practices that shape literacy education. Indeed, literacy researchers have increasingly drawn attention to the limitations of using data from PIACC survey to construct education policy (Black &Yasukawa, 2014; St. Clair, 2012; Tourism and the Centre for Educational Statistics Division, 2013). An historical analysis of the relation between colonialism and language demonstrates the epistemological implications of correlating literacy proficiencies to the economic outcomes of Indigenous people and immigrants.

To illustrate the connection between English, colonialism and economic outcomes, I draw upon Bourdieu's theory on reproduction because it provides an analytical lens that shows how language education forms symbolic relations that reproduce social relations to serve the economic interests of those in power. Bourdieu is no stranger to the role of education and language in the colonial

process. In his twenties he served in the French military that was stationed in Algeria where he taught and conducted research in resettlement centers (Reed-Danahay, 2005). Upon returning to France, he co-authored Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture with Jean-Claude Passeron. This text outlines Bourdieu's main theory on cultural reproduction and presents 3 concepts that can be applied to an understanding of how social relations of power are reproduced. These concepts include cultural capital, symbolic power, and pedagogical action. Although these concepts were originally applied to illustrate why children from different social groups in France continued to receive lower grades than other learners, it can also be applied to explain how language policies and practices are used to shape the relation between language, Indigenous Peoples and immigrants. While Bourdieu's sociological framework demonstrates the ways colonial language policy and practices reproduce unequal relations of power, the framework lends itself to be socially deterministic, suggesting that the naturalization of English and the loss of Indigenous and immigrant languages is inevitable. As a result, it tends to forward a pessimistic view of possible policy and pedagogical interventions. However, using Bourdieu's theory with decolonizing strategies can provide a way to counter oppressive narratives and challenge the assumption that English education facilitates social mobility.

English as Colonial Capital

The first concept from Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, that can explain the systemic consequence of colonialism is the concept of cultural capital. Cultural capital refers to the accumulation of cultural goods whose value is arbitrary and an outcome of history (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Forms of cultural capital such as language reproduce relations of power that serve the economic interests of the ruling class (Bourdieu, 1986). So, the predominance of English in Canada is not a natural result of the interactions between Indigenous People and settlers, but a practice that has been acquired through historically situated systems of colonization that impose the power of the colonizer's language and literacy practices through settlement and mass education programs (Bauder, 2008). For instance, prior to the Seven's Year War, French was a significant language of trade among Indigenous people and settlers even outside of Lower Canada; however, in 1755 the Indian Affairs Department was reformed to regulate contact with

Indigenous Peoples in the North in ways that would break trade practices with the French and centralize the role of British governing agencies in the regulation of trade activities and communications with Indigenous people (INACTAG, 2010; Miller, 2009; Brian, 1986). English literacy was also inflated through the practice of deportation. So while French settlements in Lower Canada received some language protection, the French-speaking Acadians in Nova Scotia faced deportation. The deportation of the Acadians severed Acadian and Mi'kmaq trade relations to consolidate English control of trade with Indigenous People and encourage the settlement of the land by English Protestants (Miller, 2009; Laxer, 2006).

After the Seven's Year War, the Department of Indian Affairs was expanded to exercise "paternalistic" control over Indigenous Peoples through assimilation programs (INACTAG, 2010, p. 6). Under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs, treaties were constructed "to provide for the alienation of Indian title to land" (Surtees, 1986). The Robison Treaties in particular set up the provisions for the reservation system that confined Indigenous Peoples and isolated them from communicating and contacting those outside of the reserve (Sprague, 1991). Moreover, Indian Agents such as Hayter Reed sought to further control the interactions of Indigenous people by forbidding the assembling of councils and only allowing individual interactions between the Indigenous person and the Indian Agent (Carter, 1990). Such practices isolated Indigenous people from individuals inside and outside of their reserve while controlling and containing communications in ways that support the expansion of colonial enterprise. Indian Agents became a prominent presence on the reserves and colonial legal apparatuses were used to reduce autonomy and restrict mobility through pass systems. The pass system reduced trade opportunities for Indigenous People while allowing colonial authorities to establish transportation infrastructure and consolidate governing bodies in ways that increased the wealth of colonial interests and destroyed means of Indigenous subsistence. For instance, the building of the railroad allowed for better integration of the settler economy while destroying the buffalo-hunting economy that was vital to Indigenous groups in the West (Hedican, 2014; Sprague, 1991).

A significant reason why the colonial government was able to stratify unequal relations with Indigenous Peoples was because colonial interests controlled the language and interpretation of

treaties. For instance, treaties were interpreted as a contract between the crown and its subjects rather than a trade agreement between two sovereign nations (Isaac & Annis, 2010). This interpretation removes an understanding of Indigenous sovereignty or an understanding of a democratically established partnership between two people and complaints were not received in international and national courts. Colonial advantage in the law was expanded as Canada was transformed from a colony to a nation with the establishment of the British North American Act in 1867 (Miller, 2008). Under the BNA Act, English and French were established as the official languages of the House of Parliament which privileged colonial languages as the languages of politics, public records and the law (Boberg, 2010). As the colonies began to transition into a nation-state, a movement towards assimilation emerged primarily through the introduction of the residential schooling system that further alienated Indigenous People from their land and language by removing children from their families and homes and placing them in boarding facilities (TRC, 2015; Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2011; Miller, 1996; Haig-Brown, 1988).

Settlement of the land also established literacy practices that favored colonial interests among immigrants. Prior to the 20th century, immigration policy focused on the recruitment of English speakers from the United Kingdom and the United States to settle the colonies (Boberg, 2010). The selection of these immigrants was aimed towards meeting colonial labour market needs to settle the West through the construction of the transcontinental railway. However, improved economic conditions in Britain made it difficult to attract immigrants from the United Kingdom and the immigration was open to non-English speaking people but their movements and financial opportunities were restricted (Ferrer, Riddel, & Picot, 2012; Boberg, 2010). For instance, Canada granted access to Chinese immigrants in 1881 to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, but once the work was completed in 1885, a head tax was imposed to restrict settlement (Guo, 2013). The preferential immigration policies towards English-speaking nations continued well up to World War II and this led to the inflation of English as the dominant language of the land (Ferrer, Riddel, & Picot, 2012; Bauder, 2008).

In 1962, the preferential immigration policy was transformed into the points system. Under this system, language continued to be the dominant determinant of access to settle in Canada (Ferrer,

Riddel, & Picot, 2012). In the 1990s, the points system evolved into the human capital approach to immigration that stressed the connection between language and economics (Ferrer, Riddel, & Picot, 2012; Bauder, 2008). Under the human capital framework, high proficiency in the official language of Canada was associated with higher economic outcomes (Culture, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics, 2011; OECD, 2013). So if an immigrant was unemployed or experienced lower economic outcomes, it became associated with language proficiency rather than sector changes in the market place or systemic colonial practices that limit social mobility (Ferrer, Riddel, & Picot, 2012).

And so, the prominence of English in Canada was established through settlement and legal practices that support colonial enterprise. However, while policy can inflate the value of English as cultural capital, to develop social practices that reproduce colonial relations of power, pedagogical work is required. After all, English is capital that can be taught in ways that enrich communication, build relations, and develop cultural products and this may lead to social mobility. English as colonial capital; however, stratifies hierarchical systems of power by structuring the learning in ways that encourage subordination and passivity, and contain how the English language is used. These approaches to learning however, are hidden from the discourse of education so that English is uncritically promoted as capital without an examination of the social practice of learning in colonial contexts. In doing so, a false assumption that proficiency is linked to social mobility can be advanced without taking into account how market-oriented literacy programs reproduce the distribution of cultural capital to stratify the economic interests of the ruling elite (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). What makes language the most insidious form for colonial capital is that it constructs the discourse that legitimizes the inflation of its value.

English as a Symbolic Colonial Power

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power can be used to illustrate the role of education policy and practice in legitimizing colonial capital. Symbolic power is the power for the dominant class to construct reality through the use of the instruments of knowledge and communication to create a consensus on the systems of social integration that reproduce the privilege of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1991). Symbolic power is often exercised by a dominant

class as a form of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence occurs when false meanings are imposed upon individuals in order to make claims of legitimacy that conceal relations of power (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In reconstructing reality, symbolic power can lead to the misrecognition of truth.

Christian morality was a common argument made to justify the residential schools while hiding colonial ambitions to dominate Indigenous People by systematically separating children from their parents. In doing so, colonizers imposed a false narrative of a virtuous cause that hid commercial interests (Milloy, 1999). This is made clear in the report that led to the development of the residential schools, Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds, where N.F. Davin called for an "aggressive assimilation" of Indigenous People who he described as being out of place in the settlement age and advocated for the separation of children from parents so children have "civilized" lives as citizens under the protection of the colonizer's laws (Davin, 1879, p.1). Indeed, other historians have pointed out how policy and practice construct government agents and educators as the civilized, benevolent guardians and Indigenous people as lazy dependents (Millloy, 2008; Carter, 1990). By falsely depicting Indigenous people as lazy dependents, the government agents blamed Indigenous people for poverty that resulted from colonial enterprise (Carter, 1990; Carr-Steward, 2001).

While Indigenous people were portrayed as lazy dependents, immigrants were depicted as a corrupt and immoral to the nation (Prentice, 2004; Haig-Brown, 1988). Indeed, the linguistic diversity and language practices of the immigrants that arrived in the 1830s was considered a threat to colonial capital and this threat was addressed through the introduction of mass education programs in Upper Canada. These mass education programs focused on the social assimilation of the individual into the colonial workforce by teaching settlers to be "orderly, punctual and content" with their lot (Graff, 1979, p. 31). Immigration policy was also wrapped in the language of benevolence and the insistence that learning English and French was for the benefit of integrating the immigrant into Anglo-Christian society rather than a strategy for training settlers to embody attitudes and work ethics that would best contribute colonial enterprise.

By the 20th century, speaking English became associated with Canada's national identity and those that had a second language were not fully recognized as Canadian. As Caccia (2010) points out

in her research on immigration policy in the 1940s, language is a way of identifying difference as a part of nation building. Through colonial policies and practices, English and French proficiency became the key factor for citizenship and the speaking of other languages became a marker of one's foreignness. So those that speak an additional language have a hyphenated identity of being Japanese-Canadian or Chinese-Canadian while those that speak English lack any foreign attachment to their name and are given a symbolic claim to be a natural citizen. Caccia also points out that in times of political or economic crises such as a war, the call for national unification is associated with presupposed and normalized notion of national identity and a "natural" history that is used to control the communication and subordinate social groups that question the dominant narrative. As Caccia explains,

> Through this process, the imagined boundary of the nation is designed to delimit a symbolic difference between "ourselves" and "foreigners," by so to say, internalizing "external" frontiers and thus protecting the collective identity of the in-group. In other words, national unification means identifying all those left outside the national realm of communication as belonging to a "foreign" world. (Caccia, 2010, p. 41)

As English and French were the languages of the colonial rule, they became symbolically the marker between being Canadian and being a foreigner and this perspective was used in times of crisis to alienate individuals from their rights. In the case of Japanese, German and Italian immigrants this resulted in internment during World War II and the banning of foreign language organizations (Caccia, 2010). Canadians whose ancestors were from Japan were seen by members of Parliament such as A. W. Neill as being individuals who could not be "naturalized" and trusted to serve national interests, and so they were interned and their property seized by government agents (Caccia, 2010, p. 46). This dominant notion of English "origin" also was used to enforce racists practices. For instance, Black Canadians from Nova Scotia were turned away when they tried to enlist in the RCMP on the notion that they were not Anglo-Saxon (Caccia, 2010). The use of Englishness to control the governing of the nation reproduces the privilege of colonial interests while creating the illusion of a narrative of unity. Indeed, as the researcher Haque (2019) points out in her Foucauldian analysis of bilingual policy in the 1960s, Indigenous languages were excluded from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism because it

would greatly complicate the idea of a unified identity situated with in the colonial historical framework of "two founding nations," the English and the French (Haque, 2019).

Today, English and French continue to be the dominant languages that determine citizenship in Canada. In addition to demonstrating English or French proficiency, to become a "naturalized" citizen, immigrants must pass a test to demonstrate their understanding of the history of Canada. The official source of material for the test comes from the Discover Canada document (2012). While changes have been made to incorporate content about Indigenous People, it continues to situate the concept of being Canadian predominantly with European settlement of the English and the French and explicitly states that the English and French languages are the symbol of being Canadian (CIC, 2012). As the researcher, Abu-Laban (2014) has pointed out, the Discover Canada document provides a historical account of Canadian history that focuses on military achievements and ties to the French and English empire rather than the social histories of women, workers, minorities, immigrants, Indigenous people and children. In doing so, the document subordinates historical events such as internment and residential schools as an unfortunate mistake in an otherwise glorious history of empire-building. By bookending Canada's history around military events, the document advances the notion that democracy was completely formed in the period of European colonialization rather than recognizing the ongoing work that is needed and being done to develop democratic practices in a changing global environment. In doing so, naturalization becomes the process of accepting a narrative of colonizers' culture as the essence of Canadian identity.

Agents of Colonial Pedagogical Action

The final concept to consider is Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) concept of the pedagogical work in relation to the reproduction of colonial capital. Pedagogical work is carried out by agents of education that reproduce dominant cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). These agents could be teachers, policy-makers, program administrators or anyone who influences the learning process. Pedagogical action allows the dominant classes to secure a monopoly of symbolic power by developing the habits of mind so one can "live out their thought and practice in the illusion of freedom and universality" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; p. 40).

Historian, Prentice's (2004) research on the mass education movement in 19th century speaks to the influence of pedagogical agents such as Egerton Ryerson and Strachan who established the public school system in Upper Canada. These schools were developed to assimilate children into Canada's colonial economy using the language of child-saving. The pedagogical agents, that Prentice refers to as "school promoters," saw children as innocent and in need of a moral retreat from the corrupting forces of their families who they judged to be illiterate, materialistic, criminal and idle. This characterization was particularly ascribed to the Irish immigrants who came to Canada to flee famine in the 1840s. School promoters believed these immigrants were in danger of importing a culture of idleness due to their belief that Irish immigrants were unskilled individuals who lacked the inclination to work. The school promoters saw their pedagogical work as a civilizing mission aimed to conquer the "raw" nature of children with Christian civilization. What school promoters advocated for was compulsory free schooling that would provide a retreat from immigrant society where the children could be educated to develop habits of mind that saw colonial order as benevolent and paternalistic and encouraged adherence to colonial leadership in times of economic turbulence and political agitation.

As the teachers were the key agents in supporting the reproduction of colonial capital, their moral conduct was emphasized over their capacity to teach (Houston & Prentice, 1988; Graff, 1979). The notion of the educators as a moral agent whose mission was to civilize society was prevalent in influencing the recruitment of educators to teach at residential schools. For the residential school, educators were primarily hired through the church. However, as the TRC Findings report explains, the aim for hiring these educators was primarily because these educators' missionary zeal caused them to be willing to have their work exploited for low pay (TRC, 2015). This missionary zeal also caused some to be reckless about human life as they believed that "if they could not save lives, they could save souls" (TRC, 2015, p. 676). The focus on saving souls over providing an education led to poor instruction that emphasized passive obedience. When Indigenous children in the residential school were not praying, a significant portion of their time and energy was spent doing chores. Because of funding short falls and the expectation that schools should be as self-sufficient as possible, children were often giving the task of looking after the maintenance of the school (Milloy, 1999, Miller,

1996). Residential schools also upheld English or French as the sole language to be used in the school and banned communication in Indigenous language and Indigenous dialects of English and French so that the schools disrupted rather than extended what the children learned at home (Sterzuk, 2008; Milloy, 1999). These schools worked to alienate learners from their culture to train their minds to assimilate colonial understandings of how to live (Haig-Brown, 1988).

Reproducing English as the dominant language of communication also remained the primary objective of language education among immigrants, particularly between 1910-1960. During this period, the restriction of the use of language outside of English was the primary approach to teaching and encouraging political assimilation of Anglo-Canadian norms among immigrant children even though schools often had large non-English-speaking populations in their cohort. School also became an increasing part of the child's life so that their social lives were governed by English language speaking that was regulated on the playgrounds and during recess (Gidney & Millar, 2014).

Another important point Bourdieu makes about language education is that it is not simply about teaching a language but a way of thinking (Bourdieu, 1991). Languages are not taught as a neutral skill, but in ways that shape the perspective of the learners to assimilate literacy practices that reproduce colonial relations of power. Guo's review of research on current adult immigrant education reveals how English education re-inscribes colonial values and ignores the complexity and ambiguity of the cultural experiences of new immigrants (Guo, 2013). Guo found that the textbooks used to educate immigrants often included superficial information on cultural differences that were usually written from a white middle-class perspective (Guo, 2013).

Guo argues that the purpose of English as a Second Language education is to provide adult immigrants with language training for the labour market, the citizenship test and "integration into Canadian society" (Guo, 2013, pp. 28 & 34). The education is thus significantly tied to the economic interests of those with well-established economic influence so that immigrants are educated to reflect employer interests rather that providing education that will encourage the economic elite to be open and inclusive of new immigrants (Guo, 2013). So while programs such as Language Instruction for New Comers (LINC) claim to have a dual integration strategy of helping immigrants learn Canadian values, and to help

Canadians better understand the cultural contribution of newcomers; the former focus is prioritized over the later (Guo, 2013). Guo points out that the policy discourse of "integration" is similar to assimilation in that it focuses on putting the onus on immigrants to present themselves to Canadian employers in ways that conform to British-based norms (Guo, 2013). Moreover, rather than recognizing the value immigrants bring to Canadian society, their skills are devalued and their lack of employment is attributed to their language proficiency, so they adopt a deficit view of their contribution to Canadian society (Guo, 2013).

Decolonizing Strategies to Consider

Bourdieu's sociological framework on reproduction illustrates the pervasive connection between language and economic outcomes of Indigenous People and immigrants. The application of concepts such as cultural capital, symbolic power, and pedagogical work provide a historical analysis of how language policy and practices in Canada advance colonial agendas. While Bourdieu's sociological framework can explain the capacity for colonialism to establish, secure and stratify its power, the framework also lends itself to be socially deterministic, so the choices one can make and express seem constrained by culture and socialization. As a result, the framework tends to forward a pessimistic view of possible interventions that can readdress institutional inequities. Bourdieu thinks that developing a pedagogical action to transform social relations would be a "total" struggle (Bourdieu, 1991). He believes that individuals have internalized the need to focus on learning the dominant language because they believe that it is necessary to meet their economic goals. As a result, learners misrecognize the way learning the dominant language reproduces the political and economic interests of the ruling class and reinforces class inequality (Bourdieu, 1991). As a consequence, it is a challenge to gain support for bilingual education if the languages are not associated with political and economic power. So any endeavor to promote bilingual education would be a "total struggle" (Bourdieu, 1991).

The notion of total struggle is taken up by anti-racist education philosopher and teacher, Orelus when he describes the burden of consciousness raising in countries like Haiti and the United States that are democracies whose histories are situated in colonialism. Orelus is a Black Carribean who immigrated from Haiti to the United States and studies how immigrants are racially and

linguistically positioned. As an immigrant from a country that was colonized by the French, he has engaged in diverse socio-linguistic practices that utilize Haitian Creoles, the Colonial French and English and the various dialects of English and his work illustrates how these socio-linguistic practices are organized into hierarchies of privilege (Orelus, 2012). Orelus explains that for minorities, the process of being conscious involves holding the anxiety and fear of being in a society that claims to be fair while falsely persecuting its citizens through systems of institutionalized racism. It causes racialized people to carry the cognitive burden of having experiences of oppression that others are blissfully unaware of. So the process of being conscious is a struggle against symbolic violence that others dismiss because they are unaware of it (Orelus, 2013). However, instead of describing the struggle as a total struggle that is cognitively fatiguing, Orelus calls for a "consistent struggle" (2013, 10). For Orelus, the struggle of doing decolonizing pedagogical action must find a way to continue as it is necessary to develop a more inclusive and equitable society.

By speaking to the psychological aspects of doing decolonizing pedagogical work, Orelus explores the internal fatigue that makes decolonizing pedagogical work burdensome, and in doing so, he offers a strategy to allow the pedagogical work to be a consistent rather than a total struggle. First he expresses the importance of providing a "deep expression" of the political, educational and ideological perspectives of the oppressed as a counter narrative to the dominant group in power (Orelus, 2013, p. xxii). As he explains,

> I argue that stories like mine, as well as those of other oppressed groups, need to be told as counter narratives to grand narratives, which mainly reflect the voice of dominant groups. The authentic voice of those who have been marginalized can be genuinely heard through their own narratives but not through truncated versions of such narratives as reported in Western history textbooks. (Orelus, 2013, 65)

Secondly, he stresses the importance of alliance building between individuals who have experienced different forms of oppression. In doing so, individuals share the pedagogical work of deep expression rather than struggle with the burden alone.

However, Bourdieu, might argue that the idea that the educator can be an agent of transformation is a contradiction that is more likely to be another form of symbolic power. Bourdieu's writings emphasize how human freedom is limited by culture and

society (Reed-Danahay, 2005). He believed that interventions such as bilingual education programs would not resolve contradictions posed by pedagogical action (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Other historians such as Boberg (2010) think that the process of assimilation is "inexorable" and that bilingual education would only have a "slight delay" in the process. However, teacher researchers such as Salas argue that bilingual education works when government funders reduce their top down strategies such as laborious standardized testing and adopt bilingual education programming. Her writings counter Boberg's argument by providing research that shows that English Language Learners succeed in the public education system when they have opportunities to receive language instruction for their first and second language (Salas, 2009).

Conclusion

Bourdieu's three main concepts: cultural capital, symbolic violence, and pedagogical work provide a significant analytical framework for understanding how language is used to reproduce colonial-established practices that persist in Canada. While the framework on its own, is socially deterministic, when combined with a decolonizing pedagogy and historical analysis, these concepts construct a counter claim to the simplified assumption pervasive in economic policy that English and French proficiency leads to social mobility. Instead a historical analysis demonstrates how English language policies and schooling practices strategically reproduce colonial power by valuing colonial English language practices over Indigenous languages and the languages of non-English speaking immigrants. A historical analysis shows that English did not naturally become the normative language of the land: extensive policies, programs and practices were required to enforce its dominant status and it will take the reformation of education policy, programming and practices to deconstruct and reform education to better support Indigenous people and immigrants by providing funding and support for language programs that go beyond the reproduction of standard literacy for labour market purposes. Moreover, as colonial pedagogy has been internalized through symbolic violence and pedagogical work, engagement in counter-narratives based on historical analysis are necessary to shift the habits of mind that frame our relationship with English and the motive behind its naturalization.

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